

Proceedings and Index of the 53th Annual Convention - 1991

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Call to Order, Temporary Chair Val Afanasiev, Local 9409
Invocation—Rabbi Judy Shanks (Temple Beth Hillel)
Remarks:
 Walter Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council
 Hon. Art Agnos, Mayor of San Francisco
 Harry Ibsen, Vice President, District 9
Keynote Address—International President Morton Bahr
Credentials Committee Report
Rules Committee Report
Report of Secretary-Treasurer Jim Booe
Resolution: 53A-91-2 Health Care
Resolution: 53A-91-3 Fair Funding for the Bank Bailout
Recess

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Call to Order
Finance Committee Report
Address—Philip Bowyer (General-Secretary, PTTI)
Address—LuJinghua (Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation)
Resolutions: 53A-91-4 US-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations
 53A-91-5 Support for Public Workers
Report of Executive Vice President M.E. Nichols
Newsletter Awards
Address: Curt Persson (President, PTTI)
Resolutions: 53A-91-9 Economic Policy
 53A-91-10 Labor History Month
 53A-91-13 Mobilization Works
Recess

TUESDAY SESSION

Call to Order
Invocation—Rev. Douglas Fitch—Downs Memorial United Methodist Church
Address—John Henning (Exec. Sec.-Treas., California Labor Federation)
Report of Defense Fund Oversight Committee

Address—Robert McGlotten (Director, AFL-CIO Department of Legislation)
Resolutions: 53A-91-6 Solidarity Day
53A-91-1 Protecting the Right to Strike
Constitution Committee Report
Address—Larry Cohen (Director of Organization)
Organizing Awards
Constitution Committee (Continued)
Address—Cesar Chavez (President United Farm Workers Union)
Recess

WEDNESDAY SESSION

Call to Order
Invocation—Father Thomas Moran (Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church)
Report of Executive Vice President Barbara Easterling
Address—Robert Mendelsohn (Holocaust Memorial Council)
Address—President Emeritus Glenn E. Watts
Resolution: 53A-91-7 Holocaust Memorial
Address—Elizabeth Glaser (Pediatrics AIDS Foundation)
Address—Tony Young (Gen. Sec., National Communications Union, Great Britain)
Memorial Service
Remarks—Danny Beagle (Director, Public Relations, International Longshoremen and Warehouseman's Union)
Resolution: 53A-91-8 Supporting Labor Television Programming
COPE Awards
Resolutions: 53A-91-12 Support for the Men & Women Serving in the Armed Forces
53A-91-15 Opposition to Limiting Terms of Office
Appeals Committee Report
Resolutions: 53A-91-11 Locals Funding Convention
53A-91-14 Statehood for the District of Columbia
53A-91-16 Bargaining Rights for Retirees
53A-91-19 The Malcolm Balridge Award
Closing Remarks—President Morton Bahr
Adjournment
Communications
Report of Board of Trustees Saving and Retirement Trust

MONDAY MORNING SESSION

June 24, 1991

The 53rd Convention of the Communications Workers of America, held at the Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, California, July 24-26, 1991, convened at nine-thirty o'clock, a.m., Temporary Chair Val Afanasiev, President of the Northern California/ Nevada Council and CWA Local 9409, presiding.

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: We have a very full agenda this morning, so I ask all delegates to please take their seats. Those delegates that may be in the center aisle, please clear it so when we have the presentation of the Colors they will be able to come through.

The 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America will now come to order.

Good morning. We welcome to San Francisco and District 9. My name is Val Afanasiev and I am the President of the Northern California/Nevada Council and President of CWA Local 9409.

I have the honor of serving as your Temporary Chair for this morning's session.

As is our custom in CWA, we will begin our convention with a prayer. I would like to call upon Rabbi Judy Shanks of Temple Beth Hillel in Richmond, California to lead us in the invocation.

RABBI JUDY SHANKS (Temple Beth Hillel): Let us join together in prayer.

Great and loving God, we thank You for the many blessings of these meetings and ask that You continue to bless the work of our minds and our hearts.

We need these days and hours to revel in the strength of our numbers. We need Your limitless strength to help us affirm time and time again that we will be Your partners in the repair of our broken world.

We who are here today believe in tomorrow. We believe that we have the power to make tomorrow different from today. We believe that poverty need not be permanent, and that all who seek help should receive their due, should receive a helping hand.

We believe that there can yet be a time of justice and security for all who toil, a time of peace and tranquility for all who live on earth. And we believe that we can have a share in bringing that day closer by the way in which we live and work each day.

The world may scorn us or laugh at our dreams, but no matter, we still believe. We will not abandon our work or our ideals.

Help us, O God, to meet every challenge. Be with us, guide us, strengthen us and let us say, Amen.

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: Thank you, Rabbi Shanks.

Will the Delegates please remain standing as we prepare for the presentation of Colors and the singing of the Canadian and the U.S. National Anthems. Donna Ludolph, Secretary of the Printing, Publishing and Media Workers Sector, will lead us in singing "O Canada" and "The Star Spangled Banner."

Our Colors will be presented this morning by the Girl Scouts Color Guard, Brownie Troop 582 and Junior Troop 1759.

We will now have the presentation of the Colors and the national anthems. Please remain standing until the Colors are retired.

. . . The Delegates arose as the Colors were presented by the Girl Scouts Color Guard, Brownie Troop 582 and Junior Troop 1759, and then were led in the U.S. and Canadian National Anthems by Sister Donna Ludolph, Secretary of the Printing, Publishing and Media Workers Sector . . .

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: Please join me in a round of applause for the Girl Scouts Color Guard and to Donna for the great job in getting our Convention off to a rousing start. (Applause)

And the delegates may be seated now, thank you.

. . . The delegates resumed their seats . . .

An enormous amount of planning and hard work has gone into our efforts to make this week a memorable and enjoyable one for you.

Our Committee has been working overtime to ensure this Convention is successful.

I want to take just a moment to recognize the members of the District 9 San Francisco Host Committee. I serve as the Chair of our Committee. The other members of the Committee are:

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded

with a single clap of recognition . . .

Jack Dempsey, Executive Board Member, Local 9410; Roger Lofton, Vice President, Local 9511; Rose Morales, Executive Board Member, Local 9423, Valerie Reyna, Steward, Local 9418.

We are being assisted by many other members of Locals here in District 9.

I'd like to ask the members of the Host Committee to please stand. Most of them are probably out there working very hard on your behalf. Let us take a minute to show our appreciation for their work with a nice round of applause. (Applause)

Throughout the week, the Host Committee will be able to answer your questions and help make your stay in San Francisco as enjoyable as possible. Just stop by their booth if you have any questions.

On Tuesday night, the Host Committee will sponsor a dance at the San Francisco Hilton Towers Hotel, Grand Ballroom B, from 8:30 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. This is always one of the social highlights of our Convention, and this year will be no different.

Tickets are on sale for \$10.00 per person and can be purchased at the Host Committee's booth.

At this time, please join me in welcoming our first guest speaker, the Mayor of San Francisco, Art Agnos. (Applause)

I have been informed that the Mayor is on his way and has not arrived yet. So we will go on to the next speaker.

Our next speaker is Walter Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council. (Applause)

Walter Johnson has served as the Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council since his election in 1985. He is also the President Emeritus of the Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.

He came to San Francisco after serving in World War II, and became the Business Agent and then President of Local 1100 a few years later. He has served in Many offices at the International level of the UFCW. He has also held a variety of community services posts, including membership on the Boards of the Bay Pacific Health Plan, the Council for Civic Unity, Western Opera Theatre, the Nature Conservancy, the Organize Training Center, San Francisco State University, San Francisco Private Industry Council, the Shelter Network, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.

He is founder and President of San Francisco Renaissance and is Vice President of the San Francisco Organizing Project.

Please join me in welcoming Walter Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council. (Applause)

WALTER JOHNSON (Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council): Thank you very much. It is an honor and a privilege to be here with this very great organization.

I think all of you realize that San Francisco is one of the outstanding cities in the world, and I have to emphasize that point whenever I greet someone to make sure that they well understand, even though we may be a little provincial, that we are somewhat different.

I use the example of the four women who had passed away and went up to the Pearly Gates. When they got there, to the first one St. Peter said, "Where are you from?"

She said, "Cincinnati."

He said, "You can go in."

The next one, "Where are you from?"

She said, "Pittsburgh."

"You can go in."

The next one, "Where are you from?"

"Strangely enough, Philadelphia."

He said, "You can go in."

To the last one he said, "Where are you from, ma'am?"

She said, "San Francisco."

Not that we are provincial or anything of that nature. I wouldn't want you to think that we are that way. Actually, when you get to greet people like this and the local folks know you are going to do it, they start bothering you. I know I have been getting a lot of calls from Marie Malliett of 9410 at night, sometimes at midnight, saying, "Say something nice." Harry Ibsen, of course, told me this morning to emphasize that he is the Vice President and all those nice things. So I'm like Jack Benny. They say, "Your money or your life." I want to tell them all that I am thinking something nice.

Of course, Ken Majors who arranged this told me to follow the rules of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Be brief, be sincere, and be seated. Thank you very much, Ken, for nothing. (Laughter)

Harry said this morning to say something very nice about him and to compare him to Leon Olson of the Typographical Union. Harry learned a long time ago that the art of working is looking busy with nothing to do. (Laughter) And I think of all the people in the Bay Area, Harry probably does nothing as well as anyone, and I think he deserves an applause for that. (Laughter and applause)

I am sure there is agreement on that out there, Harry.

And incidentally, I am not the Mayor of San Francisco, but since everyone else is running, I think I might too. (Laughter)

Then you notice different things about different Locals. One thing I notice about Marie Malliett's crew, when I came to the Labor Council-- of course, I have known Marie for several years, but when I came to the Labor Council, I looked over and saw her crew there: young, vibrant. And I said, "There is the future of the Labor Movement." And I worried. (Laughter)

And then I noticed something different about the Local. If you have seen Marjorie Marks and John Moore, and some of those, they are always smiling. You notice that? I think they are the smilingest Union in the whole United States of America. And I wondered why.

And then I sneaked over there one time and they had regular classes in how to smile. (Laughter) Marie has them up there in front. And she gives a short, quick smile, or the long smile, or whatever it is. And so they are all very good smilers and we compliment them on that.

But moving into being serious: I think it is important and it is not really very hard to say good things about CWA because you are always there. And I have to mention one more thing about Marie because she did give me a nice check, and I want to earn it. (Laughter) And that is that a lot of you may not know that Marie was a concert violinist, and she played with the symphony here.

The conductor had them all practicing each night for about a month before a big concert. They were practicing their music every night. And Marie was there every night practicing and doing an outstanding job, but there were other people missing from the rehearsals. And so the night before the concert, the conductor said to Marie and to the rest of them, "I want to give a special thanks to Marie for being here every night in our practice. She is an example for the rest

of you."

And Marie said, "That is the least I can do because I can't make the concert." (Laughter)

The reason I used that is because the CWA does practice all the time, but they are always at the concert for Labor. And I think that is the important thing that we have to realize about your organization. That is that you are there.

The people in this room have the ability, and after this convention is over, we do not want to leave all of our effort here in the locker room. We have to get it out on the playing field.

There are many examples, and I used to use the three C's that are the problem in society. That is compassion, care and complacency. Complacency turns us around and takes us away from doing what we should be doing.

But fortunately, in your organization, you have a President who is identified with another C, and that C is courage. And I want to thank President Morton Bahr for his courage in standing up when necessary on the social issues in America. And I believe that he deserves all of our thanks for setting an example for the rest of us in the Labor Movement. (Applause)

There are many things today in the world that need our interest, but it takes people to speak out. And to remain silent when we should speak out makes cowards out of men and women. Certainly Morton Bahr does not remain silent. And for that, in the Bay Area, when we look to the East for inspiration and guidance, rest assured one of our main people that we look to is Morton Bahr, because in the past he has always been ready to stand up. For this I personally thank him because sometimes it is a very lonely place to be.

I wonder sometimes when we talk about the president -- remember, we have just gone through a war and he is living on those laurels, and I wonder about him. He has already stated to the Secretary of Labor that he will veto the Anti-Striker Replacement legislation.

If I am a service person and I come back and go to work in a plant, or for the CWA in some position if I am with a phone company, if I go out on a strike and I go on strike and I am replaced by a permanent strikebreaker, I will ask President Bush the question, "Will the flag be there for me then as it was when I was over in the Middle East?" (Applause)

I will also ask him when it comes to national health care, "Will the flag be there as it should be?" These are the questions that have to be answered. And rest assured, I am not and I am sure you are not ready to concede the elections in 1992 to George Bush. (Applause) I am not ready to do that. (Applause)

I will make a prediction right now that we are on the edge of a new human rights and civil rights revolution because people are tired of being numbers, tired of being looked upon as only automatons. And who knows that better than you folks in CWA when you are being replaced by machines?

That reminds me of when Walter Reuther was asked a question by the General Motors President when they first started in automation. They said, "Walter, I wonder how you are going to collect dues from these machines."

And Walter Reuther said, "I wonder how you are going to sell them automobiles." (Laughter and applause)

We are not going to replace human beings. We are not going to be ruled by people like Dan Quail. I have an example of that. Recently somebody gave Dan Quail a child's jigsaw puzzle with 26 pieces in it. After two weeks, he put it together. (Laughter) He was very proud of that. He called in President Bush and some other ones and showed them his great accomplishment. They said, "But it took you two weeks to do that."

He said, "Yes, but look at the bottom. It says, "For 2 to 4 years." (Laughter and applause)

Well, one of the weaknesses that you have when you are a Labor person and you get up in a group like this is I want to follow the rules that Ken told me about: Be brief, be sincere and be seated.

But, we are on the edge, we are on the threshold of a new age. I predict that 1992 is going to be 1932 revisited, and we can elect a president like Franklin D. Roosevelt, one that is not insulated from the combat and the roar and the screams of the wounded in our society. because we have to shake up the politicians today. It is the Labor Movement that is going to change the world, not any other group, and we know that we have the power to do it. But we are on this verge of a new threshold and a new victory.

But, also I want to say once again thanks to President Morton Bahr. I want to put out this little message of caution. On the plains of hesitation bleach the bones of thousands who, upon each victory rested, and, while resting, died.

Brothers and Sisters, we cannot rest. We must carry the social conscience flag into the future. We can do it, because we have the power and we can do it together.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: Thank you, Walter Johnson.

At this time please join me in welcoming the Mayor of San Francisco, Art Agnos. (Applause)

The son of Greek immigrant parents, Art Agnos was elected Mayor of San Francisco in 1987 with seventy percent of the vote, the largest vote for any nonincumbent in this century.

As mayor, Mr. Agnos continues to build on the record of innovation and progressive politics that characterized his six terms as a California State Assembly member representing San Francisco.

He initiated a new approach to the homeless that looks to long-term solutions, started comprehensive interdepartmental pilot projects aimed at finding a creative solution to the crack cocaine problem, and named the city's first task force on the HIV epidemic to include people with AIDS as well as business, religious and community leaders.

His leadership on AIDS led to his appointment this year as chair of the U.S. Conference of Mayors AIDS Task Force.

Working with the Board of Supervisors, Mayor Agnos developed and signed landmark legislation protecting workers from health and safety risks associated with video display terminals.

The New York Times called the legislation "a model for other states and municipalities."

One of the mayor's greatest challenges came with a 7.1 earthquake on October 17, 1989.

Mayor Agnos initiated and supervised a widely praised recovery effort that included regional cooperation through the establishment of the Northern California Earthquake Relief Fund.

Mayor Agnos is married and the father of two sons.

During his many years of public service he has received numerous awards for his work on behalf of small business, the elderly, children and human rights.

Please join me in giving a warm CWA welcome to the mayor of our Host City, the Mayor of San Francisco--Art Agnos. (Applause)

HONORABLE ART AGNOS (Mayor, City of San Francisco): Good morning, everyone. It is good to see this auditorium filled with so many men and women from the Labor Movement, Organized Labor, good to be with old friends--Valerie Reyna, whom I have known long before I became mayor of this city and who played an important role in my becoming mayor. And welcome to the many members of CWA to our city.

As I do with every large group that I welcome to our city, I want to thank you for something that you just heard about. Our city, on October 19, 1991, was struck by a tremendous earthquake, the largest earthquake to affect us in 83 years, and we struggled, and we came back very quickly. As you travel around our city, you will see we have come back, so that you can hardly see any damage at all anywhere in our city.

That is no accident. It is because the people in this city were supported tremendously by people from all over this country, who wrote us checks and sent us messages of support, tangible and concrete evidence of that, with people coming here to help us. And I want to thank all of you, and I hope you take back San Francisco's message of thanks for helping us recover from the worst catastrophe to hit this city in 83 years.

You meet in our city in a very important time. I cannot emphasize enough how much we need Organized labor to, as Walter Johnson said so eloquently a few moments ago, help us set an agenda for the next century, just as it was Organized labor who demanded action on an agenda from the very beginning of this century.

This year, San Francisco signed a new law on workplace safety for operators of video display terminals. (Applause)

The CWA played the key, instrumental role in that.

It is a new law that will protect, as you know, video display terminal operators in our city, and it is already being used as a model throughout our nation. There have literally been hundreds and hundreds of requests from every single state in the Union, from every large industrialized country in the world, to see what we did in San Francisco and how we did it, so that they can learn from it. And San Francisco is setting out to prove that a law which protects workers is a success for everyone in our city and in our society.

It would not have happened without Labor bringing the issue to the table, without Labor doing the legwork and the homework and, most of all--most of all--without Labor being united and strong on this issue.

And I am proud of you for helping to bring San Francisco once again to the forefront of the cutting issues that affect our city and state.

Last Friday I signed another important first of a kind new law in our city that deals with the health care of workers in our city workforce. It is an expanded definition of family of city worker benefits, and it now allows the domestic partners of city workers to be eligible as family members. (Applause)

And it is interesting, the sign-ups from 250 have been half and half- half lesbian and gay, and half straight, as people redefine the meaning of family as it affects their worker benefits and it wouldn't have happened once again, it wouldn't have happened without the strong active leadership of labor as members of the family policy task force that the Mayor created and later, at the bargaining table, negotiating over benefits.

It sets a standard that you will be seeing and hearing more about in your respective communities that allows and legalizes the right of each worker to determine for himself or herself, regardless of their sexual orientation, who is their family and who they want to use their worker benefits for.

Obviously there is no question that health care is going to be the most pressing issue for all of us. The proposal from the AFL of CIO to establish a national health care plan needs to move off the drafting table and into the legislative arena.

If the United States government can devise a health care plan that pays for the needs of all of the men and women in uniform, military uniform, then surely it can devise a health care plan that covers the people who wear the uniform of the working men and women in this city and this nation. (Applause)

The borders of America that need protection are the borders where working men and women need health care in this country, and the high cost of education for our children and the high cost of home ownership, and it's time to build a national defense that protects us at all of those border points, and do it right away.

San Francisco is ready to join you as a partner in those efforts and to listen to your leadership, to offer you our experiences and work together on that common agenda.

In short, we know in San Francisco, if we know nothing else, that if Labor succeeds, all of us, all of us win.

Welcome to San Francisco. We wish you a very successful Convention.

Thank you very much.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded at length as Mayor Agnos left the podium . . .

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: Thank you, Mayor Agnos. (Applause)

Now it is my pleasure to present to you the Vice President of CWA District 9, Harry Ibsen. (Applause)

Vice President Ibsen began his work in the telecommunications industry in 1956 as a communications technician for AT&T in Denver, Colorado after serving four years in the United States Navy as an electronics technician.

He transferred to San Francisco in 1966 as an engineering associate for AT&T and worked here until 1973, when he was elected President of CWA Local 9415 in Oakland, California.

He was re-elected in 1976, 1979 and again in 1982.

In June of 1983 he was elected Vice President of CWA District 9 and re-elected in 1986 and 1989.

Harry is an elected Vice President of the California State Labor Federation and a member of its Legislative Committee.

He also served as a United Way trustee for Alameda County and on various United Way budget committees.

He has also served on the City of Oakland Cable TV Commission, and as a member of the election committee for Assemblyman Tom Bates and for Oakland City Council Member Mary Moore.

I am pleased to present to you my Vice President, Harry Ibsen, Vice President of District 9. (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HARRY IBSEN (District 9): Thank you, all. Good morning, Brothers and Sisters. Welcome to the City of St. Francis. This is the tenth time CWA has held our annual Convention in California and the fourth time we have met in San Francisco. On behalf of the Locals and staff of District 9, I welcome you, once again, to California.

San Francisco is known all over the world as "The City that knows how." This city "knows how" because of its ongoing tradition of active, progressive Union members.

As you have heard from previous speakers, this year, San Francisco adopted legislation to provide protection for VDT workers. This legislation was proposed and its passage made possible by the concerted actions of San Francisco Unions with CWA and Local 9410 playing a leading role.

CWA and 9410 are now playing the leading role in the effort to bring justice to the cab drivers of this city. Through our associate member program, "The Association for Workplace Justice", which is jointly funded by CWA and the Northern California/Nevada Council, we are seeking to

organize San Francisco cab drivers.

Drivers have to pay as much as \$75 per shift for the privilege of working, have no benefits, and must sign away workers' compensation, disability and unemployment insurance rights.

During your stay here, as we ask you to participate in our organizing drive. Take lots of cab rides and give your drivers the flyers provided at your tables.

These drivers need a Union. Help us make that Union CWA. (Applause)

Now as your host Vice President, I have the honor of introducing our President, Morton Bahr.

You may recall that it was in San Francisco in 1985 that we first elected Morty as our President.

As CWA's third President, he has seen his tenure in office marked by corporate greed and government-sponsored attacks on America's working people. Of particular impact in our industry and our Union has been the divestiture of the Bell System and the ongoing continuing deregulation of the industry.

Confronted by these issues, many would have fallen into cynicism and despair. But not Morty.

Morty's response has been to revitalize labor's proven values and strategies of the past. He has made "Organize the Unorganized," "An injury to one is an injury to all," and "Solidarity," more than shop-worn sentimental slogans.

Under his leadership, CWA's organizing efforts have been coordinated across the country, bringing in thousands of new members from the public sector and private industries. And, through his leadership, CWA's voice has been present in every "Jobs For Justice" campaign around the country.

But, to just recite Morty's accomplishments won't give you the real essence of Morty's leadership. To do that, one needs to impart the energy, enthusiasm, and optimism that Morty brings to CWA.

So, to help me do that, I've asked one of CWA's newest affiliate members, David Welsh, Workers Education, Local 189, to perform for us the anthem of the American Labor Movement but in a way which reflects Morty's energy and enthusiasm.

Brother Welsh and "Rockin Solidarity Forever".

. . . The delegates joined in applause in unison as Brother Welsh delivered a very moving rendition of "Rockin Solidarity Forever" . . .

VICE PRESIDENT IBSEN: Thank you, Brother Welsh.

Sisters and Brothers, our President, Morton Bahr.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded at length as President Morton Bahr came to the podium . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

Solidarity.

. . . Cries of "Hooray" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you. Thank you very much, Harry, for that enormous introduction, and perhaps setting the tone for this week.

On behalf of Jim Booe and the members of the Executive Board, I want to add my welcome to the delegates, alternates, visitors and guests to our 53rd Annual Convention.

With the wide recognition that the expansion of multinational corporations across the world requires greater international union and worker solidarity, we are pleased to have representatives with us from fourteen unions from fourteen countries.

Among them are representatives from newly formed democratic free trade unions in Eastern Europe, and we are so very pleased to have them with us. You will have an opportunity to meet them later today.

I want to add our thanks, the thanks of the Executive Board, to the District 9 Locals and Host Committee for the wonderful hospitality they are showing us. Please join me in demonstrating our thankfulness. (Applause)

I am also particularly pleased that one of CWA's outstanding leaders is with us. Please join me in giving a big CWA welcome to our President Emeritus, Glenn Watts.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: And his wife, Bernice. (Applause)

And now, of course, the lady that marches alongside me every day, my wife Florence. (Applause)

San Francisco is a wonderful city. While you won't have much time to see any of it during the next three days, I do hope you will have that opportunity before going home. For me, my heart will always belong in San Francisco because, as Harry Ibsen pointed out, it was here that you first elected me president of our great union almost six years ago.

Now, six years is not a long time in the history of our Union. But I would say without fear of any contradiction that no union in the history of the American Trade Union Movement has experienced such dramatic upheaval and change as did CWA during that brief period, compared to six years ago.

Today state and local government and health care workers have become a larger and more influential part of our Union.

Our public sector membership is expanding in New Jersey, New York, New Mexico, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas, as well as in many towns and cities across the nation.

It is four years since the merger of the ITU with CWA. The transition pains are over and we are ready to concentrate on the tens of thousands of unorganized workers in the publishing, printing and media industry.

But most of all, our Union has faced a continuing restructuring within our basic industry, telecommunications. Many of these changes have been tough for our members and for our Union.

Yes, we have been battered. We have been challenged. And occasionally we have been stretched to the limits of endurance. But we have not been broken. We have been willing to take the necessary course of action, however painful or difficult, to protect our members and our Union.

Today, we meet in San Francisco more united and more determined than ever before. As we prepare for bargaining in the telecommunications industry next year, let no employer mistake our will. We are not the kind of people who tolerate being pushed around by anyone.

Just ask management at AT&T, NYNEX, Pac Bell, or any of our other employers. No, we do not call a job action or a strike at the drop of a hat. But when we do, we mean it.

We understand that the short-term sacrifices of today are a small price to pay for the long-term gains that we can achieve for tomorrow. Our members would expect nothing less from the Union with its eyes on the future.

The sacrifices of CWA and IBEW members working at NYNEX in 1989 along with the willingness of our Union to place all of our resources behind those members led to an extraordinary course of events.

First, virtually all of the former confrontational management have been replaced; replaced by managers who indicate they believe that our fortunes are intertwined; that for the company to prosper, so must the Union and its members.

Earlier this year, the management asked us if we would be willing to try to reach an early contract agreement which would in effect extend the current contract through August 1995.

Management said they would be willing to bargain jointly, at the same table, with CWA and IBEW. Regretfully, we failed to reach our objective and negotiations were suspended on June 16.

We came painfully close. Perhaps it failed, because we did not face a contract expiration deadline. I don't know.

But, I do know that the relationships that were developed between the two unions and the management will stand us both well in the future. Unfortunately, it took sixty thousand workers seventeen weeks on the picket line and millions of dollars in strike benefits to bring about this change.

As I look about this room, I can only wonder what track our other employers will follow next year. Will they try to test our resolve, or will they meet us as partners at the bargaining table?

Those companies who meet us as partners at the bargaining table will find us willing and anxious to work with them to deal with the challenges of the competitive environment. We are open to new thinking and creative solutions to our mutual concerns. Those that may decide to test our resolve once again will find that we are united, that we are mobilized, and that we are ready. (Applause)

As we prepare for telecommunications bargaining in 1992, there are many broader, more wide-ranging issues, we must consider beyond the traditional improvement in our wages, benefits, and job security.

This is what I mean: for the past six years, we have worked to redefine labor relations in the telecommunications industry. Now, we must redefine the role of our Union in the industry and in our society. We must confront what I believe could be the most difficult challenge in CWA's history.

The time has come for us to demand a stop to the shifting of our jobs by many of our employers to non-union workers, subcontractors and to foreign nations. (Applause) The time has come for us to call a halt to the de-unionization of our employees and of our nation. (Applause) This is a fight that affects all our members, a fight that we must win if we are to protect our ability to negotiate good contracts, and to keep the power to make positive changes in the communities where all of our families live.

Until now, most of our resources have been directed to protecting the jobs of our existing members. We have spent enormous time and much of our energy to find innovative ways to keep our members from joining the ranks of the unemployed. Yes, this is important work that we must continue. But our policy must shift. We must fight to "re-unionize" our work, to take back our work and our jobs.

The strategy of nearly all of our employers today focuses on cutting our jobs. Thousands of our state worker members in New Jersey and city workers in New York face layoffs even as we meet here today.

Operators and service representatives from California to Florida face the loss of their jobs because of robotics technology, while new technology is speeding up the work of the remaining jobs.

Technicians in AT&T, United, GTE and many of the local telephone companies see their work contracted out, even as their jobs are eliminated.

Printers barely hang on to their "lifetime job guarantees" as they watch their work shifted to non-union workers in the same building and see the collective power of their union evaporate.

Our jobs are shipped overseas as our employers invest more capital abroad while ignoring job-creation at home. Some of our employers set up new subsidiaries as non-union operations to purposely dodge our collective bargaining agreements. At the same time, they deny laid off union workers the opportunity to transfer to these new jobs.

Our employers are buying other companies whose top managers publicly brag about their non-union status and pledge to fight CWA in order to continue the exploitation of their workers.

One of the more heralded is AT&T's hostile take-over of NCR. On June 6, just a few weeks ago, Vice President Irvine and I met with AT&T management to discuss the impact of NCR's acquisition on our members. We were told that there are about 1,050 CWA represented field computer technicians; about 350 would stay with AT&T to maintain the company's own computers and about 350 would be transferred to NCR.

I remarked that my quick arithmetical calculation indicated that there were still 350 technicians unaccounted for. The silence from the management representatives was answer enough.

We asked: "You are going to transfer all of AT&T's commercial computer customers to NCR and lay off some 350 CWA members who are currently serving those customers?" Again the silence was response enough.

We made it very plain, and I repeat that promise now, if the transfer of our work to NCR results in the layoffs of a single CWA technician, we will do whatever is in our power to see that AT&T loses its computer customers (Applause) and we will not relent until that customer base is totally eroded. (Applause)

. . . The delegates displayed their CWA - Wall to Wall banners . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I personally resent as President of this Union, being put in a position to put this kind of challenge out publicly, but this kind of corporate conduct is totally unacceptable and outrageous, and it will be met with an appropriate response.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: So it should be abundantly clear to all that the strategy of many of our employers-- I repeat, many; it would be unfair to use a broad brush because there are some, a minority, that truly want to work with us. But the strategy of many of them is to contain the Union in an ever-shrinking core, eliminating our jobs, and maintaining a barrier to access the new jobs.

One need not be a labor relations scholar to understand that as the non-Union workforce grows and the Union workforce shrinks, our position at the bargaining table diminishes and our power in the political arena weakens.

Are these forces beyond our control? Are these changes as inevitable as the tides or the sun or the moon. I say no.

We can protect our jobs and extend the benefits of trade unionism to non-Union workers.

Our mission can best be summed up with these words: "CWA - Wall to Wall."

. . . Applause, cheers, the waving of banners and chants of "CWA - Wall to Wall" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

To those who might not have got the message, this means that CWA must be recognized by all of our employers for all employees in that company who can legally belong to the Union -- no

exceptions. No excuses. (Applause and cheers)

So, remember the phrase "CWA - Wall to Wall." You will be hearing it frequently.

The biggest threat to our jobs is not from international competition, advanced technology or deregulation. The biggest threat we face is from corporate greed.

The majority of our members are working in the expanding sectors of the economy. Our employers are successful, many of them posting record profits each year. While they quibble with us over a quarter or a half a point in pay raises for our members, the top executives are paid salaries and bonuses that are a national disgrace. (Applause)

Over the past five years, while average wages for our members in the former Bell System companies and GTE rose less than 15 percent, the average salary increase of those nine CEOs was almost 50 percent. (Boos)

The increases range from a modest 10 percent for the chairman of NYNEX to an obscene 82.5 percent -- guess who -- to the chairman of AT&T. (Boos)

The average CEO's salary in telecommunications is 50 times higher than the average wage for bargaining unit members. Contrast this to the 15 times in Japan and many European nations. And those numbers do not include the millions in deferred income the CEOs will realize in the years ahead.

We intend to call to the public's attention the shameful salaries and perks that their telephone calls are paying for. (Applause)

Management hides behind so-called competitive and regulatory pressures and the threat of foreign imports to demand more concessions, more layoffs and more cutbacks, when, in fact, they are driven solely by short-term profits and greed.

And I say, and I think you join me in saying, enough. No more. (Applause and cheers)

I am convinced that together we can fight and win the battle for Union jobs in our industry and in our nations.

How can we do it? I am reminded of a story about the late Jacob Javits, the former U.S. Senator from New York, told to me by Senator Paul Simon of Illinois. Senator Javits suffered from Lou Gehrig's Disease, which, as you know is an illness that affects your nervous system and results in total paralysis.

Just days before Senator Javits' death, he was lobbying in Washington for more federal funds for research. He was in obvious distress as he was pushed around in his wheelchair and plugged into a respirator so that he could breathe.

Senator Paul Simon asked him, "Jack, how do you find the strength to do this? You are an inspiration." Communicating as best he could, Senator Javits replied, "You have to have a mission in life. But more than that, you must have passion about your mission."

Mission and passion. We have identified the mission, CWA - WALL TO WALL - UNION JOBS - CWA JOBS. Now we must inspire the passion and the commitment to be successful in our mission. (Applause)

I know that words like mission and passion may sound melodramatic to some. Many of you probably feel more comfortable going about your jobs without such emotion. But each year, I become more convinced that the conditions of working women and men in our country will not improve unless we become more passionate, more committed, more angry, more emotional about our cause. (Applause)

No, we are not going up against the inevitable when we fight for union jobs. What we are doing is challenging a management attitude that cares little about you or our members.

No matter about your years of service, your ability or your performance. To them, every one and any one of our members is expendable. Only one force stands up for Jobs with Justice, the Union, us, CWA. (Applause)

There are many opportunities for us to be successful. For example, in Australia and other countries, operators monitor shut-ins such as cardiac patients on a daily basis as a public service. Certainly our operators can do this kind of work here. US West, AT&T and the anti-union cable giant TCI have announced plans to provide a service where customers can order video films by phone through the cable network. Will our members handle those calls? Or will the company invent some new title or some new subsidiary?

The answer lies in our ability to impact on corporate decision-making through mobilization and community power.

In New Jersey, while thousands of state workers face layoff, tens of thousands of other workers are doing similar work in many cases as contractors of the State. They work at near poverty wages. Halfway houses and group homes take care of the mentally disabled at wages of \$6.00 an hour. Meanwhile, state institutions are closed and the work is transferred to the new contracted-out workforce that provides these services-- a workforce denied job protection, or even the legal right to organize.

Well, we do have the power in New Jersey and around the nation to change these policies, if we correctly mobilize our members and the community.

As we prepare for bargaining next year with some of the largest corporate employers in North American, our battle cry must be: Union Jobs. . .WALL TO WALL, Union Jobs. . .WALL TO WALL, Union Jobs. . .WALL TO WALL.

. . . The delegates waved their Wall to Wall banners . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: If we do that, we will see unorganized workers respond to our message, because they will want to be part of our movement and our Union when they see us fight for, and win, union jobs; not only for ourselves and our children, but for them as well.

Yes, CWA - WALL TO WALL must be the focus of our collective bargaining in the years ahead. Think of what we can achieve as we build our Union in telecommunications, the public sector, health care and printing and publishing. We can protect our health care benefits, with better pay, higher living standards, real job security, and hope for a better future.

CWA - WALL TO WALL must be the focus of our organizing efforts. Yes, organizing is tough as we face the worst and most insidious union-busting by employers in this century. But we must continue to build bridges to our unorganized brothers and sisters.

Later this week, we will hear from courageous workers at Sprint, AT&T/Paradyne and nurses from Mercy Hospital in Buffalo. These workers are fighting successfully to build the Union in their workplaces. Give them a message to take back to their co-workers that our fight for union jobs is a battle for dignity, decent benefits, fair pay and hope for the future for all workers in North America.

Give them a message to take back to their co-workers that CWA is a union that sees a mission, and feels a passion about our fight. The fight for Union jobs cannot be made only at the collective bargaining table. For what good is a union job if your employer has the right to permanently replace you when you exercise your right to strike?

Last year, in 1990, more than 26,700 men and women-- 26,700-- who went on strike were permanently replaced. This equates to eleven percent of all those who were forced on strike last year having been discharged. Only the total unity of the New York Labor Community, with the support of the national AFL-CIO, prevented the 2,400 strikers at the New York Daily News from being added to these statistics.

While there were many heroes in the victory at the News, the man who guided the strikers

and kept the six unions together, the man who is recognized by all as the person responsible for the defeat of the Tribune Company at the Daily News, the person acknowledged by all who led the sale and purchase of the paper by a new owner who is willing to work with the unions to save the Daily News, is our own George MacDonald, President of the New York Mailers.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Join me in recognizing this union-builder, George MacDonald. Through him, all of the brave union workers at the New York Daily News.

Now, H.R.5 and S.55 will restore the balance in workers' rights and stop the injustice of scabs taking the jobs of striking union workers. You will hear more about this later this week from Barbara Easterling.

As we leave this convention, we must mobilize in the coming year, so that each member of CWA truly understand that "Union Jobs" -- CWA - WALL TO WALL is more than protection for themselves and their families, more than protection for their union. Union jobs protect our way of life and our standard of living. That's what our demand for Union Jobs is all about.

I realize that I have laid out what may seem an immense challenge to you. We must, of course, remain realistic in our expectations. But I also am an eternal optimist in my hopes for the future. Like you, I too share the pain suffered by so many of our members in these difficult times, and the anger toward the management policies which heartlessly create this pain.

But as I stand here looking out at this vast convention floor filled with our delegates, I do not feel overwhelmed by the odds or intimidated by the challenge. Standing at this podium is a privilege vantage point, a sight that I wish each of you could share.

I can see what makes CWA a great union. I see the power of our members, the diversity that is our strength, the breadth and reach of the Union that you represent. And I am inspired. CWA is a union with ideas. We have identified our mission. All of us are motivated by our dedication. Now we must inspire the passion of our cause. And we can do that.

I recall the words of the late Philip Murray, the former President of the CIO. He was asked, "What is the union for?" He was asked that so many times.

And he answered, "To feel the pulse beat of the people; to live close to the people; to understand their problems; to promote the well-being of families and our nation."

To Phil Murray's words, I add, The union also offers hope for a better future; hope for change that will improve the lives of our families; hope for our children and their children.

I want to leave you with a thought that Joe Beirne passed along to me-- and I am sure to others-- many years ago about hope, about how hope can overcome any adversity that you may experience both outside and inside the union:

"Hope is a noble word. It soars above the evils of the world. It reaches out for what we do not have. Hope is a thrilling word. It summons us to achievements undreamed of. It cares not what we were or are, but what we can be."

Brothers and sisters, hope and the mission for or us, for our members, for our union, and for our nations must be, and must always be: "Union Jobs. . .CWA - WALL TO WALL."

Stand with me when I demand it.

Send the message to Corporate America and Canada. Say it loud enough for our members to hear:

CWA - WALL TO WALL, CWA - WALL TO WALL, CWA - WALL TO WALL.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded and chanted "CWA - Wall to Wall" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much.

. . . The delegates arose and extended a great ovation to President Morton Bahr . . .

TEMPORARY CHAIR AFANASIEV: Before I turn the gavel over to President Bahr, I want to thank all the delegates for the opportunity of serving you as Temporary Chair. It has been a very special privilege for me and an experience that I will not forget.

I will now turn over the gavel to President Bahr who will assume the position of Permanent Convention Chair under the rules of our convention. President Bahr.

. . . Applause as President Morton Bahr assumed the Chair . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Join me in thanking Val for the excellent job he did. (Applause)

Would the Credentials Committee come to the platform.

While the Credentials Committee takes its place up here, particularly for the first-time delegates, let me describe for you the use of the microphones and our rules.

In the back of our published Constitution, on page 21, there is a copy of the Permanent Rules of the Convention. So let me advise the first-timers about the microphone on the floor, how they are to be used, how you get recognized to speak, make motions or ask questions. Microphones are also covered in the CWA Constitution on pages 21-23.

There are microphones on the platform for use by our Committees and special speakers, or persons who would have an appropriate occasion to be discussion matters with the convention from the platform and possibly even making motions from the platform microphones.

Now, Microphone No. 1, which is right in front of me, is labeled "Motions." It is for delegates to make motions. The telephone which is associated with the motions microphone-- and it is down right at the level of, hopefully, your face-- is connected directly to our Parliamentarians. They are seated immediately behind me to my right.

Will the Parliamentarians stand as I call their name.

. . . As the Parliamentarians were introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Pat Scanlon, General Counsel, Washington, D.C.

Leon Adair, Special Counsel to District 3.

Harold Jackson, Counsel to District 9.

Now, when you pick up the "Motions" mike to telephone, you are to advise the Parliamentarians of the motion you wish to make. They will give you a preliminary parliamentary ruling. If it is in order, the Chair will be advised and you will be recognized. If you disagree with the preliminary ruling, advise the Parliamentarians. They will then bring that disagreement to the attention of the Chair.

The Chair will then make a ruling, after which, if there is still disagreement, the matter can be placed before the convention to determine whether or not the ruling is proper by voting on whether or not to sustain the Chair's ruling.

There is a microphone designated as the "Privilege" Microphone No. 2, in the center of the auditorium. It is to be used to raise a point of order or a point of personal privilege. It is connected to the Parliamentarians as well.

Many of you, of course, recall that our rules say that you may also raise a point of order by calling out in a loud voice from the floor without going to a microphone.

Microphone No. 4, to my left, is the "Against" mike. Use that microphone to speak against any issue.

Microphone No. 3, to my right, is the "For" microphone. Use it to be recognized to speak for any motion or issue before the convention.

We rotate these microphones under our rules.

The maker of a motion may speak for their motion from Microphone No. 1. Under our rules, there is a five minute limit on debate. There is a red light here on the platform, up to my left. Would you put the light on? Okay. Up there to the left. That light will give you a four minute warning. There is also a small red light at the microphone telephones.

Now, I will endeavor, if I see the light, to tap the gavel lightly, like this-- not loud enough to interrupt your train of thought, but perhaps get your attention that you have one minute left, because at the end of five minutes the microphone will go dead.

In rotation, the movement will be from the "Motions" microphone or the platform to Microphone No. 4, the "Against" microphone; then to Microphone No. 3, the "For" microphone. The rotation also includes Microphone No. 5 for questions if a delegate is at that microphone. The rotation continues until at least two people have had an opportunity to speak for and again, after which a motion to close debate is in order.

As you go to the "For" and "Against" and "Questions" microphones, lift the telephone, give the switchboard attendant your name and Local number and state, or province if it is in Canada. You will be recognized in the order called for under our rules.

Let me introduce the people who will be handling the switchboards and answering as you call from Microphone No. 3, 4 and 5. They advise the Chair on the order to recognize you. They are seated to my left and they are:

. . . As the people were introduced, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Doug Thompson, CWA Representative, District 1.

Calvin Patrick, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President of District 3.

Mike Joyce, CWA Representative, District 4.

Mary Mays-Carroll, Headquarters Staff.

Jennings Wooldridge, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President of District 6, Chair.

Administering the five minute rule will be:

. . . As the members were introduced, as follows, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Linda Crawford, CWA Representative, District 3.

Eddie Jones, CWA Representative, District 6.

During the course of our convention, a verbatim record is kept. The record is carefully prepared by our editing group, seated to my left.

Shortly after adjournment, a complete set of convention proceedings will be mailed to you. You will have thirty days to review the record and report to us any errors you may wish to have corrected. An errata sheet will then be sent to you reflecting these corrections.

The individuals who are editing and indexing for us are:

. . . As each member of the Editing Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Adrienne Taylor, CWA Representative, District 1.

Ed Disch, CWA Representative, District 4.

Lou Gerber, Headquarters Staff.

William Metz, Representative in the Printing Sector.

And Clara Allen, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President of District 1, as the Chair.

To help us with who is to be recognized and to be sure that we follow procedures as provided in the constitution, each day we have two delegates come from the floor. These delegates sit with the people who operate our telephones and keep track of who is asking to be recognized.

For that purpose today, we have two delegates, and I would like to introduce them at this time.

. . . As the members were introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Shelton Wine, President of Local 2203.

Jesse Buckman, President of Local 7795.

Let me introduce the members of the Credentials Committee to you.

. . . As each member of the Credentials Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Wilbert "Bud" Ralston, Local 1021

Louis J. Sarno, Local 1281

Peggy Horton, Local 2101

Emma Henson, Local 2381

Malcolm Babin, Local 3490

Shirley Brazell, Local 3706

Nancy Servis, Local 4603

Susan Baxter, Local 4818

Ronald Gray, Local 6228

Susan Stoll, Local 6009

Lucille Rath, Local 7470

Charles Mitchell, Local 7790

Mary Washington, Local 9000

Kay Lawson, 9408

Daniel Swickline, Local 13591

Donald A. Duncan, Local 14917

Thomas Diekman, District 3, Co-Chair

Dorcas "Doddie" Ditmer, CWA Rep, Co-Chair

Michael P. Ash, Upstate New York/New England, District Director, District 1, Chair.

The Chair now recognizes the Chair of the Committee, Michael Ash.

CREDENTIALS REPORT

CHAIR MICHAEL ASH (CWA District 1, Chair, Credentials Committee): Mr. Chairman, Delegates and guests: I am happy to announce on behalf of the Credential Committee, we have registered over 2800 delegates, alternates and guests to the 53rd Annual Convention.

The Committee appreciates the assistance rendered by the Secretary-Treasurer's office, especially the help of the Information Systems and Membership Dues Departments. With the able assistance of the two departments mentioned, and the further integration of computers in our registration process, we are continuing to improve service to our delegates, alternates and guests.

The Committee also wishes to thank the staff who were assigned to the Committee for their

able assistance. Again, we appreciate the cooperation and assistance of the delegates over the last three days as the Committee has worked to complete its assignment.

Since our last convention, new locals have been added to our ranks. These locals are: 1045 and 1201. Let's welcome these locals.

We shall be reporting on credentials in the following categories:

Category 1: Those credentials properly executed and received on time.

Category 1A: New Units to existing Locals.

Category 2: Credentials properly executed, but late.

Category 4A: Proxy credentials properly executed, but late.

Category 4B: Proxy credentials improperly executed.

Category 5: Unusual circumstances.

Category 1: Credentials properly executed and on time.

The Committee moves that these delegates be seated.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. No Delegate is seeking to be heard.

All in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed. The motion is carried.

CHAIR ASH: In Category 1A, the following locals have received dues for new bargaining units after the 12-month averaging period:

3150; 4703; 4900; 7401; 9412.

Move that these additional votes be approved.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Is there a second to the motion?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. No Delegates at the mike. All in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed. The motion is carried.

CHAIR ASH: Category 2: Properly executed, but late credentials:

3104; 3404; 14901.

The Committee moves the delegates from these locals be seated.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Is the motion seconded?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. All those in favor indicate by aye. Opposed, no. It is adopted.

CHAIR ASH: The Credentials Committee will be in session each day, one-half hour prior to the opening of the convention for the convenience of the delegates and alternates, in the Convention Center lobby registering late arrivals, replacing lost badges and handling other problems. Guests will continue to be registered immediately prior to and during each session for the remainder of the week. Those delegates other than

Category 1, who have now been seated by the action of this convention, may present

themselves to the Committee and obtain their proper badges.

Other delegates who may have arrived late will also be served by the Committee at the registration counters in the lobby.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates, this completes the Committee's Report at this time. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: This is one of the most difficult jobs that Delegates get assigned to. Please join me in thanking the committee for getting this Convention underway. (Applause)

Would the Resolutions and Rules Committee please come to the platform.

While they are coming to the platform, I want to announce that Resolutions 53A-91-2, -3, -4, -5, -9 and -13 are prepared and will be reported by the Resolutions and Rules Committee today, if time permits.

Our normal procedure calls for us to report out resolutions in numerical order. However, in order to accommodate our schedule of events, it may be necessary to rearrange the order in which the resolutions are reported out, and we will endeavor to give this kind of advance notice.

Let me introduce the Resolutions and Rules Committee to you.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Bob Parks, Executive Vice President, Local 2202.

J. C. Smith, Vice President, Local 3218.

Kathy Kinchius, President, Local 9415.

Lois J. Grimes, President, Local 13550.

John J. Ebeling, President, Local 14616.

William Hill, President, Local 1182, Chair.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Recognizing the Chair of the Committee.

DELEGATE WILLIAM HILL (Local 1182, Chair, Resolutions and Rules Committee):

REPORT OF THE RULES COMMITTEE

The Resolutions and Rules Committee met in the City of San Francisco, California beginning on June 18, 1991 for the purpose of reviewing and considering any proposed amendments to the Permanent Rules Governing the Conduct of CWA Conventions. Permanent Rules Governing the Conduct of CWA Conventions can be found printed in your CWA Constitution beginning on page 21 and ending on page 23.

There were no proposed amendments received by the Committee. It is the opinion of the Committee that the Permanent Rules adequately assure the democratic functioning of the Union's Convention.

Therefore, the Resolutions and Rules Committee of the 53rd Annual CWA Convention recommends no changes be made in the Permanent Rules.

HOURS OF THE CONVENTION

Rule VI (Hours of Convention) of the Permanent Rules Governing Conduct of CWA Conventions provides that the hours of the Convention, recesses and other arrangements relating to the Convention shall be established by resolution or motion by each Convention.

BE IT RESOLVED: The regular sessions of the 53rd Annual Convention shall be as follows:

On Monday, June 24, 1991, the Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 A.M. The Convention will be in recess from Noon to 1:30 P.M. and from 3:15 to 3:45 P.M. and shall be

recessed subject to the call of the Chair, but not later than 5:30 P.M.

On Tuesday, June 25, 1991, the Convention shall convene at 12:30 P.M. and shall recess from 3:15 to 3:45 P.M. and shall be recessed subject to the call of the Chair, but no later than 5:30 P.M.

On Wednesday, June 26, 1991, the Convention shall convene at 12:30 P.M. and shall recess from 3:15 to 3:45 P.M. and will continue until all business has been concluded.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the recommendation and motion by the committee. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded from the floor. There does not appear to be a Delegate seeking to speak on it. All in favor signify by raising your hand. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted, and the Convention is now officially in order.

It is now a pleasure for me to introduce to you a man whom I worked very closely with every day of the year, who has an extraordinarily difficult and challenging job, and who I think you all will agree has performed that job quite well in this past year.

It is a pleasure to introduce to you for the purpose of making a report, my colleague, your Secretary-Treasurer, Jim Booe. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: Thank you, President Bahr.

Those of you that attended the Wednesday afternoon session at last year's Convention in Toronto can probably understand why I do not consider that afternoon the height of my 45-year career with this Union. (Laughter)

That was a particularly difficult day for me, but, after tempering some feelings of anger, I accepted the comments that were made by the Delegates as constructive criticism.

Those of you that know me the best probably recognize that was difficult for me to view that criticism in a constructive way; but I did, and after we returned to Washington, I met with my assistants, and I went over what the Delegates had said about us on the Convention floor, and from the Delegates' comments we identified the specific areas of our operation that we thought were principally responsible for the criticism.

Then we met with all of the supervisors and coordinators that work with you and us in my shop and shared the Delegates' perceptions and their comments from the Convention.

We had long discussions about what had happened and what we could do to correct the situation.

We knew that we had come a long way in the five years, but we accepted the fact that we needed really to zero in on the issues that were raised by the Delegates. The supervisors and the coordinators volunteered to set up and serve on task forces to study these and other problems in the Secretary-Treasurer's operations.

I then for the first time in the Union's history had a meeting of all the employees in the Secretary-Treasurer's shop, and I shared with them what had happened and what had been said at the Convention.

Many of the workers themselves volunteered to assist the task forces and express their ideas on how their jobs and our operation could be improved, and from these meetings I sensed a new sense of commitment and willingness to try different approaches on the part of our employee force.

Our task forces determined that part of the concerns expressed by the Delegates could be resolved through better communications, and a better understanding of what takes place in the

Secretary-Treasurer's shop of CWA.

So, with the help of the Staff from CWA's Education and Public Relations Departments, we put together a videotape to explain how the dues processing works in CWA, and with the cooperation of the District Vice Presidents, all of them, we held workshops in all of the Districts this past year and presented the video, along with other information about our operations.

Those meetings provided us the opportunities to deal with the issues on a more personal, face to face, basis and to get input directly from local leaders who were working with the results of what comes out of the Secretary-Treasurer's shop.

The input that we received in these special workshops encouraged us to purchase a laser printer that enabled us to change the H-166 from that big machine operation and present it on an 8-1/2" piece of paper on both sides; it was much more readable, it saved us money, and I am sure will save the Locals money in storage space, if nothing else, in addition to making it easier to read.

The changes in computer programs came about as a result of the task forces' work and our discussions in the District workshops.

These program changes eliminated some of the frustrating problems of wrong addresses and incorrect membership status. We have explained how those program changes worked to all of these workshops. The holding of the workshops in the Districts for Local Secretary-Treasurers, and even in some cases some Local office secretaries, was very helpful to us, and I think helpful to the Local leaders, too.

So, it is our intention to continue to hold future workshops each year, at least one workshop in every district, for secretaries, treasurers and secretary-treasurers.

Most of you are aware that after last year's Convention the CWA Executive Board authorized the Klein and Associates consultants to take a deep look at CWA as an organization. The Klein Company, as part of that, did some extensive evaluating of all of CWA, but particularly the Secretary-Treasurer's operation.

After we received that evaluation, the Board felt, and I agreed, that because of your concerns expressed last year, a more extensive review of the Secretary-Treasurer's operations was in order. So I engaged the Thomas Havey Company, which is our auditing firm, to take a look at our computer system, our practices, our policies, to determine if we were really headed in the right direction.

It was referred to as an EDP audit, to see if we had too much computer or not enough computer, or whether we were using it right.

The Havey firm responded that we had good computer capability. There were some things we needed to change, and we are in the process of changing them.

The Havey Company is a company that deals heavily with large unions, and not mostly corporations; so they understand the way Unions operate and have been very helpful to us.

The firm evaluated our personnel practices and the training we give our employees, and they concluded that our computer systems were properly designed. They did, however, suggest that we upgrade some of our software that had been customized in about 1983 or 1984, but to take the customization out and go back to the generational improvements in that software. They felt that would help us provide better financial data and help us monitor and control costs better.

As of today we have updated 75 percent of that software and expect to complete that effort by the end of the third quarter this year.

In addition, the Havey Company made some suggestions to us regarding personnel practices and recommended some minor changes in the way we handled our work flow. They also recommended a change in our fiscal year, that would allow us more effective use of our total

workforce and other resources. We went to the Board as soon as we got that suggestion, and the Board adopted that recommendation.

So, commencing with July 1, 1991 our fiscal year will begin in July instead of January, and the fiscal year and the budget year will coincide for the first time in our history.

Overall, the firm said that the changes in equipment and personnel practices that we had made in the past few years were sound, but there needed to be some fine tuning. But our framework was a good one.

They also concurred with the Klein study, in pointing out that the service and recordkeeping problems for small bargaining units, very small ones, need attention, and I expect that the new CWA Executive Board Task Force on the Structure and Role of Local Unions that is being chaired by Vice President Bob Johnson of District 4 will address these issues and come back to us with some solutions.

The Secretary-Treasurer's office Task Force on Local Dues Collection Process works and meets directly with Locals on an individual basis.

Recent meetings with individual Locals in Districts 1 and 9 helped us to perfect and advance the Local collection program. This program, we believe, benefits both the International Union and the Locals, and my staff is ready and willing to work and meet with any Local that is interested in this program.

Now, it should be obvious that we focused a lot of our time and effort on the dues problem since the last Convention. However, I want to spend a few minutes now on some of the other areas of my shop's responsibilities.

With the cooperation of the Defense Fund Oversight Committee, the rules and ground rules of the Defense Fund and the new rules for the Membership Assistance Fund were put together and sent to the Locals. There will be training sessions on how to administer the fund as impending needs arise.

We recently selected the Potomac Asset Management Company to oversee the investments of the new Membership Assistance Fund. The Fund currently has a balance accumulated of approximately \$5 million, and we are now paying striker assistance from this Fund.

The traditional CWA Defense Fund still has a deficit balance because of the 1989 strike activities, but the cash flow is such that we recently repaid all the Local loans that the Locals made to the fund during the Nynex strike. So, on behalf of all the members who struck in 1989, I want to thank now the Locals that did show their generosity by loaning money to the Fund during that period of time.

My staff has spent considerable time in the past year preparing for our move to the new headquarters building at 501 Third Street in Washington. We expect the move will be completed next month. We will begin moving on the 13th of July and expect to have everyone in and settled down before the end of the month.

At our May Executive Board meeting I was given the authority to sell the Mercury Building and to look into the feasibility of purchasing the 501 Third Street property. As you may recall, our original arrangements with the owners of the Third Street property gave us the option to purchase the building after seven years. But, because of the fact that the current owner and developer has financial problems, we have now an opportunity to look at the possibility and some alternatives, and we are looking into those possibilities of an earlier purchase of the building.

Of course, I remind you that any proposed purchase of the building will require approval of the Executive Board and will come to a future Convention.

I am happy to report that the General Fund of CWA is currently in the best shape it has been in the last six years. (Applause)

And it want to thank all of my colleagues on the Board. It has been a difficult six years, but I want to thank the Board and the staff and the Locals for helping to bring this about. It didn't happen without so many painful changes taking place and some of them offending us, me, too. But if CWA is to carry out its responsibilities we must make the best use of the dues dollars that we collect from our members.

For many years the International portion of the Union was spending more than we were taking in. That has stopped. And as your Secretary-Treasurer, I plan on keeping it that way. (Applause)

In the future we will continue our efforts to contains costs of CWA's operations, focusing in areas such as office leases, equipment, staff automobiles, telephones, postage and office supplies. But we must keep in mind that the servicing level to our Locals must be maintained.

I have directed my staff to closely monitor our costs and to make suggestions when there are alternatives.

Our CWA Employee Pension Plan continues to be financially sound, and that financial soundness has allowed us to adjust the benefit formula and at the same time reduce our actuarial contributions, which assists our budget situation also.

As in the past, CWA continues to extend support, both financial and by way of protest, to the unions that are having problems around the world.

Telegrams and letters of protest have been sent to the heads and top officials of countries such as Brazil, Chile, Bulgaria, El Salvador and Panama. These protests range from support for contract bargaining issues to requests for investigations involving trade union murders and other forms of brutality to workers.

Of course, El Salvador has been the major recipient of those latter kinds of protests.

We also continue to maintain a close working relationship with the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, PTTI, of which President Bahr is an Executive Committee Member; the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO; the American Institute for Free Labor Development which, incidentally, President Bahr also serves on the Board of Directors; the Labor Council for Latin-American Advancement; the African American Labor Center; the Asian-American Free Labor Institute; the National Center for Labor-Israel (Histadrut); and the U.S. Free Trade Union Institute.

The Glenn E. Watts Cultural Center in Jerusalem is now fully operational, serving as a center for community, cultural and recreational activities.

This center embodies the ideals and principles of CWA's President Emeritus Glenn E. Watts and the objectives of the Camp David Accords that were signed by Presidents Sadat, Began and Carter.

It stands out, as a recent visitor to the Center points out, as a place "where the Arab and Jewish membership, at the Trade Union Level, find considerable ground for cooperation against a common enemy - 'greedy employers'."

CWA's involvement in promoting International Solidarity and support among free and democratic Trade Unions is apparent in our various activities.

But just to mention a few of the International conferences that CWA took part in this last year, we sent delegations to exchange views with the DPG, the Postal and Telecommunications workers of Germany; we sent delegates to a "Meeting on Multinationals in Telecommunications" held in Geneva; a delegation to the "Third PTTI European Conference on Women's Issues" in Sweden, and our exchange of rules with the Zendsutsu, the Telecommunications Workers of Japan, exchange in Tokyo.

Finally, in addition to participation in International conferences and seminars, organizations

such as The George Meany Center and the U.S. State Department, sponsor programs in which CWA participates, as well as programs which allow trade unionists from foreign countries to come and visit their colleagues in the United States.

During the last 12 months we have, in CWA, received visitors from Latin America, Korea, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the Philippines, Zimbabwe, the Caribbean Labor Congress and Mexico, and not surprisingly, the most important subjects that were discussed were deregulation, privatization and human and trade union rights.

As I put these comments together, I took a moment to review that I've said to the delegates in my previous reports, and, while there is a lot of good information in them, I believe I have missed saying something that is very important. What I haven't done is use this opportunity, which comes to me annually, to acknowledge the efforts of the 135 people who work in the Secretary-Treasurer's shop. (Applause)

In CWA, it is ultimately the people behind the leaders who really make the difference of how well we perform.

In one of my earlier reports I was shocked to find the word "I" mentioned five times in one paragraph. The events in the last year have made me further realize that whether we are talking about the activities of CWA as a whole or the Secretary-Treasurer's Office, the emphasis needs to be on "we" instead of "I" or all of our efforts, really, will be in vain.

So I kind of want to thank you for what happened last year at Wednesday's Convention. It has helped me and it has helped the people in my shop to unite and work more effectively as a team.

However, I am not suggesting in any way that you need to repeat it. (Laughter and applause)

You can rest assured, "that day" is firmly embedded in my memory and in the minds of all the people that work in the Secretary-Treasurer's shop.

Again, I want to thank my colleagues on the Board, the staff and the Local leadership for the level of cooperation they have given and are giving my office.

My staff and I look forward to continuing our efforts to work with you to build our Union greater.

In conclusion, as I look back over what has transpired since our last Convention, I believe we have made great strides towards better serving our Members' needs.

I am not saying more improvement isn't needed, but we have come a long, long way, and I pledge to you as your Secretary-Treasurer to continue advancing, taking our great Union onward.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much, Jim.

The Chair recognizes the Chair of the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you. The Chair recognizes Delegate Kathy Kinchius.

DELEGATE KATHLEEN KINCHIUS (Local 9415): If the delegates will please turn to page 2 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read Resolution No. 53A-91-2, entitled "Health Care".

HEALTH CARE

Since the 1940's the Labor Movement has advocated a national health insurance system which would guarantee everyone the right to health care from the day they are born until the day they die.

We believe a single payer social insurance system will best serve the interests of all

Americans by guaranteeing universal access to a universal level of care, unobstructed by out-of-pocket costs. A single payer system could most effectively provide trust cost containment through enforcement of national expenditure caps, universal rate-setting for physicians, global budgeting for hospitals to control and allocate capital, and implementation of national standards for quality care.

CWA understands that the implementation of such a system in this country can not take place overnight. The economic recession and the administration's notable neglect of domestic issues blur the near term prospects for the enactment of the major, sweeping reforms to the health care delivery systems that we demand. The current crisis of soaring costs, 37 million uninsured Americans, mounting threats to the quality of our health care, and continued strife at our bargaining tables, demands immediate attention.

On June 6th, through Jobs and Justice, we broadened the fight for national health care reform. In more than 120 cities, broad coalition groups came together to demand health care for all. At these locations we symbolically cut the red tape wrapped around insurance company buildings.

We did this because we are offended by the fact that 20 cents out of every health care dollar pays for administrative costs and not direct care and because commercial insurers pay 33.5 cents on administration for every dollar they pay in claims while Medicare pays only 2.3 cents in administration for every claims dollar.

Our major contribution to health care reform is to increase the level and breadth of our membership mobilization. Without continuing and increasing levels of mobilization we will not succeed in winning affordable health care for all. Our efforts will have to be sustained-- and may need to await a Democrat in the White House.

Although we will support incremental steps, it is only through universal coverage that we will reach our goal of equal entitlement and coverage. We do not believe that a person should have a different level of coverage simply because they work for a different employer, or because they are retired, or because they have been laid off, or because they went on strike, or because they don't work at all.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America maintain our commitment to mobilization and coalition building for health care reform through Jobs with Justice;

That the Communications Workers of America encourage participation with Citizen Action in the Fall Emergency Drive for Health Care; and

That the Communications Workers of America reaffirm its support for the "Russo" bill and the single payer concept embodied within it.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-2, "Health Care". (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is seconded from the floor.

In microphone no. 3, Delegate Van Dolah.

DELEGATE MARK K. VAN DOLAH (Local 6311): I move that the Delegates vote for this. I think it is a worthwhile cause. In our Local up there, we just got done bargaining for an independent telephone company, and the company tried to force over a 400 percent increase in premiums on those people. We were fortunate enough to get that stopped.

We need to get this voted in. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Hicks.

DELEGATE BEVERLY A. HICKS (Local 3808): Brothers and Sisters, I rise today to ask that you support this Resolution on Health Care. Since our first days as the Communications Workers of America Union, we have bargained, lobbied our politicians, fought and walked many miles on the picket lines to secure health benefits for our members.

Over the last 53 years, we have made benefits top priority during negotiations, many times giving up wage increases to secure better health benefits for our members.

Yet during the past decade soaring cost and the fact that so many companies provide no benefits, have caused a depreciation of these benefits we have fought for.

It is time, Brother and Sisters, to realize that again we, as the greatest union in this world, must lead the fight for a national health care policy. The only way to stop the depreciation of our benefits, is to help secure equal health care to all Americans from the day they are born until the day they die.

I beg you Brothers and Sisters, take a stand, mobilize, and through Jobs with Justice, commit to provide equal health care for all. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates are seeking to be heard on this resolution. Are you ready for the question?

All those in favor of Resolution 53A-91-2 raise your hands please. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is unanimously adopted.

DELEGATE SHERRI L. DEE (Local 3205): Since the delegates have advance copies of the resolutions, I would move that the members of the Committee only read the resolveds of each resolution. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made and seconded.

There are no speakers. All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hands., Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. "A Fair Funding for the Bank Bailout," Delegate Lois Grimes.

LOIS J. GRIMES (Local 13550): If the Delegates will please turn to page 3 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the resolveds of Resolution No. 53A-91-3, entitled "A Fair Funding for the Bank Bailout."

A FAIR FUNDING FOR THE BANK BAILOUT

The Bush Administration has asked Congress to authorize \$70 billion in new federal borrowing to recapitalize the FDIC's Bank Insurance Fund-- the troubled deposit insurance system for commercial banks. If the money is borrowed over 30 years, interest payments will bring the total bailout cost to \$235 billion.

The administration says that the banking industry will repay these government loans to the FDIC through higher deposit insurance premiums. But it proposes to cap insurance premiums at a level that would make it difficult, if not impossible, for the industry to pay off the FDIC debts.

So, just like the S&L debacle, taxpayers are faced with a potentially high damage bill, even though they neither caused nor benefited from the industry's problems. But by acting decisively and placing the burden where it belongs, we can avoid an instant replay of the S&L disaster.

Many authorities, including the General Accounting Office, believe that the banks are capable of bailing out their own insurance fund without compromising the industry's safety and

soundness. Unlike their cousins in the S&L industry, bankers should not be allowed to stall adequate funding of the insurance fund until a solution becomes so expensive that ordinary taxpayers must be tapped.

RESOLVED: That this convention supports a special one-time assessment on bank assets to recapitalize the Bank Insurance Fund and that this levy include foreign deposits in the insurance assessment base.

RESOLVED: That Congress strengthen regulation and the "resolution" process in order to cut down on the number of bank failures, intervene earlier when banks begin to collapse and slash the exorbitant costs of closing and selling off insolvent institutions.

Mr. President, the Resolutions committee moves adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-3, "A Fair Funding for the Bank Bailout."

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Santora.

DELEGATE T. SANTORA (Local 9000): I rise in support of this resolution, one of the most boring resolutions in the package, however, an extremely important resolution.

As a Trade Union Movement, we understand the value of fairness. This resolution speaks to fairness for the United States citizens who are taxpayers, who pay their taxes every year on time, and a little bit too much every time.

It is not our problem that people in the savings and loan industry ripped some other folks off who are not paying for the high profits they have gotten from the investments made, as sleazy as those investments may be. American taxpayers deserve better. The Trade Union Movement deserves better.

I ask for your support of this resolution. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Feller.

DELEGATE DALE E. FELLER (Local 7777): I am from the Mile High City, home of the Denver Broncos, and soon to be a major league baseball city, Denver, Colorado. Unfortunately, it does not give me pleasure to say this, but Denver is also the home of the infamous Neil Bush and the Silverado Savings and Loan. (Boos)

I rise to support Resolution 53A-91-3. We all have had to bear the brunt of the mishandling of the savings and loan debacle, and we must not allow it to reoccur in the banking industry.

It is time Congress passed stronger resolutions to cut down on loan failures and step in to prevent the cost of failures on the backs of working women and men.

I support the one time assessment on bank assets, and want to be sure that it includes all deposits, foreign and domestic.

Please support this important resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates desiring to be heard, all those in favor of Resolution 53A-91-3 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The Resolution is adopted.

It is now time to take the official convention photograph. So if you would all take seats, I will look for some direction from wherever the photographers may be-- I cannot see them from here. Everyone needs to take a seat or when you get home you won't be able to prove that you were here. (Laughter)

You have to be still when the light goes around. It is a rotating camera.

. . . The Official Convention Photograph was taken . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you. (Applause)

The Convention is in recess until one-thirty. Wait. Let us have one announcement.
Secretary-Treasurer Booe.

. . . Convention announcement by Secretary-Treasurer James E. Booe . . .

. . . The Convention recessed at eleven-forty-five o'clock . . .

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

June 24, 1991

The Convention reconvened at one-thirty o'clock, President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the Convention come to order.

Would the Finance Committee come to the platform please.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary-Treasurer.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: Mr. Chairman, I have a couple of pieces of correspondence-- three. The first one is directed to Morton Bahr, President of the Communications Workers of America.

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear President Bahr:

On behalf of the unions of the AFL-CIO, may I extend warm greetings to the officers and to the men and women of the Communications Workers of America as you begin your 53rd annual convention.

Throughout our federation, every union knows that wherever and whenever working people are fighting for their rights, they can count on the CWA to be fighting at their sides--on the job, in the legislatures, in the courts and on the picket line.

On August 31, 1991, Solidarity Day, I know that the CWA will be there again as thousands of unionists from around the country march in Washington, D.C. We will be demanding action on health care for all Americans, action to ban permanent striker replacements, action on civil rights and equality, action on jobs and help for American families, and action to guarantee workers here and around the world their right to free unions to win justice and dignity on the job.

With all best wishes for a very successful and productive convention,

Sincerely and fraternally,

S/Lane Kirkland,
President, AFL-CIO (Applause)

I have an additional letter on the letterhead of the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communication Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Morton:

I regret that I will not be able to join you and the other delegates at the 53rd annual convention of the Communication Workers of America, but wish to express my continued confidence in your efforts toward our common goal of making life better for the working men and women of this country.

I commend and support CWA's ongoing efforts to protect the rights of workers throughout the United States. For years, you and members of CWA have been at the forefront of movements promoting social justice and the rights of working people.

As you know, I have introduced two pieces of legislation in this Congress which address the needs of workers. S.55, the striker replacement legislation, would ban the use of permanent replacements during economic strikes. The right to strike is the foundation of our collective bargaining system. Without S.55, workers risk losing this most vital right.

The OSHA Criminal Penalty Reform Act, S.445, protects the lives and limbs of our workers. This bill would tighten criminal enforcement for employers who willfully violate the Occupational Safety and Health Act resulting in serious injury or the death of an employee. I am working hard to enact these two critical measures during the 102nd Congress.

To you and the 2500 delegates of CWA who will be gathered together on June 24, 1991, I send my most sincere good wishes and pledge to continue doing all that I can to promote the rights of American workers.

Warm regards,

s/Howard M. Metzenbaum
United States Senator
(Applause)

And on the letterhead with the Capitol Dome on top:

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Morton:

It is a great personal pleasure to join in welcoming the delegates to the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America. Your union has long stood in the forefront of social and economic justice in the United States, and it is this commitment that will continue to make its contribution to the history of our great nation.

As we face the challenges in the 102nd Congress, I will again look towards the CWA to assist in moving our legislative agenda. It is with your help we begin to move towards a more adequate health care system for all Americans, increased job security and a continued strengthening of civil rights. I am confident that your organization will approach these challenges and the others with the creativity and energy necessary that will assure the continuation of a dynamic and compassionate economy.

It brings me great pleasure to salute you and your membership and to wish you a successful convention.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

s/Thomas S. Foley
Speaker
(Applause)

Mr. President, that concludes the correspondence. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Jim. Let me introduce to you the members of the Finance Committee.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Linda McPherson, Local 4401; Pete Peralez, Local 9411; Sonja Abbott, Local 3902; Thomas McCalla, Chair, Local 13000; James B. Booe, CWA/Secretary-Treasurer . . .

But before I recognize the Committee, on microphone no. 1, Delegate Tucker.

DELEGATE JIM TUCKER (Local 6320): I move to dispense with the reading of the financial report. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is a second from the floor. Does any Delegate desire to speak? Seeing none at any microphone, all those in favor of the motion to dispense with the reading of the Financial Committee Report indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. The motion is adopted.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Dear Colleagues:

The Finance Committee met in Washington, D.C., April 7 through April 11, 1991, to review and recommend the 1991-92 budget. The Strategic Planning and Budget Review Committee Report adopted by the Executive Board was reviewed, along with all other supporting documentation.

All of the financial books, records, and reports of the Union were made available to the Committee. Representatives of the certified public accounting firm of Thomas Havey & Co. met with the Committee and reviewed the auditing functions they presently perform for CWA. The Auditors' examinations are made in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. In their opinion, their statement presents fairly the financial position of the Union.

The 1988 Convention directed Finance Committees to review the expenditures of each administrative unit and requires any unit(s) which are overspent at the end of the previous budget year to give an explanation to the Finance Committee. Therefore, the Committee directed those administrative heads to provide a written explanation and document the reasons why they exceeded their budget. After reviewing the explanations, the Committee, as directed by Convention action, may recommend that the administrative head(s) make an accounting to the Convention.

The Union continues to experience membership losses because of facility closings and consolidations, attrition, technological changes, and employer reorganizations. This year's budget is based on the loss of 6,000 members, but the number of losses could easily increase. In addition, the average hourly rate of the members we organize is generally lower than the average earnings of our current members. Also, the 1% of our income that is currently diverted to the Defense Fund will be increased to 2% effective October 1, 1991.

The 1990 Convention directed future Finance Committee Reports to include a per capita breakdown, by District, of all dues income and expenses for the most recently audited calendar or fiscal year. The Committee is developing the report through the Secretary-Treasurer's office. The information will be available as part of a supplemental report we will give at the Convention.

The expenditures for the past budget year, for the first time since 1986-87, did not exceed the

total budgeted amount. Those administrative units which performed within their budget are to be congratulated. Credit should also be given to a number of administrative units that have operated within the budget for several years.

Beginning in 1988, and each year thereafter, the Finance Committee asked that the offices of the President and Secretary-Treasurer review the CWA Automobile Policy. An agreement to change the Policy was reached with the Staff Union, however, the commitment made to the 1990 Finance Committee has not been met. This Committee again calls on those responsible to review the Automobile Policy to insure that the vehicles are used in an efficient manner.

We developed this budget by evaluating the requirements and circumstances that currently face our Union. Our report and recommended budget are included, and we urge your support and approval.

In Unity,

Thomas McCalla, Chair (Local 13000)

Sonja Abbott (Local 3902)

Linda McPherson (Local 4401)

Pete Peralez (Local 9411)

James B. Booe, CWA/Secretary-Treasurer

GENERAL FUND

As of December 31, 1990, fiscal year income had exceeded expenses by \$8,223,970. A more up-to-date financial report will be prepared and distributed to all Delegates at the Convention.

OTHER FUNDS

The General Fund provides for the ongoing operations of the Union and, in addition, other designated funds are set aside for special purposes. Those funds and their balances as of December 31, 1990, the latest figures available, are as follows:

(1) Building Fund	\$ 3,028,934
(1) Building Fund	3,028,934
(3) District Organizing Alloc. Fund	734,304
(4) Defense Fund	(6,875,603)
(5) Plant Fund - Fixed Assets	4,781,448

BUDGET EXPERIENCE

GENERAL FUND

Budget and Income experience related to Expenses over the past several years is demonstrated by the following:

(1) 1988-89 Budget Year (see detail Attachment No. 3)

Budget	\$60,883,877
Income	65,078,921
Expenses	61,860,607

	Expenses exceeded Budget	976,730
	Income exceeded Expenses	3,218,314
(2)	1989-90 Budget Year (see detail Attachment No. 3)	
	Budget	64,047,964
	Income	66,221,489
	Expenses	60,864,793
	Budget exceeded Expenses	3,183,171
	Income exceeded Expenses	5,356,696
(3)	1990-91 Budget Year -- 9 months actual - 3 months projected (see detail Attachment No. 3)	
	Budget	62,712,708
	Income	64,542,976
	Expenses	58,684,693
	Budget exceeded Expenses	4,028,015
	Income exceeded Expenses	5,858,283
(4)	1991-92 Proposed Budget (see detail Exhibit A)	
	Budget	64,858,498
	Anticipated Income less	
	Affiliation Dues	64,858,498

The certified public accounting firm of Thomas Havey & Co. currently performs the annual audit of the Union's financial records. Currently the Union's budget year runs July 1 through June 30th and the Union's fiscal year, runs from January 1 through December 31. Acting on advice from the auditing firm, the Executive Board took action in January to have our budget and fiscal years coincide. This will create less confusion when comparing financial data and allow for more efficient use of our work force.

The Committee met with representatives of Thomas Havey & Co. and questioned them regarding the firm's examination of CWA's financial records. We are completely satisfied that the examination was made in conformity with generally accepted auditing standards and that the audit report accurately presents the financial position of the Union.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON ACCOUNTS

The Finance Committee will comment on several accounts in the proposed budget. This is done to highlight specific items to the Convention delegates.

The Committee has agreed, as a rule, to embrace the Strategic Planning and Budget Review Committee Report as adopted by the Executive Board.

ORGANIZING

After review and analysis of the previous years' budgets, it's important to note that the organizing budget has not increased significantly over the past three years. The CWA Organizing Department continues to be a good source of support for Locals by providing expertise, information, and educational materials.

It's also important to note that Locals should expect to incur some expense in organizing

drives because of limited finances.

The International recognizes that organizing is crucial to the future of CWA. In order to be financially healthy, we need to increase our membership by adding new bargaining units. It's also important that we educate and unionize within Locals in order to maintain our current membership levels.

If there were additional funds available in this budget, we would recommend more than the \$2,173,800 that is proposed.

The Committee recommends \$2,173,800

LEGAL

Our legal costs continue to be a significant part of our budget. The Committee feels that we are making progress in controlling our legal costs. A better system of tracking our costs is now in place. To help cut costs, the Committee urges that Staff who are responsible for negotiations should, when practical, continue to include proposals for mediation and expedited arbitration provisions in all contracts. These provisions have proven to be as effective as the traditional arbitration process and are far less costly.

The Committee also urges the utilization of Staff in handling of arbitration cases. This would allow the attorneys to concentrate on legal matters and therefore would reduce costs.

The Committee Recommends \$4,350,000

CONVENTION

The average cost of each Convention over the past five years is approximately \$1,000,000. Therefore, as costs increase, we will need to exercise financial restraint if we are to remain within the budgeted amount. Because of the dates of our 1991 and 1992 Conventions, we will experience some costs from each convention during this budget year.

The Committee Recommends \$1,300,000

CWA NEWS

The funding of this account is mandated by Article XXVI of the CWA Constitution. The Committee's recommendation is based on ten (10) issues of the CWA News being published during the budget year.

The Committee recommends \$1,200,000

CITIZENSHIP FUND

CWA has always shown itself in a leadership role as a "Community-minded" Union. We must continue to respond to civic affairs, programs and activities dedicated to the welfare of all citizens.

The Committee recommends \$50,000

PENSION FUND

Each year our Pension Fund is actuarially reviewed to determine that it is properly funded. A percentage is established which is applied to our full-time payroll to derive the amount required to be paid to the Fund. The allocation also includes the funding required for our Sector Staff and employees who remain under the CWA/ITU Negotiated Pension Plan.

The Committee recommends \$2,600,000

INSURANCE AND HOSPITALIZATION

Included in this account are general insurance policies of the Union, such as liability, automobile, group hospitalization, workers' compensation, casualty, fire, theft, etc. We continue to experience significant increases in our insurance costs. We were advised to expect our medical costs and premiums to increase during the budget year. We also received a significant increase in the cost of automobile insurance. The committee recommends that all insurance and administrative costs that are defined as part of our pension plan be borne by the Pension Fund.

The Committee recommends \$6,596,540

CONTINGENCY

The purpose of this item is to provide for unexpected costs and expenses that are not known or cannot be budgeted to appropriate accounts at the time the budget is prepared. This includes any increased cost as a result of additional Staff or clerical, and any adjustments that may be made to salaries during the budget year.

Expenses such as the CWA 401K Employer Contribution, Staff retirement gifts, tuition reimbursement, rent increases, and salary adjustments are charged to this item. The Committee also included a small allocation to the District Vice Presidents for use at their discretion.

This account will continue to be used to formulate an "adjusted" budget. The Committee realizes that more funds may be needed in this account. There were, however, no additional funds available to adequately provide for unanticipated expenses.

The Committee recommends \$921,136

PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

How CWA is perceived by the public is crucial to the success of our Union. The Committee recognizes that we enjoy a comparatively high level of visibility in spite of having one of the smallest public relations staff of any major union. Unfortunately, our financial situation does not allow the level of funding which the Public Affairs Department requested. Beginning this budget year, all salaries for the Staff and clerical employees of the Public Relations department appear in Line Item 1 and 2 of the Headquarters budget.

The Committee recommends \$500,000

OPERATING RESERVE

This Fund was established for the purpose of accumulating funds to operate the Union for a minimum of 90 days in the event our income is drastically curtailed or cut off completely.

The Committee concluded that because of our experience of having funds cut off during our strikes in 1989, it is necessary to continue budgeting allocations to this Fund. The Committee recommends that \$200,000 of the International's share of back dues from PacBell be diverted to this account. In addition, the Committee is recommending \$100,000 be allocated to this account.

The Committee recommends \$100,000

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Our Union is intricately involved in the Free World Trade Union Movement. This is demonstrated by our continuing close cooperation with other communications unions throughout the world. This cooperation can yield tremendous dividends, and is of growing importance in future bargaining, as proven by the financial assistance and support we received from our sisters and brothers in foreign countries during the 1989 NYNEX strike. This year's budget includes the

funding of activities with our labor colleagues from a number of countries.

The Committee recommends \$150,000

PROFESSIONAL

Included in this account are expenses for audit fees, and miscellaneous professional services such as doctors, consultants, etc. The Union is committed to use in-house talent versus hired consultants whenever practical. This year's allocation includes the hiring of professionals to assist our in-house Staff in preparing for our 1992 major contract negotiations.

The Committee recommends \$480,000

AUTOMOBILE FUND

The purpose of this fund is to provide the operation and purchase of fleet automobiles. While operating costs continue to rise, the Committee asks that the usage of vehicles be in compliance with the Automobile Policy and that steps be taken to ensure that CWA vehicles are used in an efficient manner, consistent with any applicable collective bargaining provisions.

CWA policies and collective bargaining agreements now call for automobile allowances to be paid to newly-hired Staff in lieu of a vehicle being assigned. The same offer was made to existing Staff. There has been a reduction of 19 vehicles as a result, which is not in compliance with the commitment made to the 1990 Convention.

This Committee asks that the Executive Board continue an Action Study on the usage and reduction of CWA vehicles and that these statistics be provided to future Finance Committees, effective July 1, 1991.

The Committee recommends \$600,000

INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The Union continues to better serve its members by using modern technology. Our record keeping and accounting systems are constantly being updated as new programs are developed. This budget item reflects the costs of prior commitments as well as the updating of equipment in the Headquarters and District offices.

A number of requests had to be eliminated in order to balance the budget. The Committee did, however, provide for the purchase of a limited number of additional computers. This allocation also includes an amount for contract services, software packages, supplies, and equipment.

The Committee recommends \$1,563,045

SALARIES - ELECTED OFFICIALS

A part of this Committee's responsibility is to recommend any salary changes we feel are proper for our elected officials' salaries. While we do not believe it is necessary that our officers receive exactly what is being paid to officers in other unions, it is our belief that the current salaries of our elected officials should be increased. Consequently it is our recommendation that the officers' salary adjustment be consistent with the percentage increase received by the majority of our members during 1991. It is further recommended this adjustment be effective July 1, 1991.

FINANCIAL STATE OF THE UNION

We continue to experience loss of membership and our projected membership levels reflect

this fact of life. We also continue to note that our average per capita (and dues) is not increasing as rapidly as it did in past years. This is the result of losses of higher paid members and gains of lower paid members which impact our annual revenues.

We also continue to experience increases in the overall cost of operations that are difficult to control. These expenses include such items as the cost of medical coverage for our employees and retired employees and the increased cost of automobile insurance for our CWA vehicles and costs of rent and operations of our offices across the Union.

We are presenting a tight, balanced budget, requiring all administrative units to operate at or below authorized budget levels.

In addition, the Board must continue to explore all reasonable ways to reduce costs of our operations at all levels.

The Committee directs the Secretary-Treasurer to continue his monitoring of the budget performance of all units in order to operate our union within our budget. The Committee expects each administrative unit to operate within their budgets.

THE FUTURE

It is obvious to the Committee that we must continue budgetary restraints despite the fact that we appear to be over the worst part of our membership loss and financial slump. We must renew our efforts to find new, better and more cost effective ways of doing our work and operating our union.

The fact that we have been doing things in a particular way for a long time is not justification for continuing if it is not the best and most effective way to operate.

We are not suggesting a dues increase. But the reality of our financial situation is that if we do not substantially increase the number of paid dues units (or the amount of the average per capita) we will face more drastic fiscal restraints. Our limited income causes us to continue under funding items and programs that are of critical importance to CWA and its members.

Since 1985 we have searched out all possible ways to reduce our costs without severely cutting services to our members. All of this has taken place during a period of continued inflation in the costs of operating the union (salaries, rentals, transportation, taxes, insurance, etc.).

Only substantially successful growth results (external or internal) can save us from eventually deciding to increase dues or reduce our services to our members.

This Committee and the Executive Board are dedicated and committed to the building of CWA into an even greater organization for our members and their families. In order to succeed, we must ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE --- SUCCESSFULLY!!

BUDGET

The Committee reviewed and considered the Report of the Strategic Planning and Budget Review Committee as adopted by the Executive Board of the Union. After thorough and detailed deliberations, this Committee recommends the following budget for the 1991-92 Budget Year.

Anticipated income to the General Fund Budget will be as follows:

Dues Income:

40% of 2 hrs' pay (26.50 - 2 hrs. avg. 2 mos.)(27.16 - 2 hrs. avg. 10 mos.)

x 438,466 members less subsidy allowances \$56,724,239

Dues Income - PPMWS

23,000 members	<u>3,100,000</u>
Total Dues Income	59,824,239
Deduct: Affiliation Dues	2,958,892
Net Dues Income	56,865,347
Add: Other Income (initiation fees, non-member dues equivalent, sales of material, rents, rebates, incentive awards, etc)	<u>9,086,522</u>
Total Income	65,951,869
Deduct: Defense Fund payments	1,093,371
Net Income estimated as available for 1990-91 Budget	\$64,858,498

As in the past, we recommend the Executive Board use this budget as a positive guide and make every effort to operate within the income of the Union during the period represented by this budget.

Our proposed budget follows as Exhibit A.

A line-by-line explanation of each item in the budget may be found in Attachment No. 1.

TOTAL UNION BUDGET

EXHIBIT A

1991-1992

<u>DIST & NAT'L UNITS</u>	<u>DIST 1</u>	<u>DIST 2</u>	<u>DIST 3</u>	<u>DIST 4</u>	<u>DIST 6</u>	<u>DIST 7</u>	<u>DIST 9</u>	<u>DIST 13</u>
1. Salaries—O & S	1,991,650	641,442	1,595,395	1,194,231	1,301,246	1,142,246	1,039,641	524,242
2. Salaries—Ft-Other	663,802	288,487	738,886	452,671	495,180	424,633	442,966	191,754
3. Salaries—PT	163,675	33,912	85,527	87,196	71,087	73,980	64,055	22,123
4. Expenses—FT	283,500	89,100	218,700	162,000	178,200	162,000	137,700	64,800
5. Expenses—PT	163,675	33,912	85,528	87,196	71,087	73,979	64,055	22,124
6. Supplies & Printing	126,940	27,791	64,913	58,393	54,374	46,536	59,145	17,277
7. Postage—Freight	112,835	24,703	57,701	51,905	48,333	41,366	52,574	15,358
8. Rental of Equipment	71,490	14,923	59,049	59,209	43,244	47,400	49,745	7,766
9. Mtc. of Equipment	18,967	4,293	9,543	7,868	8,181	16,511	6,625	6,301
10. Contract Service	76,139	4,090	37,642	1,585	40,295	23,632	40,463	15,500
11. Tel. & Tel.	164,598	39,057	95,665	84,582	78,439	81,958	77,580	24,862
12. Rent Offc Occupancy	372,964	176,519	442,160	232,640	157,994	102,249	330,516	109,967
13. Rent Meeting Rooms	8,460	1,800	4,320	3,840	3,600	3,060	3,900	1,140
17. All Other	42,313	9,264	21,638	19,464	18,125	15,512	19,715	5,759
TOTAL	4,261,008	1,389,293	3,516,667	2,502,780	2,569,385	2,255,062	2,388,680	1,028,973

TOTAL UNION BUDGET (Continued)

<u>DIST & NAT'L UNITS</u>	<u>COM & TECH.</u>	<u>PUBLIC WRKRS</u>	<u>TELECOM</u>	<u>PPMW</u>	<u>DIST & UNIT TOTAL</u>	<u>HDQTRS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
1. Salaries—O & S	542,544	147,669	147,669	1,138,447	11,406,422	2,358,772	13,765,194
2. Salaries—Ft-Other	174,973	34,284	34,284	147,040	4,088,960	5,201,225	9,290,185
3. Salaries—PT	40,000	0	0	8,000	649,555	6,000	655,555
4. Expenses—FT	72,900	24,300	24,300	196,900	1,614,400	332,100	1,946,500
5. Expenses—PT	40,000	0	0	13,000	654,556	5,000	659,556
6. Supplies & Printing	56,858	0	5,775	111,000	629,002	587,150	1,216,152
7. Postage—Freight	0	0	4,550	8,400	417,725	400,000	817,725
8. Rental of Equipment	54,411	0	465	2,100	409,802	132,525	542,327
9. Mtc. of Equipment	7,742	0	0	2,000	88,031	28,470	116,501
10. Contract Service	500	0	0	41,700	281,546	185,000	466,546
11. Tel. & Tel.	0	0	5,560	45,000	697,301	400,000	1,097,301
12. Rent Offc Occupancy	125,548	32,216	14,635	92,169	2,189,577	2,310,048	4,499,625
13. Rent Meeting Rooms	4,600	4,800	4,800	2,000	46,520	4,000	50,520
17. All Other	15,000	5,000	5,000	7,800	184,590	150,000	334,590
TOTAL	1,135,276	248,269	247,038	1,815,556	23,357,987	12,100,290	35,458,277

GENERAL FUNDS

028	Citizenship Fund	50,000	045	Publicity & Pub. Relations	500,000
029	Organizing Fund	2,173,800	046	Operating Reserve	100,000
031	Legal	4,350,000	047	Foreign Affairs	150,000
032	Convention (Incl. Com.)	1,300,000	048	Education	259,000
033	Executive Board	240,000	056	Professional	480,000
034	Committees and Conferences	225,000	057	Staff Moves	200,000
035	CWA News	1,200,000	058	Contract Reports & Ratif. Fund	—
036	Pension Fund	2,600,000	059	Staff — Illness Absence	150,000
037	Insurance and Hospitalization	6,596,540	063	Automobile Fund	600,000
038	Taxes	3,140,000	071	Information Mgmt. Sys. Fund	1,563,045
039	Affiliation Dues	—			
040	Contingency Fund	921,136			
041	Equipment Additions	125,000			
042	Building Fund	—			
044	Bldgs. - Repairs & Mtce.	2,476,700			
				Total General Budget	\$29,400,221
				Total Lines 1 - 17 above	35,458,277
				Grand Total	<u>\$64,858,498</u>

INCOME PROJECTIONS

1991-1992

	No. of Mbrs.	Dues Rate	No. of Mos.		
Dues Income:					
40% of 2 hrs. Pay x Mem. x Mo.					
	438,466	26.50	2	9,295,479	
	438,466	27.16	10	47,634,946	
Less 25% Subsidy	6,352			(206,186)	
					56,724,239
Dues Income—PPMW:	23,000			3,100,000	
					3,100,000
				Total Dues Income	59,824,239
Affiliation Dues:					
AFL-CIO Reg. Dues	457,950	0.35	12	1,923,390	
AFL-CIO Reg. Dues (OC's)	8,713	0.35	12	36,595	
IUD Reg. Dues	362,357	0.08	12	347,863	
ULD Reg. Dues	25,000	0.04	12	12,000	
Professional Employees	20,000	0.10	12	24,000	
Maritime Reg. Dues	5,000	0.03	12	1,800	
Transportation & Trade	5,000	0.06	1	300	
Public Employees	76,109	0.04	12	36,532	
PTTI	400,000	1.85 franc/mem/mo		547,600	
IAPTA	23,000	0.13	1	2,990	
Canada Union Label	3,516	0.015	12	633	
Canadian Labour Congress	3,516	0.36	12	15,189	
Canadian Conference Assessment				10,000	
				Less Total Affiliation Dues	(2,958,892)
				Net Dues Income	56,865,347
Non Member Income:					
40% of 2 hrs. Pay x Equiv. x Mo					
	44,501	26.50	2	943,421	
	44,501	27.16	10	4,834,589	
				Total Non Member Income	5,778,010
				Rebate	748,000
				Other Income	1,600,000
				Other Dues Income	960,512
				Total Other Income	3,308,512
				Less Special D.F. Deduction	1,093,371
				Total Misc Deductions	(1,093,371)
				Amount Budgeted	<u>64,858,498</u>

Attachment No. 1 - EXPLANATION OF EXHIBIT A

BUDGET
ITEM

(1) SALARIES - OFFICERS & STAFF

This reflects the salary cost by District and administrative units of all officers and staff and professional employees.

(2) SALARIES - FULL-TIME - OTHER

This item reflects the salary cost of all full-time clerical employees and salaried supervisors in the Headquarters, district and area offices.

(3) SALARIES - PART-TIME

This item reflects the salary cost of all part-time employees. (Examples: bargaining committees and arbitration witnesses.)

(4) TRAVEL AND EXPENSE - FULL-TIME

This item shows the travel and related expenses incurred by officers, staff and full-time employees.

(5) TRAVEL AND EXPENSE - PART-TIME

This item covers the travel and related expenses incurred by part-time employees. (Examples: bargaining committees and arbitration witnesses.)

(6) SUPPLIES AND PRINTING

This item reflects the cost of all office supplies and printing. (Examples: Local officers' and stewards' mailing, District newsletters, educational information, etc.)

(7) POSTAGE - FREIGHT - EXPRESS

This covers the cost for all mailings, except postage for the CWA News.

(8) RENTAL OF EQUIPMENT

This item reflects the cost of renting and leasing such items as photocopying machines and miscellaneous equipment when it is more cost effective to rent or lease rather than purchase.

(9) MAINTENANCE OF EQUIPMENT

This item shows the cost of maintaining all equipment owned by CWA such as typewriters, mailing equipment and copy machines, etc.

(10) CONTRACT SERVICES

This item reflects the cost of contract services for such items as payroll dues deduction costs, janitorial service, trash removal service, etc.

(11) TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH

This item shows the telephone and telegraph expenses incurred by officers, staff, full-time and part-time employees on behalf of the Union.

(12) RENT & OFFICE OCCUPANCY

This item reflects the cost of renting or leasing the offices required in District and administrative units to properly carry out the affairs of the Union. Also included in this item are mortgage payments for buildings we own.

(13) RENT - MEETING ROOMS

This item covers the cost of renting meeting rooms for District and bargaining unit caucuses, organizing meetings, educational institutes, etc.

(17) ALL OTHER

This item covers all miscellaneous expenses that cannot properly be charged to Budget Items 1 through 13.

TOTALS

This reflects the total amount of the budget (all Items 1 through 17) allocated to each District, CWA ATT Unit and Headquarters.

(28) CITIZENSHIP FUND

This item provides funds for good citizenship activities and contributions.

(29) ORGANIZING

This item provides funds to defray the cost of organizing programs for the Union.

(31) LEGAL

This item covers the cost of retainer fees for legal counsel, lawyers, court reporters for arbitration cases, and court costs. Professional services other than these are provided for in Budget Item (56).

(32) CONVENTION

This item reflects the total general cost of our annual Convention. This cost includes auditorium and meeting room rental, printing of verbatim reports and other Convention materials, postage, wages and expenses of Convention committees, etc.

(33) EXECUTIVE BOARD

This item includes all expenses associated with meetings of the Union's Executive Board. It includes the travel and other per diem expenses of Executive Board members and others required to be in attendance at such meetings. The cost, if any, of the meeting room is also included.

(34) COMMITTEES AND CONFERENCES

This budget item is intended to provide for expenses for committees and meetings, which are called by the President of the Union. This does not cover expenses of attendees unless authorized by the President of the Union.

(35) CWA NEWS

This item covers the total cost of publishing, printing and mailing of the CWA News, and includes the salaries of the editorial staff.

(36) PENSION FUND

This item includes the cost of contributions made to the CWA Employees Pension Fund. Also included are contributions for our employees covered under the CWA-ITU Negotiated Pension Plan.

(37) INSURANCE AND HOSPITALIZATION

This item covers the total cost of insurance (workers' compensation, liability, burglary, fire, etc.), and hospitalization, vision and dental plans for CWA employees.

(38) TAXES

This item reflects the cost of real estate and personal property taxes, unemployment taxes and employer's share of F.I.C.A. taxes.

(39) AFFILIATION DUES

Explained in Exhibit A.

(40) CONTINGENCY

This item is to supplement the budget when expenses are incurred that were unforeseen at the time the budget was prepared.

(41) EQUIPMENT ADDITIONS

This item is to provide for replacement and additional office machines, equipment and furniture.

(42) BUILDING FUND

This item provides funds to be used to acquire real estate used for Union activities.

(44) BUILDINGS - REPAIRS, MAINTENANCE AND OPERATIONS

This item of the budget is set up to cover the cost of maintenance, operating costs and repairs of Union-owned buildings, as well as minor repairs to leased offices. Each year there are certain basic repairs and maintenance that must be done to Union-owned buildings, as well as on-going costs of operation.

(45) PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

This item covers our program of Publicity and Public Relations which brings the story of the Communications Workers of America to the public through the mass media of radio, TV and newspaper.

(46) OPERATING RESERVE

This item is to budget funds, when available, for operation of the Union when its income is withheld or cut off for any extended period.

(47) FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This provides funds for CWA's participation and cooperation within the Worldwide Free Trade Union Movement.

(48) EDUCATION

This item covers the expense of week-long leadership conferences, and the development and delivery of training programs.

(56) PROFESSIONAL

This item includes all fees and costs of professional services, i.e., auditors, actuaries, consultants, etc.

(57) STAFF MOVES

This item includes cost of staff moves in connection with reassignment from one location to another.

(59) STAFF - ILLNESS ABSENCE

This item includes necessary expenses to fill in for staff members who are ill for extended periods of time, when and where needed.

(63) AUTOMOBILES

This item budgets funds for the operation and purchase of fleet automobiles.

(71) INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS FUND

This item reflects the allocations made in the General Budget for the purpose of acquiring office automation equipment and software at the Headquarters, Districts, and

area offices. Also included is the allowance for the cost of consultants and contract services that may be necessary to implement the Information Management System.

TOTAL GENERAL BUDGET

Total of Items 28 through 71.

TOTAL BUDGET

Total of all administrative units, Headquarters, and General Budgets.

Attachment No. 2 - EXPLANATION OF FUNDS AND ACCOUNTS OF CWA

There are seven Funds, all of which are examined and reported on by the Auditors. They are:

1. The General Fund
2. The Defense Fund and Member Relief Fund
3. The Pension Fund
4. The Building Fund
5. The Operating Reserve Fund
6. The District Organizing Allocation Fund
7. The Plant Fund (The Fixed Assets Account)

The first six of the above are cash Funds. The Plant Fund is a recording of the Union's equity in fixed or capital assets.

On the advice of our auditors, we consolidated our Funds into the current seven. The Funds that were consolidated are as follows:

The Citizenship Fund was consolidated into the General Fund with a General Fund account allocation.

The Contract Report and Ratification Fund was consolidated into the General Fund and given a General Fund account designation. The Fund balance from prior years' allocations was placed in an escrow account to be used for contract ratification expenses as they occur.

The Automobile Fund assets were consolidated into the Plant Fund. The operating and purchasing expenses will be charged to the established General Fund account.

The Information Management Systems Fund assets were also consolidated into the Plant Fund.

The 3rd & E Streets Building Fund balance was placed in a Building Fund escrow account to be used for 3rd & E Street Building expenses as they occur.

THE GENERAL FUND

General Fund is the Fund from which National operates. All the income - money which comes to CWA - is handled through the General Fund. The status of this Fund is reported monthly to Local Presidents.

The General Fund contains what the Auditors have identified as "Unallocated Receipts." Dues money received by CWA is labeled in this manner until the Secretary-Treasurer's Office can channel or allocate it. As an example: a dues check from an employer is received in the Secretary-Treasurer's office; it is immediately deposited in the General Fund as unallocated money. When the report which comes with the employer's check is processed, CWA

checks are issued for the amount due the Locals. Also, transfer of money is made in the proper amount to the Defense Fund. The National's portion remains in the General Fund and is available for use by the National.

THE CONTRACT REPORT AND RATIFICATION ACCOUNT

As a result of changes in our bargaining structure and ratification procedure, because of divestiture, it is anticipated that allocations which were made in prior years should provide the necessary funds for the ratification expenses which are borne by the National Union.

THE CITIZENSHIP ACCOUNT

There is an imperative need for the Union to expand and develop its activities in community and civic affairs in order to provide significant, meaningful participation and leadership in programs and activities dedicated to the welfare of all citizens.

THE DEFENSE FUND

The Defense Fund was established by the 1952 Convention and began to operate in September of 1952. It has specific rules, adopted by the Convention, which outline the ways it can be used.

Income to the Defense Fund is derived from dues and equivalents in the amount of \$.50 from each payer each month and from an allocation of National and Local income as directed by the CWA Convention. When checks from various companies are processed in the Secretary-Treasurer's office, this income is deposited in the Defense Fund account as reports are processed.

The Defense Director administers the Defense Fund within the Defense Fund Rules as established by Convention action.

As of January 1, 1990, the Defense Fund had a deficit balance of \$12,109,362. As of December 31, 1990, our unaudited figures indicate revenues of \$5,427,231 and expenditures of \$714,424 resulting in a deficit Fund balance of \$6,875,603 at the close of the period. As of this time, the Committee expects that the Defense Fund revenue should cover the loans and expenses that are anticipated during the 1991-92 budget year.

MEMBER RELIEF FUND

The new Member Relief Fund started receiving funds earlier this year. As of our meeting, the fund had a balance of approximately \$3,000,000. Strikers now (per Convention action) receive payments from this fund instead of the Defense Fund.

THE PENSION FUND

This Fund provides for CWA employees' retirement benefits. A periodic actuarial review is made of the CWA Pension Fund, and our contribution is adjusted to meet our obligations.

THE BUILDING FUND

This Fund has been used to accumulate finances for purchasing Union office buildings. We currently own buildings in Washington, D.C.; Trenton, New Jersey; Atlanta, Georgia; Greensboro, North Carolina; St. Louis, Missouri; Denver, Colorado; Burlingame, California.

THE OPERATING RESERVE FUND

The Operating Reserve Fund was established as a means of operating the Union should income be reduced or expenses unexpectedly increase.

This is a restricted Fund, requiring a two-thirds vote of the Executive Board before expenditures are made. This Fund had to be used to cover operating expenses when our income was interrupted as a result of strikes in our major bargaining units.

THE DISTRICT ORGANIZING ALLOCATION FUND

The District Organizing Allocation Fund was established a number of years ago to earmark some additional money for organizing within the Districts and to provide incentive for organizing. Planning for its use and control of its administration is solely within the respective Districts.

Effective July 1970 and annually thereafter, the Fund for each District has received an allocation based on four months' National per capita (not including Defense Fund per capita) for each member by which its membership count in January of the current year exceeds its membership count in January of the preceding year.

THE PLANT FUND - FIXED ASSETS

The Plant Fund normally has no cash or money connected with it. The reporting of fixed assets as a fund is intended as a description and evaluation of money which has been expended for land, buildings and equipment.

Fixed Assets initially were carried as an asset in the General Fund. Because it tended to distort the financial picture in the accounting of the General Fund, the Executive Board acted to set up the reporting of Fixed Assets in a separate account.

Automobiles and computer equipment assets are now included in the Plant Fund.

The Finance Committee approves the principle of reporting Fixed Assets in a separate Fund because it does simplify, as well as permit, accurate accounting of the General Fund of the Union.

An audit report will be available at the 1991 Convention.

COMPARISON—BUDGET, EXPENSE AND INCOME BY BUDGET LINE ITEMS

1988-89

	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	12 Months Actual Expenses	Expense (Over) and Under Budget	Income	Expense (Over) and Under Income
(1) Salaries—Officers and Staff	\$12,447,825	\$12,820,523	\$12,327,420	\$ 493,103		
(2) Salaries—Full Time Other	8,915,063	8,865,785	8,860,050	5,735		
(3) Salaries—Part Time	582,388	574,398	753,630	(179,232)		
(4) Expenses—Full Time	1,929,425	2,013,300	2,301,819	(288,519)		
(5) Expenses—Part Time	544,616	536,116	590,627	(54,511)		
(6) Supplies—Printing	1,276,448	1,276,448	1,413,815	(137,367)		
(7) Postage, Freight, Express	995,195	995,195	792,620	202,575		
(8) Rental of Equipment	536,646	498,346	582,212	(83,866)		
(9) Mtce. of Equipment	210,346	210,346	128,469	81,877		
(10) Contract Services	592,904	552,904	541,194	11,710		
(11) Telephone and Telegraph	1,124,199	1,124,199	1,213,025	(88,826)		
(12) Rent and Office Occupancy	3,928,488	3,944,491	3,898,855	45,636		
(13) Rent—Meeting Rooms	57,580	57,580	72,988	(15,408)		
(17) All Other	450,016	450,016	647,823	(197,807)		
Totals	\$33,591,139	\$33,919,647	\$34,134,545	\$ (214,698)		
(28) Citizenship Fund	50,000	50,000	50,000	—		
(29) Organizing Fund (2)	2,100,000	2,100,000	2,084,175	15,825		
(31) Legal	3,100,000	3,100,000	3,599,738	(499,738)		
(32) Conventions (Inc. Committees)	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,759,173	40,827		
(33) Executive Board	350,000	350,000	328,665	21,335		
(34) Committees and Conferences	193,141	193,141	124,443	68,698		
(35) CWA News	1,350,900	1,300,000	1,503,053	(203,053)		
(36) Pension Fund	3,659,262	3,659,262	3,654,606	4,656		
(37) Insurance and Hospitalization	5,150,828	5,150,828	5,565,140	(414,312)		
(38) Taxes	2,502,900	2,502,900	2,783,486	(280,586)		
(39) Affiliation Dues	—	—	—	—		
(40) Contingency	982,286	665,632	317,613	348,019		
(41) Equipment Additions	200,000	200,000	119,407	80,593		
(42) Building Fund	—	—	—	—		
(44) Building Repairs (and Mtce.)	1,322,096	1,322,096	1,376,542	(54,446)		
(45) Publicity and Public Relations	635,954	675,000	576,015	98,985		
(46) Operating Reserve	—	—	—	—		
(47) Foreign Affairs	160,000	160,000	187,734	(27,734)		
(48) Education	413,000	413,000	426,159	(13,159)		
(56) Professional	237,825	237,825	288,017	(50,192)		
(57) Staff Moves	300,000	300,000	183,696	116,304		
(58) Contract Reports and Ratification	—	—	—	—		
(59) Staff Illness Absence	250,000	250,000	263,854	(13,854)		
(63) Automobile Fund	800,000	800,000	800,000	—		
(71) Information Management System Fund ..	1,734,546	1,734,546	1,734,546	—		
Total	\$27,292,738	\$26,964,230	\$27,720,062	\$ (761,832)		
Grand Total	\$60,883,877	\$60,883,877	\$61,860,607	\$ (976,730)	\$65,078,921	\$ 3,218,314

COMPARISON—BUDGET, EXPENSE AND INCOME BY BUDGET LINE ITEMS

	1989-90					
	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	12 Month Actual	Expense (Over) and Under Budget	Income	Expense (Over) and Under Income
(1) Salaries—Officers and Staff	\$13,510,992	\$13,486,906	\$13,412,497	\$ 74,407		
(2) Salaries—Full Time Other	9,315,092	9,095,799	8,763,838	331,961		
(3) Salaries—Part Time	840,869	840,869	659,950	180,918		
(4) Expenses—Full Time	2,101,425	2,134,500	2,417,328	(282,828)		
(5) Expenses—Part Time	799,862	799,862	644,278	155,584		
(6) Supplies—Printing	1,373,401	1,373,401	1,255,290	118,111		
(7) Postage, Freight, Express	1,013,476	1,013,476	602,336	411,140		
(8) Rental of Equipment	663,918	663,918	590,507	73,411		
(9) Mtce. of Equipment	158,153	158,153	99,587	58,566		
(10) Contract Services	716,709	676,809	610,650	66,159		
(11) Telephone and Telegraph	1,280,748	1,279,248	1,153,450	125,798		
(12) Rent and Office Occupancy	3,804,851	4,041,104	2,748,932	1,292,172		
(13) Rent—Meeting Rooms	59,340	59,340	70,878	(11,538)		
(17) All Other	427,252	427,252	710,225	(282,973)		
Totals	\$36,066,088	\$36,050,636	\$33,739,748	\$ 2,310,868		
(28) Citizenship Fund	50,000	50,000	46,815	3,185		
(29) Organizing Fund (2)	2,100,000	2,100,000	2,017,395	82,605		
(31) Legal	3,738,209	3,500,000	4,038,299	(538,299)		
(32) Conventions (Inc. Committees)	900,000	900,000	671,056	228,944		
(33) Executive Board	225,000	225,000	189,274	35,726		
(34) Committees and Conferences	125,400	125,400	91,159	34,241		
(35) CWA News	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,245,947	154,053		
(36) Pension Fund	3,540,000	3,540,000	3,574,748	(34,748)		
(37) Insurance and Hospitalization	6,667,860	6,667,860	6,192,280	475,580		
(38) Taxes	2,830,700	2,830,700	3,104,971	(274,271)		
(39) Affiliation Dues	—	—	—	—		
(40) Contingency	707,045	948,938	679,620	269,318		
(41) Equipment Additions	175,000	175,000	153,677	21,323		
(42) Building Fund	—	—	—	—		
(44) Building Repairs (and Mtce.)	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,435,416	(35,416)		
(45) Publicity and Public Relations	630,000	670,000	514,871	155,129		
(46) Operating Reserve	—	—	—	—		
(47) Foreign Affairs	171,145	171,145	122,457	48,688		
(48) Education	368,000	368,000	265,681	102,319		
(56) Professional	250,000	250,000	320,761	(70,761)		
(57) Staff Moves	300,000	300,000	256,750	43,251		
(58) Contract Reports and Ratification	—	—	—	—		
(59) Staff Illness Absence	228,134	200,000	340,875	(140,875)		
(63) Automobile Fund	665,000	665,000	447,814	187,186		
(71) Information Management System Fund ..	1,510,285	1,510,285	1,385,179	125,106		
Total	\$27,981,876	\$27,997,328	\$27,125,045	\$ 872,284		
Grand Total	\$64,047,964	\$64,047,964	\$60,864,793	\$ 3,183,171	\$66,221,489	\$ 5,356,696

COMPARISON—BUDGET, EXPENSE AND INCOME BY BUDGET LINE ITEMS

	1990-91					
	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	9-Mo. Actual 3-Mo. Proj. Expenses	Expense (Over) and Under Budget	9-Mo. Actual 3-Mo. Proj. Income	Expense (Over) and Under Income
(1) Salaries—Officers and Staff	\$12,600,456	\$12,516,481	\$12,690,061	\$ (173,580)		
(2) Salaries—Full Time Other	8,873,019	8,873,019	8,515,585	357,434		
(3) Salaries—Part Time	689,419	685,921	501,612	184,309		
(4) Expenses—Full Time	1,866,781	1,794,580	1,771,699	22,881		
(5) Expenses—Part Time	683,419	676,919	279,811	397,108		
(6) Supplies—Printing	1,229,099	1,229,099	1,425,429	(196,330)		
(7) Postage, Freight, Express	904,049	904,049	606,827	297,222		
(8) Rental of Equipment	558,441	558,441	600,149	(41,708)		
(9) Mice. of Equipment	108,071	108,071	109,233	(1,162)		
(10) Contract Services	600,717	600,717	710,988	(110,271)		
(11) Telephone and Telegraph	1,104,579	1,104,579	1,059,163	45,416		
(12) Rent and Office Occupancy	3,651,489	3,811,957	3,707,164	104,793		
(13) Rent—Meeting Rooms	52,540	52,540	41,693	10,847		
(17) All Other	327,515	327,515	672,205	(344,690)		
Totals	\$33,249,594	\$33,243,888	\$32,691,619	\$ 552,269		
(28) Citizenship Fund	50,000	50,000	50,000	—		
(29) Organizing Fund (2)	2,100,000	2,100,000	1,804,609	295,391		
(31) Legal	3,700,000	3,700,000	4,140,927	(440,927)		
(32) Conventions (Inc. Committees)	1,100,000	1,100,000	1,100,000	—		
(33) Executive Board	236,250	236,250	188,505	47,745		
(34) Committees and Conferences	99,105	99,105	94,609	4,496		
(35) CWA News	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,187,727	62,273		
(36) Pension Fund	3,052,106	3,052,106	3,052,106	—		
(37) Insurance and Hospitalization	7,000,000	7,000,000	6,579,710	420,290		
(38) Taxes	3,137,385	3,137,385	3,000,432	127,953		
(39) Affiliation Dues	—	—	—	—		
(40) Contingency	942,166	947,872	947,872	—		
(41) Equipment Additions	110,008	110,000	208,799	(98,799)		
(42) Building Fund	—	—	—	—		
(44) Building Repairs (and Mice.)	2,115,000	2,115,000	1,736,254	378,746		
(45) Publicity and Public Relations	546,000	546,000	546,000	—		
(46) Operating Reserve	313,564	313,564	313,564	—		
(47) Foreign Affairs	116,480	116,480	86,352	30,128		
(48) Education	318,000	318,000	318,000	—		
(56) Professional	330,000	330,000	358,048	(28,048)		
(57) Staff Moves	625,000	625,000	536,306	88,694		
(58) Contract Reports and Ratification	—	—	—	—		
(59) Staff Illness Absence	342,525	342,525	443,759	(101,234)		
(63) Automobile Fund	500,080	500,080	835,275	(335,195)		
(71) Information Management System Fund	1,479,453	1,479,453	1,493,045	(13,592)		
Total	\$29,463,114	\$29,468,620	\$29,030,899	\$ 437,921		
Grand Total	\$62,712,708	\$62,712,708	\$61,722,518	\$ 990,190	\$66,294,390	\$ 4,571,872

COMPARISON—BUDGET, EXPENSE BY ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

1988-89							
	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	Convention Approved Budget		Expense		
District 1	\$ 3,894,758	\$ 3,844,264	\$ 3,844,264		\$ 4,050,931		
District 2	1,385,102	1,372,117	1,372,117		1,383,575		
District 3	3,468,331	3,567,665	3,567,665		3,490,973		
District 4	2,445,323	2,533,683	2,533,683		2,376,226		
District 6	2,767,705	2,789,582	2,789,582		2,797,550		
District 7	2,409,657	2,426,811	2,426,811		2,539,854		
District 9	2,457,442	2,494,831	2,494,831		2,456,173		
District 13	1,075,981	1,058,795	1,058,795		1,121,210		
ATT-COM & TECH	1,685,560	1,720,074	1,720,074		1,986,592		
Public Workers	186,982	185,117	185,117		185,686		
Telecom	236,279	240,592	240,592		236,977		
Headquarters	11,578,019	11,686,116	11,686,116		11,508,798		
Sub-Total	\$33,591,139	\$33,919,847	\$33,919,847		\$34,134,545		
General Budget	27,292,738	26,964,230	26,964,230		27,726,062		
GRAND TOTAL	\$60,883,877	\$60,883,877	\$60,883,877		\$61,860,607		
1989-90							
	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	Convention Approved Budget		Expense		
District 1	\$ 4,129,474	\$ 4,102,332	\$ 4,102,332		\$ 4,280,902		
District 2	1,372,408	1,447,953	1,447,953		1,333,909		
District 3	3,620,697	3,659,607	3,659,607		3,393,770		
District 4	2,519,135	2,428,564	2,428,564		2,489,740		
District 6	2,758,583	2,715,242	2,715,242		2,654,480		
District 7	2,384,023	2,464,863	2,464,863		2,458,203		
District 9	2,460,978	2,521,781	2,521,781		2,328,788		
District 13	1,139,038	1,121,632	1,121,632		1,138,305		
PPMWS	1,944,128	1,942,981	1,942,981		2,150,818		
ATT-COM & TECH	1,596,097	1,639,702	1,639,702		1,538,947		
Public Workers	172,134	186,974	186,974		176,745		
Telecom	138,446	244,809	244,809		185,767		
Headquarters	11,656,790	11,572,196	11,572,196		9,609,374		
Sub-Total	\$36,066,088	\$36,050,636	\$36,050,636		\$33,739,748		
General Budget	27,981,876	27,997,328	27,997,328		27,125,045		
GRAND TOTAL	\$64,047,964	\$64,047,964	\$64,047,964		\$60,864,793		
1990-91							
	Adjusted Budget	Convention Approved Budget	9-Months Actual	3-Months Projected	9-Months Actual 3-Months Projected	Expenses (Over) and Under	1991-92 Proposed Budget
District 1	\$ 4,085,529	\$ 3,975,793	\$ 2,993,434	\$ 969,810	\$ 3,963,244	\$ 12,549	\$ 4,261,008
District 2	1,270,125	1,328,064	887,574	362,163	1,249,737	78,327	1,389,293
District 3	3,336,623	3,525,038	2,407,768	943,615	3,351,403	173,635	3,516,667
District 4	2,409,349	2,312,750	1,629,971	602,011	2,231,982	80,768	2,502,780
District 6	2,528,350	2,563,536	1,833,347	658,235	2,491,582	71,954	2,569,385
District 7	2,213,523	2,186,351	1,611,417	545,122	2,156,539	29,812	2,255,062
District 9	2,409,770	2,416,537	1,637,423	651,423	2,288,793	127,744	2,388,680
District 13	924,649	919,777	685,213	226,842	912,056	7,721	1,028,973
PPMWS	1,682,746	1,634,001	1,319,599	475,785	1,795,384	(161,383)	1,815,556
ATT-COM & TECH	1,102,268	1,148,616	872,601	280,560	1,153,161	(4,545)	1,135,276
Public Workers	146,965	147,736	109,166	36,740	145,906	1,830	248,269
Telecom	174,983	175,758	141,818	51,057	192,875	(17,116)	247,038
Headquarters	10,964,703	10,909,931	8,038,368	2,720,589	10,759,957	150,974	12,100,290
Sub-Total	\$33,249,583	\$33,243,888	\$24,167,719	\$ 8,523,900	\$32,691,619	\$552,269	\$35,458,277
General Budget	29,249,583	29,468,820	18,769,866	10,261,033	29,030,899	437,921	29,400,221
GRAND TOTAL	\$62,712,708	\$62,712,708	\$42,937,585	\$18,784,933	\$61,722,518	\$990,190	\$64,858,498

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Finance Committee wishes to add the following items to its reports:

Item #1: Financial Statement and Auditor's Report for period ending December 31, 1990.

The Finance Committee has reviewed the completed Audit Report provided by the Certified Public Accounting Firm of Thomas Havey & Company. It is our opinion that the report accurately represents the financial position of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, CLC, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Item #2: Accountability of overspending for budget year 1989-90.

The Finance Committee received written explanations and supporting documents from those administrative heads whose units exceeded their budgets for the 1989-90 year. All written explanations have been thoroughly reviewed as to their content and relevance. It is the Committee's opinion that these expenditures were within reasonable and acceptable grounds in "all" cases.

Item #3: Education.

The Committee would like to add the following comments regarding account 048 - Education.

Knowledge means power. Through education and experience we obtain knowledge.

As we move into the '90s, the importance of education in the areas of arbitration, mediation, organizational and administrative skills is a priority.

The Union has fewer staff and officers. Every level has increased responsibilities with industries becoming more complex. The reduction of financial resources increases the need for efficiency and that means more emphasis on education.

Our limited financial resources do not allow us to fully fund this important account.

The Committee recommends \$259,000. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Chair recognizes the committee.

DELEGATE THOMAS McCALLA (Local 13000, Chair, Finance Committee): Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters, on behalf of the committee, I move for the adoption of the Finance Committee Report and the Supplemental Report.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to adopt the Finance Committee Report and the Supplemental Report as presented to the Convention.

Seconded from the floor.

On Microphone 3, Delegate Dawson.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Hughes.

DELEGATE JEFFREY L. HUGHES (Local 2100): I have a question concerning the purchase of the new building in D.C.

In 1988 the delegation from Maryland approached the Finance Committee and asked about the prudence of selling buildings across the country and at the same time entering into a lease/purchase agreement for a building in Washington, D.C. The response we received was that not only would we be able to lease space within that new building, but rental income generated from the old building would allow us to purchase, with no burden or financial increase on the Union.

I understand that we are seeking to sell the old building, entering into the purchase of a new

building. Why do we want to encumber CWA with a \$64 million debt? That is the first question.

The second question is--

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me take your first question first.

As the Secretary-Treasurer reported this morning, there would be no action to purchase the new building until first the Executive Board and then a Convention approved such an action.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE HUGHES: Are we attempting to sell the old building, and will we sell the old building before we decide to buy the new one?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes.

DELEGATE HUGHES: That would--

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have concluded your two questions, Brother.

Microphone 3, Delegate Schnickels.

DELEGATE DAWN H. SCHNICKELS (Local 7200): As a previous member of the Finance Committee in both 1989 and 1990, I understand the work and dedication of this committee, and I appreciate the work and efforts of this committee this year, and the report, so I ask you to support this committee's report. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 1, Delegate Riemer.

DELEGATE GREGORY A. RIEMER (Local 4309): I would like to amend the report of the Finance Committee as follows:

On Page 16 of the Finance Committee Report change line item 034, Committees and Conferences, to \$125,000.

I have several of these, so I will read through all of them.

Change line item 045, Publicity & Public Relations, to \$550,000.

Change line item 048, Education, to \$309,000.

On Page 20 Of the report, in the explanation for line item 40, Contingency , add a last sentence, and I will quote: "This item may also be used for mobilization."

On Page 21, under line item 45, Publicity and Public Relations, after the words "public relations" in the explanation include, in quotations, "including mobilization."

And on Page 21, line item 48, Education, after the words "expense of" add "bargaining chair training."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

The Delegate may speak five minutes on his amendment.

DELEGATE RIEMER: Brothers and Sisters, as a member of the Defense Fund Organizing Committee, I urge your adoption of this amendment.

Let me be the first to say that the work of the Finance Committee is difficult, and they have done a fine job. But let me also remind the DelegateS here that our Defense Fund is still running a deficit that won't be paid off until December of 1992.

We have major rounds of bargaining coming up next year that we must prepare for. Our best

hope for being prepared is to be educated and mobilized. Essentially, what this amendment will do is move \$100,000 from the Committees and Conferences line item and put half of it into educating our bargaining chairs and the other half into the Publicity and Public Relations line item, to help develop mobilization actions that can set the tone for much of our collective bargaining next year.

Committees and Conferences are worthwhile, but, just like my Local back home must set priorities to prepare us for negotiations, so must the National Union establish its priorities.

Since the last Convention, the Executive Board and the Defense Fund Oversight Committee have concurred on a number of expenditures from the Defense Fund towards mobilization and close to \$200,000 has already been spent. With our major units' contracts expiring in 1992, we must utilize our resources and set our priorities where they will do the most good.

Our enactment of the Members' Relief Fund last year helped; but, unfortunately, we still run a deficit in our Defense Fund.

While our Defense Fund can be of some assistance in 1992, we must use our other available resources to educate and mobilize, too.

I ask your support for this amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: If I just might clarify, I think what the maker of the motion has done is to put money that is already in the budget in other lines to do precisely what he is seeking to do.

We have in 034, the Committees and Conferences line item, from which he wants to take out \$100,000-- we have \$100,000 put in there for the two reasons he has suggested, fifty thousand for mobilization and fifty thousand for the training of the bargaining committees.

The effect of the motion would be essentially to move the money out of there and put it somewhere else, but still accomplish what he suggests we do.

But, you have the motion before you.

On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Gomez.

DELEGATE RUTH BJORNSON-GOMEZ (Local 7800): Thank you, President Bahr. I have a question on your automobile fund. Are you going to guarantee us that these automobiles that we are buying are going to be Union-made?

PRESIDENT BAHR: We only buy Union-made. But I would hope that every one in this room could answer the same way. (Applause and cheers)

Not only about the automobiles, but the labels on your shirts and your shorts. (Laughter, applause and laughter)

There are no other speakers at the mike.

We have before us a motion that-- let me read it.

On Page 16 of the Finance Committee Report change line item 034, Committees and Conferences, to \$125,000 from the \$225,000.

Change line 045, Publicity and Public Relations, to 50-50.

Change line Item 048, Education, to \$309,000.

On Page 20 of the report, in the explanation for line item 40, Contingency, with the last sentence, "This item may be used also for mobilization."

On Page 21, on the line item 45, Publicity and Public Relations, after the words "Public Relations" in the explanation, "including mobilization."

On Page 21, line item 48, Education, after the words "expense of all" add "bargaining chair

training."

All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is defeated, but I want Delegate Riemer to know again that precisely what he suggested we do will be done, and the money is there, but only in different line items. (Applause)

On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Hughes.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Is the motion seconded?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. You may speak.

DELEGATE HUGHES: I raised a question at minute ago about the sale of the building at K Street. My concern is encumbering the CWA with the \$64 million expense and whether we want to embark in that direction.

Again, in 1988 the question was asked, because we were selling buildings all across the country, to try to reduce the expenses, the question was if we were selling buildings across the country in 1988, why were we buying one or entering into an agreement to buy one.

The response was we were expecting some unanticipated income, and that the rental received from K Street and the new building would pay for the purchase and rental of the deal we are getting into.

Two years later we are talking now about purchasing the building today and selling the old building.

If in fact it was such a good deal two years ago, why is it not such a good deal today?

The rental market in D.C. started to fall three years ago and is still at the same level it is today in this very depressed market, I understand. But why would we want to encumber ourselves with a \$64 million debt when we originally were going to provide an investment for our future?

What I propose here is to make sure the investment for that future remains, that we have and continue to have a source of income for CWA in a period of reduced membership and losses that we are experiencing throughout the Union.

I ask for support of this motion.

This is not to prevent our leaders from exercising good judgment, but to make sure that we do have a sound future for ourselves and future CWA members.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 5, Delegate Laurent.

DELEGATE TINY LAURENT (Local 3411): Mr. Bahr, have we not discovered that we have an asbestos problem in the 1925 K Street building, causing us extra expenses if we keep maintaining the building?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes.

DELEGATE LAURENT: Do we have an estimate of what that would cost?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Well, it cost about a half million dollars, they tell us, to separate the asbestos.

DELEGATE LAURENT: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That is when you tear it down, Tiny.

There is nobody else on the mike. I am going to take the privilege just to clear the record, because the Delegate insists that we are buying a \$64 million building, which we are not. That building will not be bought unless and until this Convention would approve it.

So, we are not incurring any \$64 million debt.

On the other hand, being prudent, in a very down real estate market across this nation, when we move next month to the new headquarters, which we will be paying rent for, that building on K Street will be half empty.

On the other hand, when it is sold, the proceeds of that sale would be put into the Building Fund, earning sufficient money to build up the kind of reserve we need if and when a Convention would authorize us to buy the other building. That is the issue.

Only a future convention will determine whether we buy the building.

The motion-- and Jim Booe tells me \$64 million has never been the figure, anyway. It was \$55 million-- in any event, the motion before you is not to make final sale of the current CWA quarters at the Mercury Building without a future Convention authorizing it.

All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Hold it.

Microphone No. 4, Delegate Bartlett.

DELEGATE JEFF G. BARTLETT (Local 6222): I'd like to speak against the motion.

I think this would be tying the hands of our Executive Officers. It could cost millions of dollars of our dues if they are not allowed to act in and are having to come back before any kind of decision can be made on selling the building.

This could involve millions of dollars, and I am speaking against the motion. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 5, Delegate Kooker.

DELEGATE MICHELLE KOOKER (Local 1031): This is regarding the supplemental report of the Financial Committee.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That's not what we are on. We are on a motion. If you could withhold that question we will be glad to get back to you.

DELEGATE KOOKER: Certainly.

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is nothing further on the motion.

All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The motion is defeated. (Applause)

The Chair now recognizes Delegate Kooker on microphone 5.

DELEGATE KOOKER: Okay, thank you.

Our question is on the supplemental report of the Financial Committee. First, we would like to thank you for presenting this to us. We have a question on the comparison chart on page 2; the comparison of dues payers versus income versus expenses. Being a Local in District 1 we are wondering why the expenses in District 1 per member are lower than the rest of the Districts, when we are the largest District.

Can someone explain that?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes. If you look at the note, it says that the only items that were considered in preparing this comparison were items, lines 1 through 17.

To draw an example, and since you are from New Jersey I will use that as an example, the expenses of the CWA building in Trenton are not included in that expense per member because it

comes out of the general budget.

And if you compare it to another District where perhaps we do not own any buildings, all of that rent would be in lines 1 through 17.

So you do not have a 100 percent accurate comparison because of the general budget items that take care of so many different things.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE KOOKER: No, that's enough, thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are welcome.

Before you is a motion to adopt the Committee Report with the supplemental report.

All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The Committee Report is adopted, and with the thanks of this Convention the Finance Committee is discharged from their duties.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

I mentioned earlier this morning that we have with us guests from 14 different nations, and I'd like to introduce them to you. Some are sitting up in the balcony on my right, and others who will be speaking this afternoon are sitting in the back.

From Brazil, Helcio Maghenzani, PTTI Inter-American Representative. (Applause)

And from the Union of Postal and Telephone Workers from Bulgaria, Vladimir Stanoev, one of the new democratic unions in Eastern Europe. (Applause)

From the German Postal and Telephone Workers, all members of the Central Executive Committee, Ewald Wehner. (Applause)

And Mrs. Edeltraud Wehner. (Applause)

And Werner Schnelle. (Applause)

Rolf Pohl. (Applause)

Brigitte Raeth. (Applause)

Heidi Huther. (Applause)

And the Labor Counselor from the Federal Republic of Germany, Heinz Matthiesen. (Applause)

And Eli Cohen-Kagan, the Counsel for Labor Affairs from the Israel Embassy. (Applause)

And a very dear friend, Brother Masayuki Kojima, the General Secretary of the Japan Telecom Workers Union. (Applause)

And the Chief of that Union's International Affairs Department, Brother Shigeyuki Kamoshita. (Applause)

And from the Union that really started it all, from the National Section of Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Workers of Solidarnosc from Poland, the President of the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Workers, Krystyn Antczak. (Applause)

And Peter Vermeulen from South Africa. (Applause)

And Brother Kuo, President of the Taiwan Telecommunications Workers Union. (Applause)

And Andrew Lin, the Deputy General Secretary of that Union. (Applause)

Sanam Promakun, President of the Thailand Communications Authority of Thailand

Employees Association. (Applause)

From the same union, its General Secretary, Preecha Dechthongan. (Applause)

The General Secretary of the National Communications Union, who will address this convention this week, Tony Young of the United Kingdom. (Applause)

The Deputy General Secretary of the Union of Communications Workers of the United Kingdom, Tony Clarke. (Applause)

John Russell, Labor Officer of the Embassy of Great Britain. (Applause)

Ron Smith, Senior Program Representative, Asian-American Free Labor Institute. (Applause)

It is now a pleasure for me to introduce to you a dear friend and colleague, the General Secretary of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International.

Philip Bowyer was elected General Secretary of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International in 1989. He is presiding over many exciting changes in the world affecting the unions affiliated with the PTTI.

Eastern Europe is opening up and the PTTI is involved in many extensive activities in Central and Eastern Europe.

New telecommunications unions from Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are now affiliated with the international free trade union. At the same time, PTTI is expanding efforts to deal with multinational corporations that now dominate the telecommunications industry and has led several international meetings on multinationals.

And for the first time the PTTI has formed a permanent joint committee which brings together telecommunications union leaders from twelve nations as they prepare for the integration of the European market next year.

Philip is well prepared to meet these challenges. He first joined the PTTI in 1976 as the Research Officer and his abilities were quickly recognized as his responsibilities increased.

Today, he is recognized as one of the key international union leaders. I am indeed pleased to introduce to you a good friend, Philip Bowyer, General Secretary of the PTTI. (Applause)

PHILIP BOWYER (General Secretary, PTTI): Mr. President, delegates and friends: First of all, Morty, I must say it is nice to be invited back for the second time to a CWA convention. It is not always we get invited back after going through the first one. (Laughter)

I must thank you for giving me the opportunity to address the convention. I thank you, the CWA, its members, its officers and staff, who in the past have continued to give invaluable support to the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International.

But I do want to give a very special thanks to Morty Bahr who, like CWA Presidents before him, has come to play a great, constructive, influential role in our International, particularly as a member of our PTTI World Executive Committee.

Among other things, Morty Bahr has been responsible for directing the attention of unions throughout the world to the revolutions which are taking place in telecommunications: The revolution brought about by technology, the revolution brought about by deregulation, the revolution brought about by the multinational companies.

Now, in many ways, these revolutions started here in the United States. But they are imitated and they are copied in countries throughout the world. The companies spread their activities to almost every corner of the globe.

We find that workers in many countries are starting to face the same employers and they face the same problems. They face employers whose main interest always seems to lie somewhere

else in some other country, and who can move production and activities if workers become too demanding.

All too often, they face governments which simply do not care. There is a British company called Cable and Wireless which has extensive links with the company Sprint, which Morty mentioned this morning, particularly to try and create what it calls a global network which will link all the main financial and business centers of the world-- New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong, London and so on.

That company was in many ways the pride of the British government. In fact, it was created by the British government as its first act of privatization in Britain. It was the first company allowed to create a competing telephone network in Britain as a result of deregulation.

The British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher at the time, proudly and publicly and successfully campaigned for Cable and Wireless to be allowed to enter the Japanese market. In March of this year, Cable and Wireless de-recognized the two unions organizing its workers in the United Kingdom, and it tore up every collective agreement which it had with them.

One month later, it sacked without notice 1,100 of its workers in the Hong Kong telephone company, which it owns. What was the reaction of the British government, the government which created this company, which changed the rules to allow it to prosper, and which publicly lobbied for it?

When we in the PTTI complained to the British Prime Minister about the de-recognition and about those dismissals, the reply came back from the officials in a short, four-line letter which said, "Cable and Wireless is a private company. There is nothing the government can do about it." That is how much the government cares. It cares for the profits of the company, but not one jot when it dismisses 1,000 workers.

But it is not only Cable and Wireless and the British government which are guilty parties in this kind of affair. In the last year in the Dominican Republic, we have seen a situation where a free trade zone exists and where there are several large multinationals operating, including one of your employers, GTE.

Last year, the government of the Republic guaranteed all workers in the free trade zone that they could join trade unions. But days later, the companies, including GTE, started to dismiss all the new union leaders.

There was a worldwide protest led by the AFL-CIO. It was joined by the CWA. It was joined by PTTI affiliates throughout the world. And as part of that campaign, the AFL-CIO called for the ending of all the favored trade agreements with the Dominican Republic.

Once again, that call fell on the deaf ears of the authorities in the USA, another government which simply did not care when workers are dismissed.

These are the kinds of problems to which CWA has drawn the attention of telephone workers throughout the world in the last two years. There is no quick and easy solution for those problems. There must be a solution found on an international level, and we have started that work, as Morty said.

But the CWA, in calling an international conference on Northern Telecom this year, I believe is taking another important initiative and it is one which I hope, indeed I am absolutely sure, will be copied by other unions in relation to other companies when we hold our next meeting on the Multinationals in Telecommunications in Geneva next month.

By focusing on the multinational issue, the CWA has once again emphasized the need for international solidarity of telecommunication workers-- solidarity to support and assist our colleagues, some of whom are present here today from countries such as Poland and Bulgaria where they are fighting to build free trade unions after years of dictatorship.

Solidarity to support our friends in Thailand who two months ago found that in one single day

the military government of Thailand had passed three stages of legislation to ban all unions in the public sector. That includes the telephone workers union to which our colleagues belong.

We need that solidarity to remind the world that as governments proceed with absolutely indecent haste to lift sanctions against South Africa, there is still not one single Black African member of our PTTI union there who has ever been allowed to vote in a free election. (Applause)

That solidarity is needed to remind the world that as governments promote trade with China, the execution, the imprisonment, the persecution of workers who dared to form free trade unions in that country continues.

Mr. President, the PTTI has one simple belief on which our work is founded. That is the belief that we can create a better world where all workers, whichever country they live in and whichever industry they are working in, must have the right to join and organize unions.

With your support, the PTTI will continue to do that work. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Philip.

We spoke this morning about mission and passion in our work as union leaders and activists. I am honored and somewhat humbled to introduce our next speaker who is living a mission of passion to free her nation.

Lu Jinghua is a former garment worker and the highest ranking official from the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation to escape from China after the Tiananmen Square Massacre on June 4, 1989.

She participated in the Tiananmen Square rallies and directed broadcasts for the BWAFF from the Square.

After the crackdown, Lu Jinghua was declared a criminal and placed on the Chinese government's "Most Wanted" list. Fortunately, she made her escape from China. But she left behind her husband and a year-old baby.

Today, she is working and hoping for the day when she can return to her homeland when it becomes a free and democratic nation.

Lu Jinghua is a modest person. Saturday evening when we had a reception for our foreign guests, I was talking with her and the young man who will do the interpreting for her, Liu Jun Guo. She was busy talking with him and I said, "What is she saying?"

He blushed a bit and said, "She is telling me to introduce me to you." What he was kind of reserved to tell me was that he too was on the "Most Wanted" list, that he got out of China along with Lu Jinghua, that he was a graduate student at the time, organizing for the democracy movement in Canton Province in Southern China.

As many of you may know, I serve as chair of the AFL-CIO's China Committee. All of us can remember with awe and sadness the sight of the lone demonstrator in Tiananmen Square, holding flowers in outstretched hands and stopping a massive column of tanks. There was an individual with passion about their mission, the same passion and intensity that Lu Jinghua symbolizes.

I have met Lu Jinghua and have been impressed with her determination, courage and heroism. She represents all the brave and daring people inside China who are quietly working today to make historic change possible in their society.

Please listen carefully to her message and give a warm welcome the Lu Jinghua. (Applause)

SISTER LU JINGHUA (Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation): Thank you. Good afternoon. I speak a little bit, it is true, but I am sorry.

. . . Sister Lu Jinghua addressed the convention in Chinese and her remarks were interpreted

by Liu Jun Guo as follows . . .

The mere fact that I am able to stand here and speak to you and tell my story is due to help of many union heroes inside of China and the Workers Association in Hong Kong and also the American Labor Unions.

I am here to give sincere thanks to all the people who have been helping me. Thank you. (Applause) Thank you.

During the 1989 Chinese democracy movement, the Chinese workers gradually realized that we, like Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng, were all citizens with the same citizens' rights of free speech and, therefore, we felt that we should stand up and speak for ourselves. That is why we organized the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation.

Soon after the BWAFF was established, we started informing people about it. Our basic goals were really to serve Chinese Workers, to insure that Chinese workers would really become leaders in their factories and to expose the corruption of the present government.

We set up a broadcasting station in Tiananmen Square, and I was a broadcaster. Every day, when my voice broadcasted what we felt in our hearts out to the masses, there were tens of thousands of people listening, and many of them submitted articles to us.

From that time on, I, as an ordinary worker, felt the great significance of having the right to speak.

From the end of May 1989 until June the 2nd or 3rd, thousands of people registered to participate in our organization. Even though this is a sort of small number, but its significance is that this is the first autonomous workers association ever since the communists took over the communist party in 1949.

Many workers expressed the reasons they joined the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation. They wanted to have their own trade union and they wanted to choose their own jobs freely and have a union which would really protect their interests.

Unlike the students and the intellectuals, many of our workers could not articulate the complex theory of freedom and democracy, but through this movement we realized that for us democracy means having the right to speak against repression and to unite together to protect ourselves.

The Chinese Communist Party claimed that they represented the workers' benefits and to be leading the country for the workers, but when the workers rarely requested what they wanted they were punished.

Three of our main members in the Federation were secretly arrested on June 3rd. But after a strong protest coming from the workers and the students and the intellectuals in Beijing, the government had to release them.

But during the June 1st massacre, many workers stood up in front of the tanks to protect the students and the intellectuals, and many of them were killed, and many of them were members of our Federation.

After the June 1st massacre, the Chinese Communist Party sent the army to various factories to search for the workers. Thousands of workers were put into jail and were savagely beaten. They were more cruelly treated than the intellectuals and the students.

In order to belittle the representation of our Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation and to cover up the fact that the workers rose up against the government, the communist party branded the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation was composed of some people who were good for nothing in the society.

But we know very clearly, all the members in the Workers Autonomous Federation had their

workers' identification cards and their citizens' identification cards. All the main members in the Federation were very respectable people and common workers.

Recently, the Chinese Communist Party wanted to get a most favored status from the United States. When answering the questions about the Chinese 1989 democracy movement, they just said something about how they would try to be lenient to the pro-democracy students, with no mention about the workers at all.

It is already two years after the June 1st massacre, but many of the members of the Workers Federation, including citizens in other cities and provinces in China, are still in prison. And some of them were secretly executed, and we do not know their names.

All the workers of the world are brothers and sisters. The suffering of the Chinese workers is also your suffering. The cruelty by the government of the Chinese workers is also a humiliation to workers all over the world.

After coming to the United States, I got a lot of help and encouragement, but again I want to remind you that in China there are millions of workers there. Do not forget them. Please stretch out your strong arms and help them. Let us work together. And I believe the day when the independent workers federation can exist in China will come soon.

Thank you very much.

. . . The delegates arose and extended a great ovation to Sister Lu Jinghua . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I kind of feel somewhat foolish in just presenting a token of our appreciation and support, but let me do that just so that Lu Jinghua remembers the time she was here. (Presentation - applause)

SISTER LU JINGHUA: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me share one thing with you. She mentioned in her remarks about the Chinese government seeking a most favored nations trading status with the United States. About a year and a half ago, I represented the AFL-CIO before a Senate Committee in opposition to a most favored nation treatment. And in my remarks, and in response to a question from Senator Moynihan, I spoke about how proud I was to have been invited by the President of the United States to the White House when he presented Lech Walesa with a freedom medal.

But how hypocritical, because at that very movement, until about a month ago, a 26-year-old railroad worker named Hun Dong Fong was languishing in jail for doing precisely what Lech Walesa got a medal for. And the silence from the White House and the United States of America was shameful. (Applause)

Now, this brother was recently released from prison. We hope that he will survive because his health is very bad.

And as Philip Bowyer pointed out in his remarks, it is only the outrage of the workers in the free world on this planet that could bring the dictators to justice.

Big business will not do it. The very day that I testified before the Senate Committee, I read in the current issue of "Business Week" that AT&T had sold the Chinese government the latest switch for the personal use of the general who ordered the slaughter at Tiananmen Square. (Boos)

But unfortunately, it is not restricted to AT&T or American companies. It is the dollar and the pound and the yen, or whatever the currency is that drives them. And it is only the workers who are constant across the boundaries. And our outrage has to be continuous and meaningful and from our hearts that we will not tolerate or be silent to slaughtering of workers or people who simply want the right that many of us take for granted, to have a union of our own choice.

And I know from your expression to these two heroes-- they do not look at themselves that

way, but they are-- of our total support to do whatever is necessary to give them the moral, financial, whatever kind of support we can so that when the day comes-- and it surely will-- these are the new leaders of new China.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded at length . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me thank the Escort Committee for Lu Jinghua.

. . . As each member of the Escort Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

Wilbur "Bud" Ralston, President, Local 1021

Richard Verlander, Delegate, Local 2201

Sherri Dee, President, Local 3205

Fran Sparacello, President, Local 4213

Charlie Fine, President, Local 6014

Miriam Tyson, President, Local 7108

Paul Akagi, 2nd Executive Vice President, Local 9415

Lois Grimes, President, Local 13550

Linda Morris, President, Local 14406

Thank you all very much. (Applause)

Would the Resolutions committee come back to the platform please. (Applause)

The Chair of the Resolutions Committee.

DELEGATE J.C. SMITH (Local 3218): If the delegates will please turn to page 4 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the resolves of Resolution 53A-91-4, entitled "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations."

U.S. - MEXICO FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

A Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Mexico that ignores the wide social, political and economic disparities between both nations will be a disaster for U.S. and Mexican workers. The use of "fast track" negotiating authority, secured by President Bush, severely limits public and congressional debate on the serious issues involved in these negotiations.

CWA supports open and fair trade with all nations. The goal of international trade should be to expand the economic pie for all, rather than individual national fighting over larger pieces for themselves. But the dream of an open world trading system remains just that-- a dream. While the U.S. policy makers have opened our borders to any foreign competitor, other countries continue to restrict and limit U.S.-made products and services. As a result, U.S. working families have suffered lost jobs, a lower standard of living and little job security. Meanwhile, the current recession is becoming more severe.

The proposed Free Trade Agreement with Mexico, however, poses even greater challenges. The abuses of the Maquiladora labor system, for example, under which some 500,000 Mexican workers labor, have been widely publicized. Under this system, Mexican workers are paid subsistence-level wages; child labor is common; there is little effective enforcement of environmental and labor laws; and safety and health regulations are ignored.

The workers, who lack effective union representation, and their families have little hope for improved lives in the future. Tens of thousands of U.S. jobs have been lost as employers move south of the border to take advantage of cheap wages. All along the U.S.-Mexican border,

drinking water supplies and irrigation waters are being polluted and fish and wildlife face extinction as the entire region lives under the threat of toxic poisoning.

A Mexican-U.S. FTA would promote the spread of the Maquiladora system throughout the entire nation.

In addition, the Mexican people live under a harsh, authoritarian political System. Elections regularly are conducted under the threat of violence and corruption. Free trade with the U.S. will neither guarantee free elections for the Mexican people, nor a more democratic political system.

The proposed Mexico-U.S. FTA also poses special challenges to CWA members. Already, CWA-represented employers such as AT&T have opened production facilities in Mexico. Many CWA members have seen their jobs moved to Maquiladora plants. A Free Trade Agreement with Mexico also will encourage the mass transfer of electronic information services now performed by CWA members. Answering services, credit and data collection and customer billing are just a few of the services which could easily be transferred to Mexico under an FTA.

CWA calls for our trade representatives to include enforceable social, environmental and political standards as part of the FTA negotiations. An FTA with Mexico should seek to raise the standard of living of Mexican workers, rather than depressing U.S. living standards in the face of low wage competition. We should use a Free Trade Agreement to improve life for Mexican workers instead of locking them into a permanent system of low wages, unfair labor practices and poor living conditions. We should not limit FTA negotiations to only economic issues.

Finally, CWA believes that the huge differences that presently exist between the U.S. and Mexico are too serious to be left to the interests of private capital. A "level playing field" must be created between the U.S. and Mexico to ensure that workers on both sides of the border are not exploited. We should move slowly to integrate Mexico as part of the industrialized economy of North America by phasing in FTA provisions over a period of time.

RESOLVED: That this 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America urge the Congress to reject any Free Trade Agreement with Mexico unless it includes a full set of enforceable social, environmental and political standards to ensure that workers and citizens in the United States and Mexico will benefit.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution of Resolution No. 53A-91-4, "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations." (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Galvan.

DELEGATE RICARDO L. GALVAN (Local 6229): Fellow Delegates, members of my Local, as well as other Unions in South Texas, can give you a very clear picture of what a future free trade agreement with the Bush administration would look like. We have seen the future. It is called the Maquiladora zone. The Reagan and Bush administrations have encouraged United States corporations to build plants along this ten mile strip that runs along the Mexican side of the border.

What we have seen is the shameless exploitation of the Mexican workers as well as the abandonment of American workers by corporations lusting after cheap wages, tax breaks, and freedom from virtually any regulatory restrictions.

I'm talking about companies like the big three automakers, and Motorola, RCA and yes, AT&T, which has the largest plant in Matamoros.

We have seen these companies dumping waste into the Rio Grande River, fouling the source of drinking water for all of us who live along the border.

They have turned the air, the water and soil of this region into an environmental disaster.

These modern day robber barons pay the Mexican workers as little as they can get away with, seventy or eighty cents an hour. Benefits are minimal, safety conditions in these plants are miserable; the workers live in shacks without running water or electricity in most cases.

They are virtually locked into a system of peonage by some of the wealthiest and some of the most powerful businesses in the world.

If George Bush is content to let this situation exist, and he has been, then you can rest assured that his so-called Free Trade Agreement isn't going to do much about protecting workers' rights, workers' safety or the environment. The disgraceful Maquiladora program, which has been perpetuated and promoted by Presidents Reagan and Bush, is merely a preview of what's in store for all of Mexico.

To claim that a Free Trade Agreement will help create jobs for American workers is a sham. To claim that the motives of this administration, and of the rich people and corporate barons who elected it, is to help the poor Mexican workers raise their living standards is a great hypocrisy.

In agreeing to "fast track" negotiations, the Congress gave President Bush a "blank check" to negotiate a Trade Agreement without public debate and input. Brothers and sisters, that blank check is going to be a very bad check for the working people of Mexico and the United States. And it's going to be up to us to tear it up.

I urge your support for the resolution. Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone no. 3, Delegate Finn.

DELEGATE JOE E. FINN (Local 3263): Thank you, Morty.

President Bahr, Brothers and Sister Delegates. I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-4, "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations", the future of negotiating when AT&T has already felt the devastation of lost jobs to members. As our work continues to go across the borders a Free Trade Agreement and fast-tracking authority will surely mean the end of manufacturing jobs and all jobs connected with them.

We must stand together in favor of this resolution to stop manufacturing jobs from disappearing here in the United States.

I ask your support in this most important resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone no. 3, Delegate Metz.

DELEGATE PAUL A. METZ (Local 7060): President Bahr and Fellow Delegates, Brothers and Sisters.

Being the President of Local 7060 I represent 1400 people. I would urge you to support Resolution 53A-91-4. We have lost many brothers and sisters in our Local with the export of many of our jobs to Mexico.

If the present federal administration in Washington, D.C. continues with this present policy, many more of our co-workers will possibly lose their jobs and, brothers and sisters here, at this delegation, lose their livelihood.

Therefore, I strongly urge you to support Resolution 53A-91-4. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone no. 3, Delegate Bradby.

DELEGATE REAL BRADBY (Local 2260): President Bahr, Platform Guests, Brothers and Sisters.

I stand before you today in favor of this Resolution 53A-91-4, "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations".

I stand before you today with 2,000 CWA workers in Richmond, Virginia, saying, "Fight." We will continue to ask the governor of this country to rip out the hearts of the many American men and women working today. It's time for us to take a stand. It's time for us to get out of offices that we are sitting in each and every day,

If it takes screaming a little louder, then let's scream together and blow the roof off.
(Applause)

If it takes marching on Capitol Hill day and night, then let's start the march right here and now. (Applause)

One thing I do know, that the jobs that we are doing today in this country has made this country what it is. I urge all delegates to adopt this resolution.

I'd like to leave one thought with you. I'm proud to be American, but I'm even damn proud to be a trade unionist in CWA. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates are at the mike. The resolution is 53A-91-4.

All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Bob Parks.

DELEGATE ROBERT PARKS (Local 2202): If the delegates will please turn to page 5 of the Resolutions Committee Report I will read Resolution No. 53A-91-5, entitled "Support for Public Workers".

SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC WORKERS

CWA and other unions are obligated to protect their members, the country and its people from the second generation of Reaganomics. Too many of our labor-supported, elected Democratic leaders have forgotten their commitments to CWA and the Labor Movement.

The Governors of New Jersey and Texas, and the Mayor of New York City, were fully supported by the efforts of CWA during their campaigns. Their current actions are breaking the long-standing commitment of the Democratic Party to honor the role and contributions of organized labor within the party.

Faced with budget shortfalls, state and local governments throughout the United States are threatening CWA public workers with cutbacks and loss of their jobs in violation of their contracts with CWA.

RESOLVED: That the CWA national union and public and health care workers call on New Jersey Governor Jim Florio, who was the recipient of CWA funds and support during his campaign, to step back from the brink of not honoring this contractual obligations to the Communications Workers of America and other unions.

RESOLVED: That we call on Governor Ann Richards of Texas, Mayor David Dinkins of New York City, elected officials and legislative bodies in all those states and local governments where CWA represents public workers, to honor their commitments. Labor supported, elected officials in Mississippi, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Missouri, Ohio, Florida and other cities and states must enter into substantive discussions with the CWA to find alternatives to layoffs, understaffing, health care increases and cutbacks in public services.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-5, "Support for Public Workers".

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

On microphone No. 1, Delegate Wade.

DELEGATE CAROLYN C. WADE (Local 1040): Mr. President, I wish to amend the resolution as follows:

RESOLVED: This Convention commend the actions of the New Jersey Assembly's Appropriation Committee in their action to promulgate a budget which provides for full funding of the contracts between the State of New Jersey and the Public Employees Coalition of Unions.

RESOLVED: That this body call upon the New Jersey State Legislature and the Governor to approve and support the Assembly's Appropriation Committee proposed budget, which provides for full funding of Public Workers contracts.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

Carolyn, you may speak five minutes on your motion.

DELEGATE WADE: Fellow delegates, the eyes of the nation has been on the State of New Jersey on the backs of Public Workers. Several states, counties and municipal governments are following the leadership of Governor Florio of New Jersey, in demanding contractual takebacks from Public Workers.

Such actions, if Governor Florio is allowed to succeed, will destroy unions and collective bargaining for Public Workers. We cannot allow our contracts to be abrogated. We believe that a contract is a contract is a contract, and it is binding on all parties.

CWA and the Coalition of Public Workers Unions have thoroughly examined the Governor's proposed budget, and we have found that there is lots of fat. We have proposed cutting this fat through the promulgation of an alternative budget and through other measures.

The Union's proposals would have balanced the budget, without increasing taxes, decreasing the delivery of services to the public, or the laying off of public workers.

The Governor rejected our efforts and made a political decision to cut the muscle in government by not funding the contracts and laying off thousands of unionized workers who provide direct services to the public.

We have fought long and hard in many arenas to get to this point. Full funding of our contract is absolutely necessary. The Assembly's Appropriation Committee has made the first step.

Therefore, I urge the delegates of this Convention to do the right thing - support public workers and support this amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, on the amendment, Delegate Zickwolf.

DELEGATE BERNICE L. ZICKWOLF (Local 1039): Thank you. We commend the Assembly of New Jersey for the full funding of the Public Workers contracts in the proposed new budget.

The fight does not stop here. This is the first step forward. The second step is to have the New Jersey Senate follow in the Assembly's lead.

We need the full New Jersey legislature to approve the newly proposed budget which now contains full funding of the negotiated contracts of Public Workers in New Jersey.

We need you to call the New Jersey legislature to urge that legislative body to do the right

thing. Then give Governor Florio a call.

Governor Florio, do the right thing. Fund our contract fully. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 3, Delegate Wolfe.

DELEGATE VIRGINIA WOLF (Local 1038): Thank you, Morty. Brothers and Sisters, ten years ago the Public Workers in the State of New Jersey found a home in CWA, thank God.

And now we come to our brothers and sisters and ask for your support on this amendment.

When the NYNEX strike took place, we knew it was for medical benefits. In New Jersey, our medical benefits also are in grave danger. Although the bill has come out of the Assembly with funding we really don't know if this is going to be the end of the struggle or not. My feeling is that it is not. I therefore am asking my brothers and sisters to support this amendment so that we in the New Jersey Public Workers delegation can go back to New Jersey and say what a terrific damn bunch of people you are to support us. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 5, Delegate Woitena.

DELEGATE GARY WOITENA (Local 6143): Will a copy of this, assuming it is passed, will a copy of this be sent to the Governor of Texas and the Governor of New Jersey?

PRESIDENT BAHR: If that's the desire of this body, it would be sent. Would a motion be in order?

It would not be necessary, based on the response.

DELEGATE WOITENA: Okay, thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question.

No one else desires to speak on the amendment. The amendment in effect adds two Resolveds:

"RESOLVED: That this Convention commends the actions of the New Jersey Assembly's Appropriation Committee in their action to promulgate a budget which provides for full funding of the contracts between the State of New Jersey and the Public Employees Coalition of Unions; and be it further

"RESOLVED: That this body call upon the New Jersey State Legislature and the Governor to approve and support the Assembly's Appropriation Committee proposed budget, which provides for full funding of Public Workers contracts."

All those in favor of the amendment indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

On the motion as amended, on microphone No. 3, Delegate Henning.

DELEGATE WILLIAM HENNING, JR. (Local 1180): I rise to urge my fellow delegates' support of the struggle that Public Workers are engaged in.

All of us, whether we work for corporations seeking to make a profit or for government providing vital services to all of our residents need to recognize that it is our labor power which unites us all.

Just as we are looking for your support, we pledge to continue to deepen our members' understanding of the ways in which we are all connected to the fate of workers in the so-called private sector as well.

For example, New York City has lost one million jobs, mainly in manufacturing, since 1985. Our construction industry now suffers under an unemployment rate hovering around 38 percent.

As we care about our worker protecting the jobs, health benefits and conditions of the Public

Workers we are privileged to represent, we must reverse the disastrous policies which have brought all working people to the precipice.

Those of us who operate in the government arena have long understood the importance of political activity, both electronic and more broadly, political. It has not been lost on us that those places where we are engaged in life and death battles are now run by members of the Democratic party.

Long cast is the champions of the interest of working people. It is especially ironic that all of the named public officials in this resolution, Governor Florio of New Jersey, Governor Richards of Texas, and Mayor Dinkins of New York City won their offices in hard fought elections where CWA members played a key role in supporting them.

As the delegates may know, the New Jersey Brothers and Sisters are gearing up to run 16 candidates against the Democrats and Republicans for the state legislature. (Applause)

It is time we make it clear to those politicians to accept our support, our dollars and our people power to get elected, only to turn their backs on us and on a progressive agenda once in office, that we are not to be toyed with.

We must be prepared to experiment with new and innovative techniques in the electrical arena, even as we experiment in the workplace and our members are ready to take some bold steps.

In a survey Local 1180 conducted ten months ago among 500 of our members, we found some very interesting results. And they were not just Local Officers, not the Local Executive Board, not our stewards and activists who identify themselves as progressive Trade Unionists. These were 500 rank and file members of our Local selected at random by a reputable polling firm.

Let me just read you the results of some of the questions, and you can draw your own conclusions about whether members are ready for new forms of electoral struggle.

To the question, "Which of the two major political parties, the Democrats or the Republicans do you think best represents the interest of working people?" 50 percent said the Democrats; 5 percent said the Republicans; 40 percent said neither. (Applause)

When we asked about their agreement with the statement, "Both the Democratic and Republican Parties care more about the interest of big business than they do about the interest of working people", 62 percent agreed; 31 percent disagreed.

To the question, how they agree with this statement, "The best way for Unions to achieve their political goals is to support the efforts of Reverend Jesse Jackson to reform the Democratic Party," and this is from a Local Union that endorsed Jesse Jackson, 32 percent said--

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE HENNING: --agreed; 50 percent disagreed; 18 percent were not sure.

And, finally, we asked about their agreement with this statement, "It's time for the Labor Movement to build a new major political party of working people that would be independent of the two major political parties?" 49 percent of our members agree with that. (Applause)

By all means, support Public Workers. Let's begin to send a message to the fair-weather friends that we are prepared to break with them and run our own candidates, worker candidates. That may yet be the best way to support all workers, public and private. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Coss.

DELEGATE DAVID R. COSS (Local 7055): I'd like to amend this resolution.

On line 7, after the word "party", I'd like to add the words, "including active support of the right

of Public Workers to engage in collective bargaining."

On line 15, after the word "Texas" I'd like to insert the words, "Governor Bruce King of New Mexico".

That's my motion.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. The delegate may speak on his motion.

DELEGATE COSS: Yes, I'll be brief.

In the campaign last fall, Governor Bruce King told the Mexico State employees that he would support us on collective bargaining. We lost a collective bargaining law in New Mexico by one vote. The Governor turned his back on us, he was totally silent during the legislative session.

I am in full support of this resolution. I just do not want Governor Bruce King, a Democrat from New Mexico, to think that the CWA International didn't notice this.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment at microphone No. 3, Delegate Floyd.

DELEGATE CARLA FLOYD (Local 7901): President Bahr, Fellow Delegates.

I support the addition of New Mexico to this resolution. Our brothers and sisters in New Mexico are in a continuing struggle to achieve the same rights as the Public Workers in other states. Please let us support their struggle as well as those of our brothers and sisters in other states.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, Delegate Israel.

DELEGATE STEVE ISRAEL (Local 7037): I, too, am going to be real brief.

Those of us in New Mexico, we went through a hell of a campaign there, we worked real hard for Governor Bruce King.

When I read this resolution, I realized it's pretty in-depth when you talk about getting past that very essential issue of collective bargaining. That's what this resolution is really about.

Those of us in New Mexico, we don't even have that right today. Now we truly do need your support on this.

I urge each of you, I'm going to be very brief here, I urge you to please help us with this and let's get on with business.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No one else cares to speak on the amendment.

The amendment is, add on line 7 after "party", include "actively support the right of public employees to engage in collective bargaining," and on line 15, add after "Texas", "Governor Bruce King of New Mexico."

All those in favor of the motion to amend indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

On microphone No. 1, Delegate Wiszmann.

DELEGATE ERMA J. WISZMANN (Local 7117): I'd like to amend the resolution to include

"calling on the elected officials of all states, Republicans as well as Democrat, to honor their commitments not only to those who supported them for office, but to those who may not have supported them, to meet their responsibility to their constituents; that is, to honor the duly legally negotiated contracts in the public sector. If I have a second I would like to talk about Iowa.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the amendment. It has been seconded from the floor. The delegate may speak on the motion.

DELEGATE WISZMANN: This motion is to support the main resolution, but we have got to take our Union's supported government leaders to task.

We have to make them responsible to the people in their jurisdiction, and we have a right to expect fair and reasonable contracts. We need to go further than just make our Democratic labor-supported government representatives responsible.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States Constitution speaks to "We the People." We have to take the Republican government representatives to task as well.

I am from Iowa, and let me tell you about our Governor Terry Branstead. We in Iowa call him "Braindead." (Laughter)

AFSCME and SEIU have negotiated contracts with the state representing state workers. The legislature appropriated funds to cover the very modest wage increases that were negotiated. What did "Braindead" do? He vetoed that part of the legislation.

Needless to say, the Unions have filed lawsuits against the Governor. This is Iowa's PATCO. If the Governor gets away with this in Iowa, many other governmental entities will try to do the same thing in Iowa.

This is one of the most formidable and interesting situations I have witnessed in my years in Iowa. It will be interesting to see what the judges in Iowa do with these lawsuits. It will be of interest to you to know that "Braindead" has also frozen the wage increases of the judges who will be ruling on these cases.

I urge you to support this amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No Delegate cares to speak on the amendment. All those in favor please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

On Microphone 3. Delegate Jones.

DELEGATE EDDIE JONES (Local 4501): Brothers and Sisters, I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-5, Support for Public Workers.

Ohio Public Workers have the right to strike, which our Brothers and Sisters in new Jersey, Texas, New York and others states do not.

However, having the right to strike is not the total solution to resolving contract disputes. We must realize our political muscle and call to task those "friends"-- and I put that in quotes-- of ours who have been here for the money but cannot be found during the legislative session, or those who abandon their Union supporters in lieu of their corporate associates.

In the State of Ohio, unfortunately, we are stuck with a Republican named George-- not George Bush, but George Voinovich, a Reagan-style Republican who has a Republican senate and a Democratic state house. They are fighting over a budget that no matter how you cut it will result in layoffs and cutbacks that directly affect public workers.

At the University we recently completed negotiations of our contract. We too suffered cuts in health insurance. The governor's budget in the State of Ohio may cost over 7,000 state jobs. Public workers in Ohio support our brothers and sisters in New Jersey, New York and across America. We ask your support in adopting this resolution.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 1, Delegate Schultz.

DELEGATE JIM SCHULTZ (Local 9408): I call for the question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It has been seconded from the floor. It is not debatable. It requires a two-thirds vote. It has the effect of shutting off debate.

. . . The following remarks on Resolution No. 53A-91-5 were presented to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

DELEGATE SYLVIA MEYER (Local 6186): Mr. President and fellow delegates: I urge support of this resolution as amended.

I stand in solidarity with my Sisters and Brothers in New Jersey and New York who face layoffs demanded by elected officials who seem to have lost their courage. I will do whatever I can for them.

Texas State Employees Union will continue to work in whatever way we can with Governor Ann Richards who is a member of our union. We are currently working with her office to ensure her support for voluntary payroll deductions for state employees, a right we don't currently enjoy.

On behalf of all TSEU members, I appreciate all the efforts by CWA locals in Texas, in District 6, and across the nation. Again, I ask support for this resolution. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All in favor signify by raising their hand. Opposed by like sign. The motion is carried.

The motion before us is Resolution 53A-91-5 as amended. All in favor signify by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Those delegates who were on the floor mikes who would like to have their remarks on record can do so by bringing them up to the platform over to the left, and we will see that they are incorporated into the record. They will be appended to the record at the end.

We stand in recess for 30 minutes.

. . . 30-minute recess . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Will the Delegates take their seats, please?

The Chair recognizes the Secretary-Treasurer.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: If I could have your attention. Anyone who has been in the washroom downstairs I am sure could help this Delegate from Local 4250, who, it says here on the note, lost a gold wedding band.

If he does not find it, I know somebody who is in a heap of trouble. (Laughter)

So, if you have found a wedding band in the washroom or any where else, for that matter, bring it up here, and I will find the Delegate and try to save him from a fate that is bad.

. . . Convention announcements . . .

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: A reminder that Vice President Ibsen asked all of you to please cooperate in their efforts to get justice for cab drivers in San Francisco and urge you to use the card and sign up a cab driver on your way back to wherever you are going today and tomorrow and the next day.

That concludes all the announcements, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Jim.

It is now a pleasure for me to introduce to you for the purpose of a report a guy who works with the job 365 days a year, a good friend and good colleague-- M. E. Nichols. (Applause)

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT NICHOLS: Thank you, Mr. President, and, yes, I am standing. (Laughter)

Along with a number of administrative details, my office is also responsible for minority concerns, occupational safety and health, the Union's training programs, the Joseph Anthony Beirne and Ray Hackney Scholarship Funds, Union Privilege Programs and other interface with the AFL-CIO. This report will center on those activities.

CWA held its third National Minorities Conference in Las Vegas the week of February 3, 1991. Over 200 participants representing all of our eight districts attended. Topics discussed at the conference included cultural awareness, drugs in the workplace, APRI, organizing the minority workers, the minority working family, and technology.

One of the highlights of the conference was an address by Dr. Lyn Lewis, a Professor of Sociology at the University of Detroit. Her topic was "Workforce 2000," in which she advised the participants on ways to prepare themselves for the year 2000 and beyond, a time when the majority of the workforce is expected to be women and minorities.

We have recently completed our 9th annual Minorities Leadership Institute at the George Meany Center in Silver Spring, Maryland. This year's participants were:

Loida Ortiz - District 1

Monte Blaney - District 2

Walter Andrews - District 3

Lula Odom - District 4

Sam Barela - District 6

Sam Latigo - District 7

Pete Peralez - District 9

Charles Brittingham - District 13

The classes included:

1. Effective Writing
2. Legislation & Politics
3. Labor Law
4. Economics
5. Collective Bargaining
6. Health Care
7. Teaching Techniques
8. A Panel Dealing with Hispanic Issues
9. Leaflet Writing
10. Labor History
11. Organizing
12. Effective Speaking

13. Arbitration

The next meeting of the Committee on Equity is scheduled for August 12-13 in Washington, D.C. The committee members are:

Nelson Zapata - District 1

Joanne Bell - District 2

Tyrone McAdoo - District 4

Lynette Jenkins - District 6

Mary Taylor - District 7

Herb White - District 9

Arlene Simmons - District 13

The role of the Committee is to advise the President and Executive Board of ways to better involve minorities into CWA.

With local elections completed, an effort is being made to determine how many local minority officers we now have.

If your local has not as yet answered my April 10, 1991 letter, I urge you to do so as soon as possible.

The NAACP Convention will be held in Houston the week of July 7, 1991. Mary Mays-Carroll will be the Chair of this year's labor luncheon held on Tuesday, July 9. The labor luncheon normally is the most popular function of the entire convention. We urge all locals in the Houston area to attend.

The Occupational Safety and Health coordinator has also been quite busy. CWA has been in the forefront identifying the causes of and methods for resolving and preventing VDT repetitive motion illnesses. Unfortunately, we have become experts because a large proportion of our members have been reporting repetitive motion illnesses. We have become very familiar with medical terms like carpal tunnel syndrome, ulnar deviation, and tendinitis.

During the last year, CWA's OSHA office has continued to work with local and district officers and staff to reduce VDT repetitive motion illnesses.

Also, at Headquarters, the Union has formed a VDT Strategy Center. The purpose of the Center is to focus upon prevention and treatment of workplace safety and health problems. This process will occur primarily through the collective bargaining arena.

Another concern is to provide CWA leaders and members with timely educational materials. During the latter part of 1990, our OSHA office and Education Department produced a new video entitled "VDT Victories: Our Right to Health on the Job."

The introduction of new technology, such as VDTs, has, in many cases, produced job stress.

In addition to the VDT technology, factors like increased management control over members' jobs, de-skilling of jobs, and concerns about job security have increased job stress.

We all know that job stress is real. Unfortunately, without scientific evidence to support our case and counter management's unwillingness to negotiate for improved working conditions, CWA has not been very successful at resolving job design factors of occupational stress.

Last year we did achieve a major success in turning this situation around. Last October, President Bahr and Dr. Michael Smith, School of Industrial Engineering, University of Wisconsin, announced the results of the "CWA National Occupational Stress Study." The scientific investigation was the first major occupational stress study conducted within the

telecommunications industry, and the first to investigate the relationship between electronic monitoring and workers' health.

Collecting data from CWA members employed as directory assistance operators, service representatives and clerks by several telecommunications companies, the study identified several important findings.

For example, monitoring was seen as a major cause of psychological and physical health complaints. Monitored workers reported more boredom, high tension, extreme anxiety, depression, anger, and severe fatigue than non-monitored workers. Also, monitored workers reported more repetitive motion problems such as wrist, arm, shoulder, neck and back problems, and headaches than non-monitored workers.

Among CWA members, the finding that monitored workers reported more problems is extremely significant. In part, this information confirms findings from the 1989 "Repetitive Motion Survey."

As a result of CWA's concern that VDT work is causing member repetitive motion illnesses, the Union negotiated an agreement with U.S. West to request the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health to conduct a comprehensive scientific investigation addressing the relationship between VDT use and repetitive motion illnesses. The study, initiated during fall, 1989, is scheduled for completion by August of this year. It is anticipated that the study will more clearly identify the causes of repetitive motion illnesses. Of particular concern will be the relationship between physical design and work organization factors and their cause of member health problems.

In order that CWA can determine the severity of repetitive motion illnesses, the CWA OSHA office is conducting a new survey. We hope the collected data will further help the Union prepare for 1991 bargaining.

In 1982, CWA requested that the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health conduct a VDT Reproductive Hazards Study. NIOSH, after initiating the study in mid-1986, announced the results in March of this year. The investigation involved more than 4,000 CWA workers employed as directory assistance operators by Bell South and AT&T. We found that VDT use and exposure to VDT electromagnetic radiation were not associated with an increased rate of miscarriage. However, the study did find a relationship between cigarette smoking, the presence of a thyroid disorder and an increased rate of miscarriage.

Clearly, the findings from the NIOSH study provided answers to several concerns. However, since the investigation did not address issues such as job stress, infertility, and early natal death, more definitive research needs to be conducted. After this occurs, then the question of whether VDT use is related to reproductive harm may be thoroughly answered.

Since 1980, our OSHA office has been working to identify health hazards potentially associated with electromagnetic radiation exposure. CWA's program has had several scientific investigations conducted on radiation emission from VDTS, microwave/radio-frequency transmission sources, and hand tools. Most recently, as a result of a study identifying high cancer rates among cable splicers, outside plant technicians and central office technicians, CWA has requested NIOSH to examine powerline and central office radiation emissions. NIOSH has agreed to conduct the study during 1991-1992.

It has also been a busy year for the Education Department. During most of last year we worked on developing a new 3-day local officers training program which included a resource binder for local officers, an instructors manual and four videotapes. The Districts held a total of 20 schools and covered 916 new local officers with the new material.

Our second big project was the production of the Mobilization Manual. The manual reflects the vigor and activism of our Union membership. Turn to any page in the Mobilization Manual and you will find proof that CWA-- through your leadership and commitment-- has put the "movement" back into labor movement.

The First Mobilization Manual we put together was distributed at the 1987 convention in New Orleans. At that time we had so few examples of mobilization campaigns we decided to include examples from other unions.

In 1990 when we started writing the Second Mobilization Manual, we found we had the exact opposite problem-- we had so many local mobilization stories, we couldn't include them all.

The Mobilization Manual is primarily a resource manual designed to help locals train new mobilization coordinators and implement and expand campaigns, but it is also a testament to the thousands of hours of work put in by our members in hundreds of workplaces in every state and community.

Our goal was ambitious. Mobilize a national union-- one bargaining unit at a time-- in the public and private sectors. Some said it couldn't be done, but you did it and that is why I have asked that when we reprint the manual in the next few weeks, it carry a special dedication-- to all the local mobilization coordinators and staff who made and continue to make mobilization a success in our Union.

This past year we distributed the third in our Stewards Brochure series titled, "What to do if a member contacts you about a repetitive motion illness." This has been the most popular brochure in the series. Local have ordered over 15,000 copies of the brochure.

In response to federal legislation which requires certain commercial drivers and mechanics to pass a new written test to obtain or renew a commercial driver's license, we made available a "Commercial Driver's License Study Kit." Over 60 locals purchased the study kits and are loaning them out to their members.

In addition to the education materials and programs for local officers, stewards and members, we are also responsible for the on-going training and education of staff. We are presently studying a number of ways to provide follow up training for newer staff and expanded training opportunities for experienced staff.

In working with the Joseph Anthony Beirne Memorial Foundation, a complete copy of the Foundation's activities is before you. However, I want to highlight a few items which I feel will be of interest to you.

The Board of Directors approved the funding of 25 first-year and 25 second-year scholarships at \$3,000 each as well as four non-academic scholarships at \$1,000 each.

We received 1,555 scholarship applications which is a record number. Independent evaluators are in the process of reviewing each application. The scholarship winners will be announced in the August *CWA News*.

In addition, the Board approved:

- * \$13,000 to Cornell University's Institute for Women and Work for a study and training program on the cultural diversity ahead for unions as the year 2000 approaches.

- * \$5,000 to help fund "We Do the Work," a labor-sponsored TV series produced for PBS stations, which you will be hearing some more about tomorrow. Past programs have included the recollections of the Iron Workers who built the Golden Gate Bridge, as well as reports on such significant strikes as the ones at Delta Pride and Pittston.

- * \$8,100 to provide continuing funding for a pilot project in Alachua County, Florida, to provide job training in the communications industry to students at risk of dropping out of high school. A joint project by CWA Local 3105, Gainesville, Southern Bell, and the School Board.

Also, the Board approved \$49,900 to continue funding of the Joseph A. Beirne Memorial Archives and Museum.

Other new or ongoing programs funded by the Beirne Foundation include: The U.S.

Holocaust Memorial Museum; The United Negro College Fund; Botto House, which is part of the American Labor Museum in Haledon, New Jersey; The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute; the Southern Regional Council; Reading is Fundamental; and The City University of New York's Center for Labor-Management Policy Studies.

The Ray Hackney Scholarship Fund is now into its 26th year of operation. The intent, when the fund was created, was to perpetuate the memory of Ray Hackney, the CWA Vice President for whom it is named. Ray Hackney had great compassion for the members of CWA and their children. His travels and work in the southern hemisphere generated great sympathy for the plight of our counterpart workers in those nations.

Applications are accepted each year from January 1 through April 30th. There are eight scholarships amounting to \$4,000 each given to CWA members or the sons or daughters of CWA members in the United States, and eight scholarships amounting to \$2,000 each given to members or the sons or daughters of PTTI affiliates in South or Central America, and the Caribbean nations.

This year's scholarship applications included 4,375 from the United States and Canada, plus 186 from PTTI affiliates. The names of the winners and alternates were drawn on May 14, 1991, and are being verified for eligibility. The winners will be announced in the August issue of the *WA News*.

Union Privilege continues to grow. We now offer our members six CWA Union Privilege programs: They are the Credit Card, Legal Service, Life Insurance, Health Needs Service, UnionRate and the Union Member Mortgage Program.

These programs, I believe, are of real value to our members because they help to meet their needs beyond the workplace. Union Privilege helps to build better lives for Union America, and to the extent that the benefits of membership have increased, our ability to organize new workers and serve our current members is enhanced.

While all the Union Privilege programs cannot be made available to our Canadian members because of the different regulatory and monetary systems in the United States and Canada, I am pleased to report that a Canadian equivalent to Union Privilege, the Canadian Union Advantage Benefit Program, has recently been established to develop the same type of quality, money-saving benefits for our Canadian members.

The new Union Member Mortgage program helps our members, their children and parents buy a home-- one of the largest and most important purchases of their lives-- offering them an easier and more affordable way to obtain a mortgage.

Features include competitive rates, expert counselors to help members select the mortgage best suited to their needs, down payments as low as 5 percent, and favorably priced homeowners and mortgage life insurance. Strike insurance is also offered along with a number of other innovations.

Some 95,073 CWA Mastercards are now held by our members. We estimate that those cardholders have saved \$7.15 million, an average of \$100 per cardholder, using this card compared to other nationally available credit cards.

The card also offers union members-only features such as skip payment two times a year, and the right to skip payments for three months during union-sanctioned strikes over 30 days.

The Legal Service benefit helps our members practice preventive law and find high quality, affordable legal help. Through this service, our members can obtain a referral to a union-friendly attorney who will provide free consultations, a free follow-up letter or phone call, and a 30 percent discount on complex matters. Seventy-four percent of the members who have used this service have done so for free; and 90 percent rated the program as valuable.

The Unionrate Program was developed to help our members earn more on their savings

where a union-sponsored credit union is not available through regular bank passbook savings accounts.

There are no minimum deposits or minimum withdrawals. It is superior to conventional money market accounts because the interest rate is guaranteed not to go below the rate offered on similar accounts by the nation's 100 largest banks and because the rate is guaranteed to keep pace with interest rates generally.

About the Union Privilege Health Needs Service, our Union is one of the first unions to participate in this convenient, reliable mail service pharmacy. This program offers our members and their families savings of up to 30 percent on most prescription medications compared to neighborhood pharmacies.

The program is designed to cut rising medication costs for our members whose prescriptions are not covered by insurance or who have family members and relatives who are not covered under the member's plan. A unique benefit allows our members to receive a \$100 credit for 45 days for needed medications during union-sanctioned strikes over 30 days.

Our current programs are the first steps toward what I envision will be a full menu of benefits and services for our members that meet a wide range of needs, including those at home. Ultimately, we want to be able to encourage our members to turn to our union when they want to buy a home or a car, need legal assistance, are planning a vacation, purchasing insurance, financing a college education, et cetera.

The Union Privilege Programs encourage our members to make use of our union and help to make the union their most valuable resource. I believe that the more often our members turn to our union for services and benefits, the stronger our union will become.

Mr. President, that completes my report.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much, Nick, for that very complete and thorough report.

Now it is time to present the CWA Local Newsletter Contest Awards. This is the eighth year we are doing so. It is our way, at the national level of the Union, of honoring those Locals that make a real effort to keep their members informed and tell the Union's story.

This year's distinguished judging panel included Washington Post editor Warren Brown, Business Week labor reporter Susan Garland, and Paul Schultz, a reporter for Telecommunications Report.

In their report, the judges praise CWA's editors. They say, "As a group, CWA's local union editorial crops turn out highly effective, impressive products well suited to the needs of rank and file members. These publications demonstrated a solid understanding of the need for credibility, trust and mutual respect between the publication and its audience."

The Newsletter Contest is open to all Locals that regularly publish newsletters. These year, we had 66 entries in eight categories. Several awards for feature writing, news writing and other categories have already been presented this week at District meetings by the respective vice presidents. Those editors attending the convention can get a copy of the judges' report from the media center behind the stage.

But at this time, I want to present the top awards to the winners in two separate categories. These are the General Excellence Awards in the categories of Mimeographed Publications and Professionally Printed publications.

The General Excellence Award in the Professionally Printed category goes to *CWA 13000 News, a publication of Local 13000. Robert J. Powell is the editor. (Applause)*

The judges label this bi-monthly magazine a "first-class production." They say, "Photos and artwork highlight editorial matters; letters to the editor are a welcome feature; the effective use of a second color makes the magazine sparkle."

Please join me in congratulating Bob Powell. (Presentation - applause)

The other General Excellence Award is in the category of Mimeographed or Office Copier, and it goes to *Speaking Out*, the publication of Local 3601. Dennis Galliers is the editor. (Applause) And accepting on behalf of Dennis is Lee Roy Bates, the President of the local, who works with Dennis on the newsletter.

The judges note the newsletter is "informative and a joy to read. This monthly publication is chock-full of interesting artwork-- some with a serious message, coated nicely with a humorous tilt." They go on to say, "*Speaking Out* carries its own message: Read me."

Join me in congratulating Local 3601 and Dennis. (Presentation - applause)

The next award is very special to me because it is dedicated to a good friend of mine who was a pioneer in labor journalism, Oscar Jaeger.

Oscar was the first editor of the publication that ultimately became the *CWA News*. He was a student of trade unionism and an astute observer of the telephone industry, as well as a charter member of CWA Local 1150.

The judges say, "This category showcased the best story selection and some of the best writing in the contest overall. Clearly, CWA's editors know the importance of localizing national news and nationalizing local news and when to do each. Nevertheless, the judges felt that one entry in particular was far and away the most noteworthy.

The winner is *Locally Speaking*, the newsletter of Local 1023. Paula Belmonte is the author of the winning story titled "Testimony in Trenton: Electronic Monitoring."

The judges describe the story as "brief, no frills, direct and compelling information on the national phenomenon of electronic monitoring and its impact on CWA members represented by the local."

Join me in congratulating Paula and Local 1023. (Presentation - applause)

Now it is a pleasure to present another very special journalism award. This award is not from CWA. It was bestowed by the International Communications Association to a member of the *CWA News* staff for excellence in reporting and feature writing. And I think it is fitting that the formal presentation be made at this CWA Convention.

The award is called the Max Steinbock Award, and winning it is kind of like winning the "Oscar" in the world of Labor journalism. The Max Steinbock Award is given each year by the ILCA's judging panel for the "best journalistic effort which exemplifies the humanistic spirit."

And that effort was a two-part cover story in the *CWA News*, that set forth the plight of two groups of workers, in two AT&T plants, one in Radford, Virginia and the other in Matamoros, Mexico.

Associate Editor David P. Kent went to both of those locations and talked to the workers in their homes. In Radford, he found working families who thought they had hitched onto the American dream a few years ago, when AT&T built the New River Valley Plant in the southern Appalachian region of that state.

They were earning as much as \$9 an hour and buying homes for the first time. And AT&T was making a good profit from the labor of these proud and hard-working people.

But good profits apparently weren't good enough for AT&T. The company found that it could get Mexican workers in the tax-free Maquiladora zone to do the work for less than \$1.00 an hour.

Much of the work from Radford, Virginia was systematically shifted to Matamoros and finally the New River Valley Plant was shut down and put up for sale last year.

For our Radford members the American dream had popped like a great bubble.

Dave followed the jobs on down to Matamoros and his CWA News story exposed a truly shocking degree of exploitation by AT&T and other U.S. companies that have set up shop along the border.

The At&T workers were living in putrid "colonias," slum-like colonies of concrete block shacks without indoor plumbing or gas or electricity in many cases. Open sewage ditches ran through the colonias. The families obtain their water for drinking, cooking and washing from large storage barrels that once held toxic chemicals.

And throughout the Maquiladora zone the American companies were creating an environmental disaster through their uncontrolled release of toxic waste into the air, water and soil.

This sad tale of corporate greed and exploitation of working people in two countries was noticed by the mainstream news media, and it prompted the Washington Post and other news organizations to spotlight the shame of the Maquiladoras.

This was a good example of the role the labor press can and should play in telling the workers' story, which too often is ignored by the commercial media.

Dave, we are all very proud of your effort. Please come and join me as I give you your award. (Applause)

Congratulations, Dave.

Earlier today you heard from Philip Bowyer, General Secretary of the PTTI. Now it is my pleasure to introduce our next speaker, the President of the PTTI, Curt Persson

Curt also is president of the Swedish telecommunications workers union. He was elected President of the PTTI last December by the PTTI Executive Committee when its then president, Brother Yamagishi, who was also the President of the Telephone Workers Union in Japan and resigned to devote his full attention to the leadership of the new, emerging Japanese Labor Movement.

I have known Curt for several years, and he is an excellent choice to serve as President of the PTTI.

Telecommunications unions around the world face challenging times. Curt strongly believes, just as we do, that we must develop stronger international labor solidarity to successfully protect our members.

I am honored to introduce in his first appearance before a CWA Convention as President of the PTTI our good friend and colleague, Curt Persson. (Applause)

BROTHER CURT PERSSON (President, PTTI): Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters, first of all I would like to thank you for this invitation. It is a pleasure and a great honor for me to participate in the CWA Convention and to address delegates here in beautiful San Francisco.

Let me begin by expressing my gratitude and admiration for the CWA and especially for you, Morton, to whom we in the whole PTTI world are most grateful for your great spirit, your ideas, your leadership and your commitment to international solidarity.

CWA has for many years played a leading role in the PTTI. Today Morton Bahr and his colleagues are continuing and extending that tradition.

There is a long distance between our countries. Sweden, from where I come, is a small country in the very north of the northern part of the globe. The State of California alone is geographically the same size as Sweden, but has almost six times more people.

In spite of this difference, I can assure that we follow with great interest and engagement what happens in your country and what happens within CWA and the telecom sector in the United States of America. Your fight for better working conditions within AT&T, the different Bell

companies. other telecom companies and the public service is of great, great concern to us.

We all are part of a worldwide trade union movement, and we are workers in the fastest growing business of all, the telecom industry.

The telecom industry, which is changing the way for people to work and for people to live all over the world, and that is why we must try as hard as we can to find ways to show our solidarity with people fighting for freedom and union rights everywhere in the world.

Together, unions in the whole world can be a strong movement in favor of freedom, justice and a humane environment, and peace, now and in the future.

I think that we, with pride and dignity, can see it as partly our own success story that East European dictators have fallen and democracy has been introduced, that democracy also is gaining ground in Latin America, Africa, and that apartheid soon will be abolished from South Africa. (Applause)

But, as we rejoice, we must also recognize that old problems continue to exist and many new problems emerge.

In the Soviet Union, in the Baltic states, in Ethiopia, in Iraq we have seen how people's aspirations to national independence can still be met by violence and terror. In Africa we still see millions of people close to starvation in the Sub-Sahara, in countries in central and eastern Europe, where we see economies on the brim of collapse.

In countries like Burma and China people are still violently denied their democratic and human rights.

All this needs a new and real commitment to a new world order by all governments. And in many of our western industrialized democratic countries we see millions of workers without proper health care, without proper education, without proper housing.

Governments must tackle these problems, and trade unions have a special responsibility to make employers and governments give priority to these.

It is also my firm belief that people who work in the communications field have a special responsibility in international trade union work. we can be certain that the internationalization of the different economies will continue. we know the importance of telecommunications for all people to communicate with each other. We know how important it is for everybody to have access to communications.

Therefore, we cannot accept that the few private multinational companies control communication in favor of big business for short-term profit.

We have seen multinational companies, even those which respect trade unions' rights in their home countries, fighting to avoid any unions' recognition when they move to new countries. We should never accept that companies like cable and wireless and others fire workers and trade union representatives from one day to an other, as they did in Hong Kong this spring. We can never accept that workers are kicked around in the name of the free market. That is why we have formed a chain of solidarity, a worldwide chain-- our own PTTI.

As the president of PTTI, I am proud to say that we have a very good international. (Applause)

Delegates, friends, all human beings want to be treated with dignity and respect. They want to have better possibilities to develop and live and work in good conditions with equal rights. That is why we in the trade union movement must face the challenges of the future and making the 1990s the decade of individual freedom, democracy and, yes, together we can do it. (Applause)

On behalf of the four million communication workers in 105 countries in PTTI I wish you a successful Convention.

Thank you very much.

. . . Delegates arose and applauded . . .

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: We have a gift for Curt, that is the product of a Trade Unionist, a retired member of CWA, a hand-carved drake, red-headed drake, and it is an example of the personal skills of a retired member of CWA. For Curt to remember us by. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Curt, we look forward to working with you in the decade of the '90s, as you said, in an effort to bring justice, dignity, job security, eliminate hunger from around this planet. And if anybody could do it, it is the workers.

Would the Resolutions Committee please come to the platform?

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. At this time the Chair recognizes Delegate Lois Grimes.

DELEGATE LOIS GRIMES (Local 3550): If the Delegates will please turn to Page 9 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the resolved of Resolution 53A-91-9, entitled "Economic Policy."

ECONOMIC POLICY

Today's unemployment figures show that those who say this has been a mild recession are dead wrong. While we are told that "recovery is just around the corner," nearly 7 percent of the total civilian labor pool was out of work during the first quarter of 1991. This is the highest unemployment rate experienced in the five years since 1986. Compared to a relatively mild unemployment rate of less than 3 percent for managerial and professional workers, the unemployment rate for semi-skilled and unskilled workers reportedly is more than 11 percent.

The inequities, of course, go far beyond the unemployment line. According to recent nationwide surveys, average compensation gains for U.S. chief executives soared more than 200 percent in the ten years before 1991. This compares to average pay gains for U.S. production workers of about 55 percent in the same period and a rise in the cost-of-living of about 60 percent. In other words, real compensation adjusted for inflation actually dropped for workers but soared for top executives.

While many business leaders are quick to criticize labor for "uncompetitive" compensation levels, *Business Week* reports a 1991 survey showing that the typical 1990 CEO salary paid by American corporations is 53 times the annual average employee wage. This compares to multiples of only 17 in Japan, 23 in Germany and France, and 33 in Great Britain. The salary multiple is even higher at some U.S. telecommunications companies where substantial labor productivity growth more than justifies higher wage gains for front line workers.

In order to promote a high-wage/high-technology society, the Union must actively support policies promoting the SHARING of productivity gains with working people and their families. This is especially germane to the high-tech telecommunications industry where annual labor productivity gains typically exceed productivity gains in most other industries by at least 100 percent. History clearly shows that real after-inflation living standards can be achieved only when productivity gains are equitably shared with workers and their families, not just with top executives and corporate shareholders.

In view of the growing economic crisis faced by state and local governments, it is important that the Communications Workers of America work to ensure QUALITY public services for all citizens. This will be a major undertaking in view of the current assault on public services by conservative "anti-tax" groups. We must work to convince the public that quality public services are not mutually exclusive with FAIR tax rates requiring corporations and upper income groups to pay their fair share.

In addition, in view of this year's momentous discussions concerning a new "free" trade agreement with Mexico, it is critically important that labor work together to improve worker rights worldwide, not just on our home turf. Without our involvement in helping to improve working standards worldwide, big business will continue its move to exploit workers currently suffering under inferior working conditions.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America support equitable economic policies to support a growing standard of living for workers and their families, to include the following:

- * Emphasis on full employment policies intended to help ensure that all workers are afforded the right to improve and maintain a decent standard of living.

- * Emphasis on policies which promote the sharing of high-tech productivity gains with working people and their families. History clearly shows that real after-inflation living standards can be achieved only when productivity gains are equitably shared with workers and their families, not just with top executives and corporate shareholders.

- * Emphasis on policies that will help ensure **QUALITY** public services funded through **EQUITABLE** fiscal policies. The public must be convinced that fair tax policies are not mutually exclusive with the need to maintain quality public services.

- * Emphasis on equitable foreign trade policies which do not promote economic growth at the expense of working people and their families. We recognize that, in today's world economy, our living standards are directly linked with the ability of other workers to stand up against labor exploitation. This will require a commitment to take a more active role in support of improved worker rights worldwide.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-9, "Economic Policy."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

Microphone 3, Delegate Malliett.

DELEGATE MARIE MALLIETT (Local 9410): President Bahr, Sisters and Brothers, I rise in support of the "Economic Policy" that we have before us.

Our country is in an economic crisis. The rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer, and the middle class worker and their family continues to get squeezed.

The unemployment figures continue to rise, and underemployment also remains a serious problem.

We see our own employers close profitable telecommunication plants and move across borders because economic exploitation of the new foreign worker is guaranteed, therefore guaranteeing to the employer more profits.

We just saw two weeks ago in the U.S. Congress a vote in favor of Fast Track, thereby encouraging more jobs in this country to move across the borders. The cities in which we live are suffering from lack of funds to support the public services, so sorely needed. The future of our children is very much in doubt.

The ending of the Cold War has given the American citizen an unparalleled opportunity to rebuild our nation. Our children's education, our infrastructure, environment and workforce are in dire need of massive investments.

Neither the Gulf situation, nor the federal budget agreement should be allowed to divert

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Webb.

DELEGATE SHIRLEY C. WEBB (Local 3204): I call the question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion to call the question has the effect of closing debate. It is not debatable. It requires two-thirds vote.

All in favor indicate by raising their hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The motion is carried.

The proposition before you is Resolution 53A-91-9. All those in favor indicate by raising their hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Bob Parks for "Labor History Month".

DELEGATE ROBERT PARKS (Local 2202): If the delegates will please turn to page 10 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution 53A-91-10, entitled "Labor History Month".

RESOLUTION FOR LABOR HISTORY MONTH

During the industrialization of the United States a distinct labor class emerged with social and economic problems that would ultimately lead to the need of an organized labor movement.

Whole families were employed in factories earning minimal wages, working fourteen hours a day under deplorable conditions. The very people whose sweat and toil made it possible for society to enjoy increased leisure and many conveniences lived in poverty.

Eventually labor unions were formed to make working conditions tolerable, create shorter workweeks, enact child labor laws to stop the abuse of children in sweatshops, promote collective bargaining and help enact legislation protecting all workers' rights.

The labor movement is rich in history which depicts the long and often bloody struggle of working men and women and their enormous sacrifice that created the working conditions and workers' rights we enjoy today. Yet, very little of this history is taught to our young people in our schools and all too often they associate unions with strikes, greed and corruption.

RESOLVED: that the delegates to the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America call on Congress to enact legislation promoting the month of September as Labor History Month, and be it further

RESOLVED: that the Executive Board of the CWA petition the AFL-CIO to join with CWA to promote passage of such legislation.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-10, "Labor History Month". (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion is made. It has been seconded.

Microphone No. 3, Delegate Stegall.

DELEGATE CAROL L. STEGALL (Local 9509): I would like to speak on Resolution 13, not 10.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You called a little early.

Okay. Delegate Terran.

DELEGATE PHILIP M. TERRAN (Local 14430): President, Bahr, Brothers and Sisters. I rise in support of this resolution.

Very little of labor history is taught to our young people in our schools who know nothing about labor unions until they go and get into the workforce. We believe that organizing starts in the shops and offices. It doesn't. It starts in our grammar schools, high schools and colleges.

The Labor Movement is rich in history. The young people in our schools should know how the Labor Movement led the way for better working conditions, promoted collective bargaining and helped enact legislation protecting all workers' rights, such as child labor laws to stop the abuse of children in sweatshops.

The typographical union, now part of the CWA, in 1872 by Convention resolution admitted membership to women on the same basis as men, and became the first organization in the United States to grant equal rights to women.

So the Labor Movement must continue to promote legislation until labor history is a mandatory subject in our schools.

So if your so-called educational president in the White House would have done more time studying labor history, we would all have been better off in this country wall to wall. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 3, Delegate Petersen.

DELEGATE ROBERT E. PETERSEN (Local 14200): I rise to proudly support this resolution. While I am confident you will of course adopt this resolution, I would ask you to consider proudly all the many accomplishments that the Trade Union Movement has been successful in having adopted throughout this country.

I have the honor of serving as President of the oldest trade union that is in continuous existence in the world.

When our forefathers joined together in Washington in December of 1814, our members were working six and seven days a week, 12 and 14 hours a day. How many of our children or grandchildren are being taught in schools all the things that we have accomplished over the last 176 years?

I make it a practice of my own, and I am sure many of you Locals do the same, of contacting your local schools, speaking to your high schools whenever you get the opportunity. But that is not enough. We need to have as a matter of public policy throughout this country that we are going to have it in our schools, we are going to be taught in our neighborhoods, we are going to be taught in all of the associations and organizations to which we belong, that the Trade Union Movement is the reason we have the minimum wage; the Trade Union Movement is the reason we have OSHA; the Trade Union Movement is the reason we have the working hours we do today.

Now, we haven't been successful in all of our efforts, but all of the things that we have been successful in, and each of us here can take great pride in, because we are the ones that made it happen.

When you talk about history in this country today, our youngsters are being taught that the unions are filled with greed, corruption, that the unions, all they want to do is strike. That is not what we are all about. You know what we are about. But the children in the schools of America are not being told the truth about what we are all about.

We need to make sure that our Congress-- and let there be no mistake, they are supposed to be our Congress, it is supposed to be our White House. They are supposed to speak about what is the truth about the American Labor Movement history, and they are not doing it.

They are telling lies to our children. They are telling lies to our grandchildren, and I think it is time that it came to a screeching halt.

I urge you to not only adopt this resolution, but go home and spread the word to your elected officials. We are sick and tired of you being dishonest to the people, to our families. Tell them the truth about what we have done in the nation.

If you get that message across to them I think it will be one little step further along the lines of accomplishing what we need to accomplish of changing the laws in this country and changing the public vision of what we are all about. (Applause)

DELEGATE JACK E. HAYS (Local 3805): Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It has been seconded from the floor.

All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. The motion is adopted.

Before us is Resolution 53A-91-10. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is adopted.

I couldn't help but think, as the previous speaker, Bob Petersen, was talking, he mentioned his local union being the oldest on record. A couple of years ago, I had the pleasure of being at their 175th birthday, and the book that was put out in connection with their birthday celebration was history in itself.

One of the things that grabbed me as I thumbed through it that evening, because we had just celebrated our 50th anniversary, was that their anniversary was celebrated in 1865, and the main speaker at their 50th anniversary convention was the Secretary to the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln.

And that this kind of history is not available to the children in our schools, I think, emphasizes what Bob Petersen was talking about.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair now recognizes Delegate John Ebeling, "Mobilization Works."

DELEGATE JOHN J. EBELING (Local 14616): If the Delegates will please turn to page 13 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the resolved of Resolution No. 53A-91-13 entitled "Mobilization Works."

MOBILIZATION WORKS

On October 25, 1990, seven months after the expiration of its union contracts, The New York Daily News used a minor incident to provoke a strike and permanently replaced its striking workers. What ensued was a 146-day strike involving over 2,300 people from the unions who stood rock solid during a bitter New York winter and who, in the end, emerged victorious.

The solidarity of the Allied Printing Trades Council combined with the mobilization of the entire community brought the strike to a successful conclusion including the return to work of all of the strikers and the firing of all of the scab replacement workers.

The New York Daily News strike is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished by

building a coalition of the AFL-CIO, other labor unions, religious leaders, elected officials and involving the entire community through the use of mobilization.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America salutes the effort of all of the Locals involved in Mobilization campaigns.

RESOLVED: That the delegates to the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America call on all Locals to renew their mobilization efforts to be able to follow the example of the unions involved in The New York Daily News strike.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-13, "Mobilization Works." (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Serafin.

DELEGATE WALTER J. SERAFIN (Local 1060): I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-13, "Mobilization Works," but I support it with some reservations because I know that there are many locals throughout the country who seem to believe that it is better to "play ball with the company" rather than to rattle their cages.

I rewrote this speech three times in the last four hours, so I would ask you to bear with me. It is a very emotional issue for me.

Mobilization does work as long as everybody is doing it with passion and dedication and as long as we have the full support of our International Union-- and I do not mean lip service.

I have spent many a sleepless night wondering if we are the ones who are screwed up, if we are the ones doing it wrong. But that little voice keeps telling me we are doing it right, the way it is supposed to be. "Hang in there. The truth will prevail. Be patient, but also be angry. It's okay."

I know the bastards, and I know the liars that they are. I know firsthand how they can look you in the eye, put a smile on their face, and puts that blade deeper into your back.

Regarding mobilization: in Jacksonville, Florida, the week of January 22, 1991, our CWA Action Plan was discussed, argued, amended and finally approved unanimously on January 25.

I will address specifically, Number II, "Strategy" in part, ". . .our best chance of changing corporate policy is to turn that workforce against the corporate goals and to mobilize it on behalf of worker and consumer goals."

On the job: "Workplace mobilization including job actions remains our most effective means of changing corporate policy." My interpretation of the above clearly means-- dropping out of all joint activities with the company. If for no other reason, and there are many in our case, we have seen our membership decline from 882 in January 1984 to 512 in May of this year.

When we came home from Jacksonville, I was totally convinced that this "catalyst of solidarity" would be kindled within every CWA/AT&T local in the country, with the blessings and support of our national union. I visualized many sparks, many candles, which, individually would be of little significance, collectively becoming a concerted inferno.

After the smoke cleared, I saw or heard about an apathetic, indifferent attitude coming from the trenches and the national union. We seem to think that if we play nice-nice, they will leave us alone. Well, believe me brothers and sisters, the same problems we addressed at Bell Labs in 1981 with QWL are still alive and well in 1991, thank you.

Sometimes we're so complacent in our attitudes that we've forgotten where we came from. Didn't we learn our lesson in 1981 when Reagan fired the PATCO workers? Collectively, we

turned our backs to them and the rest is history.

On February 7, 1991, the four Bell Labs' local presidents met with upper management and presented our signed mission statement which said in essence, "We would no longer participate in any joint activities with the company until the seven resolutions voted on in Jacksonville were resolved to the National's satisfaction."

Well, it didn't take very long for our "benevolent employer" to react. In less than a month, we went from our normal, everyday fire fights, to all out war. The company blatantly implemented unilateral changes in contract language--

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE SERAFIN: --which resulted in six unfair labor charges and more than one hundred grievances filed in the past three months.

Our Vice President Ed Pajak was suspended for "insubordination" on trumped up charges. Our E/VP, John Fazio, received an official counseling for allegedly "cursing" at a supervisor for "doing handouts *before* working hours." Our chief stewards and shop stewards have been docked for grievance meeting time. All lost wages have been made up by the local until we get a judgment from an arbitrator. They have forced our local to damn near break the bank paying for lost wages. I want to thank Charles Murphy, the President from Local 1058, for his offer of financial support during our battle.

I don't know if I'm going to get this done in five minutes,

We alerted Washington with phone calls and faxes keeping them on board and asking for their "divine intervention" in our fight. I played phone tag with Jan Pierce for almost a week and we never did touch base.

. . . At this point in his remarks, the microphone was cut off because the five-minute time limit had expired . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Brother can have the rest of his remarks inserted in the record by bringing them up here. (Applause)

. . . The following is the remainder of the remarks of Delegate Serafin . . .

DELEGATE SERAFIN: Jim Irvine responded in writing with his interpretation of what we meant by mobilization. No response from Morty. What we heard was: "We'll back you if you pull out, and we'll back you if you stay in." I have never heard such political BS in my life. I thought only Jim Florio could speak out of both sides of his mouth.

How do you expect us to formulate a national mobilization plan with a message like that? Why did the National turn a deaf ear to our problems? If it is your intent not to support us, tell us now, and tell us why. As far as we're concerned, no response means no support. If what we're doing is wrong, say so.

Anyone who's been around a while should be able to see quite clearly that the Malcome Baldrige Award is the bottom line for AT&T and they will use smoke and mirrors to get it.

As long as there is even one of our brothers or sisters being exploited by corporate greed, by a lack of health insurance, by a lack of food for their families, regardless of their race, religion or background, we are obligated to do everything in our power to help them. The same should apply for those of us doing mobilization the way it's supposed to be done. If there are other locals throughout the country going through the same or worse turmoil than we are, I'd like to hear from them.

Sometimes it's easy for us to say, "That has nothing to do with me, so why get involved?" It's so much easier to write a check than to say, "I'll be there to help you."

I hope the solidarity of Jacksonville wasn't a farce. We're either in this totally or we're out.

Local 1060 is suffering enough for our commitment. This year's logo reads, "CWA in Action." Action means commitment, regardless of the price. Let's get our rear-ends out there and do what we're supposed to do.

I'm not a prophet, but my intuition tells me we'll soon be "out of business" if we don't get out acts together now. Don't just salute us-- support us. Thank you.

DELEGATE DIANE L. STANGLE (Local 1112): I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-13, "Mobilization Works." As I am sure everyone here is aware, this is a most important resolution. As a steward during the 1989 strike with NYNEC, I now realize that mobilization was the foundation for the success we achieved during the seventeen weeks on the street.

Mobilization can be defined as brief as a phone conversation with a member, or a bus filled with telephone operators going to jail for something they believe in.

Scab labor is unacceptable. (Applause) There is nowhere on earth where CWA was more active than Local 1112 in Upstate New York. We need to educate our members on labor issues.

Communication from our hearts is what is needed to be done to protect our jobs. In the difficult times we face, let the leadership of our CWA locals in New York be recognized as shining examples of what truly can be accomplished through mobilization. Our locals's mobilization efforts built an avenue to unite our members that was second to none.

Our local will continue to strive with the highest level of commitment towards Jobs With Justice.

I urge support for this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Hays.

DELEGATE JACK E. HAYS (Local 3805): Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion was made to close debate. It is not debatable. It requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor raise your hands. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. Debate is closed.

Let me just state, after the resolution is adopted, those who would like the statements they would have made entered into the record, you may bring them up.

. . . The following remarks on Resolution No. 53A-91-13 were presented to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

DELEGATE GAYLE GRAY (Local 4600): I eagerly rise to wholeheartedly support Resolution 13.

Since the inception of the mobilization concept within CWA I have been privileged to serve on the State Mobilization Team in Illinois and the AT&T Mobilization Planning Committee representing District 4.

I'm here to testify-- Mobilization works. Mobilization creates solidarity. And solidarity is our strength.

Mobilization takes us back to the basics "Strength in Unity."

It is the foundation on which CWA is growing stronger every day.

Members are responding to regular one-on-one union contacts with increasing commitment and involvement in the process. Locals are uniting in organized efforts to address common issues and national campaigns have emerged.

Once the seeds are sown, mobilization naturally expands to form coalitions with other labor unions, elected officials and community groups.

"Mobilization" has proven to be an effective bargaining tool at contract time. But equal recognition must be given to the importance of using the process in between contracts to communicate workers' issues to our employers and the general public.

Employers love to downplay the effectiveness of our mobilization efforts, but we know otherwise. If mobilization weren't working, management wouldn't be discussing it. Ask AT&T.

Mobilization works.

Last year in Toronto, the delegates at the 52nd Annual Convention mobilized on behalf of Operators by passing a resolution to "Keep Operators Human" and "Stop the 'Robot' invasion".

As a result, Locals nationwide have mobilized: a media fund was established; radios and newspaper ads, as well as billboards across the country carry "The CWA Operator" issue to the public. And, customers are responding to our mobilization activities signing petitions, returning coupons with telephone bills, "The Human Touch", and by-passing the robot.

Even the 1991 World Book Encyclopedia has recognized CWA's efforts to "Keep operators aware" by including a photograph of our "No Robot" Campaign Kick-Off in Chicago in their 1991 yearbook.

Does mobilization work? You bet it does.

Operators are still alive and fighting, and we intend to stay.

I urge you to support this resolution and renew your mobilization efforts.

DELEGATE ELAINE HARRIS (Local 2001): Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters, Delegates: I rise to support Resolution 53A-91-13, "Mobilization Works."

In the State of West Virginia we have used mobilization on many occasions such as Health Care Action Week, Operator Appreciation Weeks, bargaining at Contel of West Virginia, the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company along with AT&T.

For example, in 1989, the Friday prior to contract expiration in C&P Telephone Company, members in the various work groups wearing red stood at their work stations for five minutes to show support for their bargaining team and to put the company on notice that we were taking a stand to demand a fair and decent contract. Since then, similar actions have followed in other bargaining units with favorable media coverage being given on site.

Most recently, on June 6th, Health Care Action Day, CWA, along with other unions in various plants and work sites throughout the state, stood at 11:55 A.M. stood in recognition of the need, and to demand, health care for all.

We, as CWA locals in West Virginia and Virginia, have seen mobilization at its best in the United Mine Workers of America's struggle and victory against Pittston Coal. This is an effective process that we must not abandon. It is crucial that every local in CWA become involved in mobilization.

All of us at this convention have seen first hand what we were able to accomplish in 1989 bargaining with AT&T, GTE, the R-BOC's and all other companies with which we have contracts. The key to this was an aggressive mobilization program.

I urge each of you to support this resolution and to double our mobilization efforts. Thank you.

DELEGATE SUSAN RYKE (Local 7777): President Bahr and fellow delegates: I rise in favor of this resolution. A couple of weeks ago I was at one of our AT&T work sites and was approached by one of our members who told me something I have heard repeatedly throughout

our membership in Denver. In May 1989, she transferred into a bargained for unit for the first time.

One week later she participated in our National AT&T mobilization action by standing in place for five minutes along with her co-workers. She explained that never in her life had she felt such a sense of unity and empowerment. It was that one job action which made her understand what being part of a union meant. She became a member of CWA that day and has been an active unionist ever since.

As a direct result of our mobilization activities, both at AT&T and U.S. West, our local's membership actually grew during 1989 bargaining. This was unheard of in our local in past bargaining periods.

The same sense of unity and empowerment can be accomplished on a large scale by participating in local Jobs with Justice coalitions. I cannot stress enough the successes that can be accomplished by mobilization activities. Please support Resolution 13. Thank you. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of Resolution 53A-91-13 raise your hands. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. The resolution is adopted.

I want to announce that tomorrow's platform observers are Rick Ramm, President of Local 4300, and Carla Owen, President of Local 6201. (Applause) And they are to come to the platform at 12:15 p.m. tomorrow and report to Virgil Parks, the Sergeant-at-Arms.

I would like you to join with me in recognizing the Escort Committee this morning for Rabbi Shanks:

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Bernice Zickwolf, President, Local 1039; Melissa Morin, President, Local 1400; Sue Merrill, President, Local 2004; Daisy Brown, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 2300; Andy Anderson, Executive Vice President, Local 9421; Alvin Beck, Executive Board Member, Local 9400; Margie Marks, Chief Steward, Local 9410 . . .

The Invocation tomorrow will be given by Reverend Douglas Fitch, Downs Memorial United Methodist Church, Oakland, California.

His Escort Committee will be:

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Anne McNeary, Vice President, Local 4671; Lester Bailey, Treasurer, Local 4310; Yvonne Shoff, President, Local 6406; Mike Patton, President, Local 6505; Randy Myers, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 7070; Mike Rea, President, Local 7601.

They are to come to the platform at 12:15 tomorrow and report to Virgil Parks, the Sergeant-at-Arms.

I also want to thank the Telephone Observers to today for the job they performed.

Let me now ask Jim Booe, if he has some announcements.

. . . Convention announcements were read by Secretary-Treasurer Jim Booe . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: We have finished the work for the day a little bit early. So we stand in recess until 12:30 tomorrow.

. . . The Convention recessed at five-eleven o'clock, p.m. . . .

TUESDAY SESSION

July 25, 1991

The Convention reconvened at twelve-thirty o'clock, p.m., President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the delegates please take their seats.

I don't know how many of you saw the news this morning, with Vice President Quale talking about health care. I guess not too many of you did see it because I didn't hear any laughter.

He said, "What do the American people want?" He said, "They want universal access to health care. They want quality care, and affordable prices. And we should be able to deliver at least two of the three." (Laughter)

That is not a joke. This actually happened.

Would you quickly take your seats please. The Escort Committee will please bring Reverend Fitch to the platform to help us begin our proceedings today. We are pleased to have with us to deliver the invocation Reverend Douglas Fitch of Downs Memorial United Methodist Church of Oakland, California. Reverend Fitch. (Applause)

REVEREND DOUGLAS FITCH: May I say good afternoon. It is a joy to be with you. As an old union person, it is indeed a pleasure to be here with other union people.

Let us bow our heads for a moment of prayer.

O God, we pause in the midst of this convention to acknowledge again that our nation, our land and our people stand under God. Many of us are the recipients of benefits we did not work for, but others did. Many of us share insights and programs and visions that have been implemented by others.

We pray for courage to pass them on to other brothers and sisters across this land. We stand in this very place as debtors to those known and unknown, seen and unseen, whose visions and dreams make this movement possible.

We come to this place having left home, jobs, friends, children, loved ones and significant others to keep the vision alive, to keep the dream intact. We know our lives too often are untidy, work left undone, relationships frayed, issues unresolved. Despite these facts, our tasks are ever before us. May we strive to achieve our goals in these days, leaving those things left undone to Your care.

The agenda before us today and tomorrow and in the days ahead need and deserve the very best we have to offer, of knowledge, understanding, ideas, wisdom, affection and commitment.

May we not break our covenant with those who have gone before us as a union. May we not forget to hear those who are less represented, to extend our dreams and visions to those so long overlooked, many counted out and under-represented.

May we become just that, a union sensitive to every need and every member. O, God, we have serious tasks ahead of us that can only be done by caring, sensitive, courageous brothers and sisters. Energize us for the task, we pray. In Your name, we ask it. Amen. Amen. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much, Reverend Fitch, for those inspiring words.

Would those coming in now please take your seats as quickly and as quietly as possible?

A simple introduction does not do justice to our next speaker, John Henning, the Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the California Federation of Labor, though I know John would prefer it that way.

I was given his biography to prepare this introduction and it had to be the shortest one I have ever read-- just sixteen lines. Yet, within those sixteen lines is a lifetime of service to Union

families and the Labor Movement that spans more than forty years.

Brother Henning has been with the California Labor Federation since 1949. During that period he has taken leaves of absence to serve as the Director of the California State Department of Industrial Relations, the United States Undersecretary of Labor and the United States Ambassador to New Zealand. He was elected Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation in 1970, and has served as the voice of Union families in California since then.

It would be difficult indeed to cite just one of his accomplishments over that period of time, because nearly every piece of labor legislation, every fight on behalf of working people, every election involving the interest of Union families has had his imprint written on it.

I can best sum up his life and service to the Labor Movement in a conversation held between two CWA Delegates in 1989 at our last Convention in California. Two of our Delegates were talking. One was from New York and the other from California.

The delegate from New York was talking about John Henning and said, "Where I come from, they call John Henning the George Meany of the West Coast."

"That's funny," said the California delegate. "Around here, we think of George Meany as the John Henning of the East Coast."

So I'm proud to welcome to our Convention a legendary representative of the Trade Union Movement in America, the Executive Secretary Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, our good friend, Brother John Henning. (Applause)

BROTHER JOHN HENNING (Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation): Thank you, Morty. It is an honor to be with the delegates to this Convention; and honor to be with Morty and with old friends from California, Jim Booe and Dina Beaumont, former members of our Executive Council State Body.

It's a pleasure to be here of course with Harry Ibsen, a member of the Executive Council; and with Jim Gordon, who handles the legislative activities in Sacramento.

In the name of the Federation we welcome you. Our organization represents a bit more than two million AFL-CIO members in this state, and we like to think that ours is one of the more progressive state bodies in the nation. We initiated the fight for divestment in the unit of California. In the eighties we won that fight, largely through our agitation, to billions held by the unit, were divested from their holdings in South Africa long before that issue became popular. (Applause)

Not only that, but in company and in communion with the liberal leadership at that time in the state legislature we led the struggle to have the legislature of California divest all of its pension holdings, all of its capital holdings from corporations doing business in South Africa.

In recognition of certainly the pluralism of our state, we are the only Federation in the nation that has a full-time representative in the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and a full-time representative in LCLAA, respectively, for black brothers and sisters and brown Hispanic brothers and sisters.

This year we will initiate a program also full-time for Asian Pacific representatives in the trade union movement and in the community of California. (Applause)

I would like to offer that all is well in California. But it is not at all. We are facing a historic deficit in state government: \$14 billion. The retiring Governor, George Deukmejian, who spoke for the so-called traditions of Republicanism and frugality in government, left office on December 31st leaving a deficit of \$14 billion.

Now we face a crisis. We have to have the legislature raise the money. That is not the mind of the present Governor of California, and traditionally it is not the mind of all the Democrats. They have in mind raising money only by the sales tax, and then achieving the balance

necessary by the elimination of jobs.

Jesse Jackson was out here and spoke to an audience of 8,000 to 10,000 people a month ago on the crisis we face in this state. And as to the question from whence shall we get the money, he said, "Get the money from where it went." Because here in California, as in the national scene, Deukmejian followed the Reagan philosophy: tax concessions for the wealthy, for the banks and for the corporations. No tax increases, only concessions, for the wealthy. That has been the way in California.

We reminded the Administration here in this crisis that we could bring the whole state to dissolution unless a remedy is found within the next month. We have reminded them of this: They can't get the money from the unemployed in this state. We have more than a million jobless workers in California today. They can't get it from the homeless. They can't get it from the seniors. They can't get it from the disabled and the crippled who, under the plan of the present Governor, will have their benefits cut and their access to state aid destroyed.

They can't get it from the middle class, which is concerned about the encroachment of unemployment everywhere in our community. But you know what their answer is? "We can't touch the rich."

Our program is to tax the wealthy in this state, to tax the banks and tax the corporations. It is the only way out of the tragedy. (Applause)

Representatives of the Governor said yesterday in testimony in Sacramento that under their plan there will be up to 26,000 state employees put out of work. What he didn't add was the cutting of state revenues to county and city government will add thousands more.

The tragedy is that the Democrats in the leadership role are moving along with the momentum of the Governor's program. And this is why we say that any legislator who votes to put thousands of our people in public employment on the street should not and will not get the endorsement of the AFL-CIO next year. (Applause and cheers) Apparently it is the only language they understand.

Yesterday in committee presentations, we reminded the Democrats on the committee by saying, "Those of you who have fought with us in common struggles should be with us now. Don't abandon us." That is the last word of warning within the realm of protocol that we could offer. The application must come to those who abandon us. The application will result in endorsements.

Just a word on this historic city, a great labor city, one we were once proud to say was the most unionized city in the United States. We lost many of the industrial units in the movement toward the service economy, the waterfront. Employment is down, the maritime unions are shells in terms of membership. We don't have the old bases.

But this building you are in has its own great legacy of liberalism and labor history. Here in this very auditorium, in 1920, the Democratic Convention endorsed Franklin Roosevelt for Vice President of the United States. Unfortunately, the ticket of Cox and Roosevelt went down to defeat to Harding that year. Labor history was written here, labor history that dealt with the very genesis and beginning of your union.

On this convention floor of the National AF of L convention of 1934, John L. Lewis rose and raised the cry of industrial unionism, and he said craft unionism is not the only answer to the organization of workers. He said, "Unless you have craft unionism put in its proper place and industrial unionism in its proper place, which means recognition of it, you will never organize Auto, you will never organize Steel, you will never organize Glass, you will never organize Rubber, you will never organize the industrial heart of America."

The CIO was born here. Out of that convention came the Committee for Industrial Organization. And when the issues of industrial unionism were not resolved, Lewis and the founding members of the Committee moved to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of which

your organization, your Union became one of the first affiliates.

There was also a bit of rather tragic history written in terms of labor dissent within. In 1947, the AF of L met here again, and the issue was compliance with the Taft-Hartley provision on a loyalty oath, which all international officials were obliged to take or their internationals could not receive recognition by the National Labor Relations Board.

Lewis fought that. He was back in the AF of L with the Mine Workers, having left the CIO.

On this very floor he stomped up the main aisle, came up here to the microphone, and stated his case, and at the end of it he had a piece of plain paper that he gave to the President of the AFL, and it said on it simply, "Green, we disaffiliate. Lewis."

Those are the tragedies of the Movement, when men of good will find themselves in conflict in the name of Labor advancement.

We are past that era. We are now a united brotherhood, embracing all of the Organized Labor Unions of this nation. We are very proud that our organization was one of the first to recommend the return of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union to the AFL-CIO. We are proud of the fact that they asked us to speak to the ILWU delegation at the convention in Vancouver, and they voted to return to all the docks and all the ships at sea on both coasts and into Canada. They are now AFL-CIO affiliates in the Maritime discipline. (Applause)

Brothers and Sisters, I wish you well in the Convention. The requirement of effective political action has never been more evident in this state than it is at the present time. We did not defeat Wilson last November, and, God, all of our public employees, all the construction workers, the blue collar workers, engaged in schools and state institutions will be out in the street by the thousands, all because we lost an election.

Never forget, and I know you hold it as gospel, that the strongest economic union can be destroyed or crippled overnight by one act of hostile legislation in the state house or in Washington.

PRESIDENT BAHR: I would like to just add one piece of story that Brother Henning told about John L. Lewis disaffiliating the Mineworkers, because just about a year and a half or two years ago, what goes around comes around, and as the Mineworkers reaffiliated, Rich Trumka handed Lane Kirkland a note that said, "Kirkland, we reaffiliate. Trumka." (Laughter)

So history made the circle, and I think certainly John would agree with me that certainly within the last forty to fifty years we have never had a more united Trade Union Movement than we do today.

And perhaps we can credit it to our ability to come together through adversity.

So, John, thank you for that message.

I would at this point like to recognize a group of members who are sitting in the balcony to my left. They are the California/Nevada Operator Services Network. I would like them to stand.

. . . The Delegates arose and applauded, whistled and cheered in recognition of the California/Nevada Operator Services Network rank and file members who were in the balcony . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Now, these members have had a network and have been mobilizing for several years, not knowing that they were mobilizing until we gave it the name. (Laughter)

But they have shown us what you can do when you organize and care for one another, help one another and take care of one another, and we are so pleased to have you all here today. (Applause)

This is on behalf of the Operators Network.

DELEGATE GEORGIA STARK: I'm Georgia Stark, Coordinator of the California Operators

Network, and this is to present you a T-shirt, and I'd like you to know that this heart is a purple heart for our battle.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you so much.

. . . The delegates applauded as President Bahr was presented a T-shirt from the California/Nevada Operator Services Network . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you all.

Would the Defense Fund Oversight Committee come to the platform, please.

While they take their place at the platform, I am advised by the Resolutions Committee that they will be prepared to deal with or to present Resolutions 1, 6, 7, 8, 12 and 15.

I think you will notice, this is the biggest Committee we have got. (Laughter)

Let me introduce the members of this very hard-working Committee.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

David Layman, Local 2204; Terry Laurent, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 3411; Greg Reimer, President, Local 4309; James Allen, Treasurer, Local 6215; Ron Cook, Local 7400; T. Santora, Executive Vice President, Local 9000; James Willer, Executive Vice President, Local 13000, Arthur Cheliotos, President, Local 1180; Jim B. Booe, Secretary-Treasurer; Bob Lilja, President, Local 1104, Chair . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR ROBERT LILJA (Local 1104): Thank you, Morty. We have a very short report this year. I'm happy to report we are getting along much better. (Laughter)

For purposes of reading the report, I'd like to introduce Jim Willer from Local 13000 and Art Cheliotos from Local 1180.

DELEGATE JAMES WILLER (Local 13000): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Brother and Sister Delegates. The Report of the Defense Fund Oversight Committee to the 1991 Convention.

In compliance with previous Convention actions, the Defense Fund Oversight Committee met a number of times since our last Convention. Our activities included the following:

Elected a Chairperson and Co-Chair;

Reviewed the investment policies and found them to be in order (See Financial Statements and Report of Internal Auditors; Statement of Assets, Liabilities, and Funds balances);

Modified polling procedures on non-strike related expenditures;

Assisted the Defense Fund Director in developing and distributing Defense Fund and Members' Relief Fund Ground Rules;

Met with Executive Board to discuss points of mutual concern. It was agreed the Committee will meet with the Executive Board at least annually.

DELEGATE ARTHUR CHELIOTES (Local 1180): The Defense Fund Oversight Committee approved the following expenditures since the 1991 Convention: August 1990, \$37,500, Boycott of New York Daily News. As of December 11, 1990, expended \$37,500 and the account was closed.

October 1990, \$200,000 was authorized for the Mobilization, United Telecom Bargaining. As of March 7, 1991, we expended \$49,256, and the account was closed.

November 1990, \$10,000 was authorized Mobilization, Local 14620, St. Louis Dispatch.

As of December 11, 1990, expended \$10,000 and the account was closed.

February 1991, \$150,000, Mobilization, AT&T Action Plan.

As of May 31, 1991, expended \$21,396 and the account remains open.

March 1991, \$200,000 authorized for Mobilization, New Jersey State Workers.

As of May 31, 1991, we expended \$109,967 and the account remains open.

As of May 31, 1991, the Defense Fund had a deficit balance of \$5,745,317. All loans from Locals have been paid back. It is expected that the projected income levels will cover the outstanding loan obligations. The remaining loan payments to Zedentsu are due during June and December 1991 and June and December 1992.

The Member Relief Fund.

The new Members' Relief Fund started paying striker benefits in March. As of May 31st, the fund had a balance of approximately \$4.7 million. The current income rate is approximately \$1.1 million per month.

The MRF Expenditures between March 1 and May 31 are as follows:

Bargaining Unit: New York Daily News Mailers #M-6, PPMWS were advanced \$15,000.

Kentville Publishing Co. PPMWS, advanced \$3,850.

Summit County Children's Services Local 4546, advanced \$10,000.

Respectfully submitted, the Defense Fund Oversight Committee.

CHAIR LILJA: Thank you, gentlemen.

Just one thing I'd like to bring to your attention for clarification.

On the second page of the report, it says February 1991, \$150,00 for Mobilization in AT&T Action Plan, and it says there is \$21,396 as of 5/31 was spent. This whole report is as of 5/31.

During the month of June there was about \$90,000 in bills paid towards the AT&T Mobilization Action Plan, so this number as of today is \$110,000. But our report is as of the 31st of May, that's why it doesn't show here.

That's all we have for you. If anybody has any questions, we'd be glad to answer them.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seeing no one at the mike, please join me in thanking the Defense Fund Committee for their report. (Applause)

Would the Escort Committee please bring Bob McGlotten to the platform?

. . . Robert McGlotten, Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, was escorted to the platform . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Every Monday morning, lobbyists from Organized Labor meet at the AFL-CIO building to plan strategy on our bills in Congress. Our next speaker knows that CWA's legislative representatives actively participate in the Monday morning meetings because he chairs those meetings as the Director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Legislation.

He is currently spearheading our drive to win passage of H.R.5 and to stop scabs from taking the jobs of striking union workers.

He brings a wealth of experience to this position. He first came to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation in 1974 and was appointed the Department's Associate Director in 1980.

He is a member and former staff representative for the Transport Workers Union and has worked with both the American Federation of Teachers and the Steelworkers Union. He also

served as a Special Assistant to Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan in 1973.

Bob is a good friend of CWA and is actively engaged in working with us in support of our two top legislative goals: adoption of our electronic monitoring bill and legislation to permit the regional operating companies to engage in manufacturing.

I must add that the involvement of the AFL-CIO has been critical in our progress on both bills.

Please join me in giving Bob a warm welcome to demonstrate our appreciation for the help and support of the AFL-CIO for our members and all workers.

Brothers and Sisters, Bob McGlotten. (Applause)

BROTHER ROBERT McGLOTTEN (Director, AFL-CIO Department of Legislation):

Thank you. Thank you very much, Morty Bahr, Jim Booe, Barbara Easterling, the rest of the Officers and Members of your Legislative Department, Hall Sisson, Lou Gerber, Loretta Bowen and John Morgan, individuals who I work with on a day-to-day basis, trying to at least get the members of Congress of the United States to recognize the needs of working people in our society today.

I bring you greetings from Lane Kirkland, Tom Donahue, individuals who are desperate in terms of trying to change the face of our political structure, as Morty Bahr and the other officers of CWA attempt to do on a day-to-day basis.

Just prior to arriving here, I was on a conference call with some 20 of our State Federation Presidents, all of our Regional Directors, making the push for H.R.5, the Striker Replacement Legislation. H.R.5 in the House of Representatives will be on the floor of the House of Representatives during the week of July 15th.

During that conference call, we talked about the need for our members, for you, to make calls to those legislators who have somehow forgotten the need and the necessity to be co-sponsors on H.R.5 or S.55.

We have targeted some 80 Congressional Districts in 21 states to try to spearhead this legislation through the Congressional process.

We are going to ask each and every one of you to join in that effort. When the Congress returns from Washington on the 28th of this month, they will be home from the 29th through July 8th.

We will ask each and every union member, fourteen and a half million strong, within the AFL-CIO to make those calls to those particular members of Congress, to call them in their district offices and let them know that we are very, very serious about winning justice in the halls of Congress in terms of the striker replacement legislation. (Applause)

In many of your Congressional districts, you will see some television advertisements, you will hear radio ads, asking members of the Congress to support H.R. 5 and S. 55. We will be doing that for the next three weeks, as we move closer to July 15th and that week in which the bill will be considered by the House of Representatives.

This is a bill that is the soul and the guts of what this movement is about, the soul and the guts of what workers are about. The fact of the matter is, ladies and gentlemen, and brothers and sisters, we are slowly but surely approaching a day of reckoning, a day of reckoning that tells me that unless we begin to recognize the kind of situation that faces us on a day-to-day basis, then we as workers in our society, we who are a great strength within the institutions of the labor movement, such as CWA and this fine union, will slowly but surely crumble and be the new slaves of the 21st century. (Applause)

There is no doubt about the fact that there is only one thing standing between the bosses and justice in our society, and that is the labor movement. Make no mistake about that. (Applause)

We are the only institution that continues to fight on a daily basis, to march the halls of Congress to talk about health care, to talk about family and medical leave, to talk about the Civil Rights Bill, to talk about the whole question of pensions. We are the only organized institution that is prepared to do it. (Applause)

But as we move through the halls of Congress, the one thing that all of us face every day, the Lou Gerbers, the Hal Sissons, the Barbara Easterlings and, yes, your great President and Secretary-Treasurer Morty Bahr and Jim Booe, the fact of the matter is that every day we face a tremendous onslaught of the business community coming into Washington every day. You have seen it. You have seen it in your own negotiations.

The kind of movement we have, whether it is on your telephone monitoring bill, whether it is on your manufacturing bill, every single piece of legislation that attempts to address the concerns of workers, there is somebody out there from the business community saying, for all practical purposes, that we are stopping progress in this country, that workers need to be put in their place, and for all practical purposes they should not have a voice in where they are going to.

I suggest to you that that is the first step back to slavery. (Applause) We fought just two weeks ago with a very important issue that was very important to working men and women, and particularly important to CWA and to all of our affiliates. And that was to deal with the whole question of the Mexican Free Trade agreement. Within that agreement, clearly the question was: "Should we have an agreement with Mexico? One could argue that we should. One could argue that maybe we should not. But the fact of the matter is that the labor movement took up the cudgels to say that it should not be done without the involvement of the Congress of the United States.

We took on the whole entire Congress-- not only the White House, but Democrats both in the House and Senate. The fact of the matter is that although we did not defeat the fast track proposal, I think we sent a very, very loud message not only to the White House but to the Democratic leadership in both the House and the Senate, to say to them that we are going to watch them very closely. What they bring back better not displace workers in this country. (Applause)

Some of you are probably thinking about why are we involved. Why are we doing this with the Democrats and the Republicans? Why shouldn't we have a third party? Some would even suggest that we ought to have a litmus test.

Let me suggest to you, if we do not do better in terms of our political homework, in terms of trying to elect the kinds of individuals that will represent you, a third party is just a waste of our time because we cannot even get our own people out to vote now for the parties that we have. (Applause)

And let me raise the question of a litmus test because you hear it over and over and over again. What should the litmus test be on? Telephone monitoring? Strikers? Health care? Which one do we have when we say to the member of Congress that if you do not vote for this particular bill, then for all practical purposes we do not want to talk to you again?

Let me suggest to you that all of them are litmus tests to me. The fact of the matter is that our entire agenda has to be looked at in a way that is very constructive as we move through each and every congress. We have an opportunity to say to an individual member of congress that they will not get our support. Let's not be foolhardy and start suggesting that every particular piece of legislation has to be a litmus test. Let's look at the record for each and every congress so that we can determine whether, if someone needs our support, to justify our support and whether we should give them our support. (Applause)

We have a series of problems that we, Brothers and Sisters, ladies and gentlemen, fail to understand in terms of the ballgame we are playing as I view our situation today, because there is a great deal of apathy on the part of our workers today to understand exactly what is happening in our society today, to allow the situation to continue as it has, to allow the Republican party and

the Democratic party to still behave the way they are behaving, to allow this president to suggest and the vice president to suggest that this is not the time to deal with health care.

That to me is a clear indictment of our inability, the inability of the American people, as an American society, to really understand our political system.

For the last four elections, the last four presidential elections--I just want to remind you what we have done in the last four presidential elections, and to give you some historical perspective of what kind of problem we have as a nation and as a people.

In 1976 we elected a guy by the name of Jimmy Carter. We elected him on the basis that he would be better than the guy that was thrown out--Nixon. Of course. And Jerry Ford. But we elected him on the basis that he was going to do something about Watergate.

In 1980 we elected Ronald Reagan. He said, for all practical purposes, that Jimmy Carter was a wimp, that he couldn't bring the hostages back home from Iran.

In 1984 Reagan wrapped himself in the flag and said, for all practical purposes, "I am the greatest. I am better than Walter Mondale. I am more patriotic than anybody else."

Along came 1988, and we had George Bush, and the only thing he could talk about was Willie Horton.

For sixteen years we have elected people who have not talked about jobs, who have not talked about health care, who have not talked about anything that related to us.

. . . The Delegates arose, whistled, cheered, and there was prolonged applause . . .

BROTHER McGLOTTEN: That, my Brothers and Sisters, is an indictment against us for not really understanding the significance of our political system and how we must today, not yesterday, not tomorrow, but today begin to think about how we are going to turn this around.

We are never going to outspend the corporations. But with every single COPE dollar that we have, we can give money to those particular candidates who will support us. We have to reinvigorate ourselves to the point where we ourselves become a real spirit in terms of politics, to be able to get out there, to be able to talk to our families and our neighbors and let them understand that we are a nation of laws.

You no longer make decisions for yourself. There are politicians who make them for you. They tell you what kind of water you shall have, how clean it will be. It is called the Clean Water Act. Where is it voted on? In the Congress of the United States.

They tell you what kind of air you can breathe. It is called the Clean Air Act. Where is that voted on? In the Congress of the United States.

And the fact of the matter is in terms of our situation, as relates to striker replacement, the fact of the matter is that is voted on in the Congress of the United States. And the only way we are going to do something about it is to become energized and tell our members of congress that we are sick and tired of them not dealing with our issues. (Applause)

I don't have to remind you of deregulation in terms of what happened to this great Union. You lost 125,000 members right off the bat, your Brothers and Sisters, and losing more every day. But it is not only in this industry, in terms of communication, but what about the airline industry, in terms of what was a product of Frank Lorenzo and Eastern, what is going on today in terms of TWA and Pan Am. Very good companies prior to deregulation. And the biggest fault of deregulation is the whole question of banking and the S&L scandal, which is also voted on in Washington.

I want to suggest to you and tell you today that your fate and your future is in Washington, and unless you send men and women there who are going to deal with your issues and deal with the issues that allow you as an individual to go out and work for a living without the fear of being

permanently replaced, that is going to deal with the whole question of health care, that is going to deal with your industry, then I would suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen and Brothers and Sisters, that we have done a very, very sorry job if we cannot elect people to come to Washington to address our concerns. (Applause)

We need a new kind of reinvigoration, to the whole question of politics. You know, most people do not look at politics for what it is. It is a way and it is a system that allows most democratic countries to really prosper and become nations

Again, historical perspectives tell us that we have done a lousy job in terms of our own politicians, because what we essentially have done is to allow the wealthy to get wealthier, the greedy to get greedier, and the poor to get poorer.

And the question of the 1992 election clearly tells me that we have not learned anything from the last sixteen years, because the issue of the Republican party is going to be a clear and simple one-- three things, and those things will be Kuwait, crime and quotas.

That is exactly what those themes will be. Those themes essentially are going to try to get at the fears of the majority of us, and that fear is there because you do not know whether you are going to have a job tomorrow.

So, the question of quotas becomes an issue with many people. But why not raise the other parts of that question? And why not raise the issue of whether or not this administration or the next administration is going to provide the kind of reinvigoration of our country to the extent that we won't be fighting over the issue of quotas, but that this country will embark upon a campaign for jobs-- jobs for all of us, to ensure that they are not shipped to Mexico or Taiwan, but that they are kept here in the United States. (Applause)

I want to say, in closing, Marty Bahr, to you, sir, Mr. Booe, two great friends, I have enjoyed the opportunity to come here and speak before this Convention, the fine men and women of CWA. But whatever all of these officers up here do, it won't matter unless you do your job back home. (Applause)

You are the Patriot missiles to knock out the Scuds. (Laughter and applause)

Make no mistakes about it. You are my troops. Without you, I cannot win a thing in Congress. without you your Union is not a union. You are the Union. You have to take that kind of responsibility on yourself. And, remember, at the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take, and you keep what you can hold. If you can take anything, you won't want anything. And if you can't hold anything, you won't keep anything. And you can't take anything without organizations such as CWA. (Applause)

That was a quote from A. Philip Randolph, who was a giant and a champion, a member of the AFL-CIO Council for a number of years, and certainly a staunch trade unionist. But it reminds me of something that was said to me by another great trade unionist when I first came to work for the AFL-CIO in 1967. That was by George Meany, when he said, "There is only one reason why the AFL-CIO exists, not only for all of the right reasons, but in the final analysis it exists because of the fact that we are going to make sure that the big guys don't kick the little guys around."

Thank you very, very much.

. . . The Delegates arose, cheered, whistled and there was prolonged applause . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me tell you the kind of committed guy that Bob is. When I invited him a couple of months ago to be with us today, and this is his first visit to a CWA Convention, he said the only thing that could keep him away would be if H.R. 5 is on the House floor that day. And, of course, we didn't know until recently that would be the week of July 15th. But that is the kind of committed individual Bob McGlotten is. And we so appreciate him spending this time to share that absolutely important and crucial message with us.

Stay right here.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: Again we have an example of a product of one of our retirees, a guy who was very active in CWA-- Jim McKenzie. he was on the Savings and Retirement Trust. But, he retired. He is a woodsman and bird man. This is a hand carving of a ring-necked drake, and it looks pretty tough. And Bob is sure in hell tough. I hope this reminds you of our toughness and your toughness and your trip here with us. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I want to thank the escort committee for Bob.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Fritz Clark, President Local 1111

Jan Courts, Vice President, Local 2001

Terry Davis, Executive Vice President, Local 3902

John Kidd, President, Local 4473

Alicia Del Rio, Vice President, Local 6122

Jay Boyle, Executive Vice President, Local 7812

Nadine Cox, President, Local 9408

Frances Rotkiske, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 13500

Alexander Cellini, President, Local 14503

PRESIDENT BAHR: Ten years ago the AFL-CIO and its affiliates put together a demonstration the likes of which Washington, D.C., the home of all demonstrations, had never seen before. Hundreds of thousands of Union members and their families from every state in the United States filled the nation's capital to protest the Reagan administration's wipeout of people serving programs. We called it Solidarity Day 1981.

Now, ten years later we are going to do it again. Saturday, August 31st, in Washington, D.C.

And, big as it was last time, as enthusiastic as it was last time, as successful as it was last time, this time we are going to do it even better. We are going to boom out a song of solidarity, a huge chorus, to catch the ear of Congress and the administration, and capture the attention of the entire nation.

We will raise our voices loud and clear, and, more importantly, in unison.

We will make elected officials sit up and take notice, as suggested by Bob McGlotten. We will let the public know where we stand on key issues.

We will ask all of them to join us for workers rights and social justice.

We want you to be there.

Three major issues are the basis for this demonstration. We will demand reform of the nation's health care system. We will demand a system that provides quality care for all, access for all, affordability for all, all three, and no two out of three, as suggested by the Vice President of the United States. (Applause)

When the health insurance most of us have costs too much and returns too little, when nearly forty million Americans have no insurance at all, when millions of our children go without proper care, when health care costs absorb more than 12 percent of our national wealth, when our health care system fails to meet our health care needs, then it is time for decision makers to get off their duffs and act.

On Solidarity Day 1991 we shall demand action. We will call, as well, for protection of striking workers against job robbing by scabs, for prohibiting employers from hiring strikebreakers for

permanent replacement of strikers. Job theft by scabs has caused more than fifty thousand workers their employment in recent years alone, at Eastern Air Lines, at Greyhound, at International Paper, at Magic Pan, and at dozens of other workplaces, and the practice is spreading.

More and more employers enter negotiations with a scab squad at hand, ready to move them in. They force the Union out on strike and then replace the strikers permanently with lower-paid scabs.

We shall demand an end to job robbing.

We will call for freedom of association, for the right of workers here and everywhere to join free trade unions without fear of coercion or vengeance from employers or governments.

Surely, as we have seen the people of nation after nation tear down the real and ideological walls of totalitarianism, surely one of the lessons has been that a cornerstone of any democratic society is free trade unions.

The right of working people to make their collective voices heard.

We shall demand that right at home and abroad.

These are the issues of Solidarity Day 1991.

We have programs, we have objectives, we have specific legislative proposals. We want them heard, and we want them heeded. But we need your help.

We need your presence Saturday, August 31st in Washington, D.C., for Solidarity Day 1991. We need your commitment.

Each Local Union, I believe, has been furnished with the video recording Solidarity Day 1981. We would like you now to sit back and watch the video, the copy of what was given you earlier.

Would you roll the video, please?

. . . The video dealing with "Solidarity Day II" was presented to the Convention . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You know, people do not automatically materialize at a rally like this. They have to be recruited. And it's you, the leaders of CWA Local Unions, who we need to be the recruiters.

Every single Union member in your jurisdiction should be approached and asked to come along; approached on a one on one basis; approached by direct mail to members' homes; approached through your Local newspapers; approached in every Union meeting between now and the end of August.

You can set goals for so many members and families from locals, from states, from districts. There is an awful lot of flexibility.

And it's you, the members, we are counting on.

Solidarity Day 1991 is all about the issues that affect every Union member and his or her family, affects your job, your health, your rights as workers, your family security and opportunity.

Solidarity Day 1991 is your day.

Now, we have I think a pamphlet on all the tables today. The Executive Board fully understands the financial squeeze that everyone is suffering through. We believe we have allocated a sufficient amount of money that we have taken from all of our programs to where we can tell you that we will pay, from the National Union level, half of the cost of every bus that you and your Locals have hired to come to Washington. (Applause)

Now, if you are sharing with another Union and we have 20 seats in a 40-passenger bus, we

will pay the pro-rated share of that cost. So the flexibility is there.

Now, as he did in 1991, Jim Booe cooked the picnic lunch. (Laughter) And he's promised to do it again.

Will it be mouth-watering? No.

Will it be adequate? Yes. (Laughter)

And so we challenge you to come to Washington and see if you can stand to eat his food. (Laughter)

But more seriously, there is not much time left between now and then. The buses, as you know, quickly get rented, and then you are left with the non-union bus companies which we don't use.

There can be many innovative ways of getting to Washington from some of the districts that are closer. We understand the AFL-CIO has made arrangements with Amtrak for the Northeast Corridor, for those particularly in Districts 1 and 13, and there may be other innovative ways that State Federations and Central Labor Councils can put together.

But we are counting on you to be there in large numbers.

Solidarity Day 1991, August 31, Washington, D.C.

Let's be heard.

Let's be counted.

Let's all be there. Thank you. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Delegate John Ebeling.

DELEGATE JOHN J. EBELING (Local 14616): If the delegates will please turn to page 6 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution No. 53A-91-6, entitled "Solidarity Day 1991".

SOLIDARITY DAY 1991

On September 19, 1981 more than 10,000 CWA members assembled in Washington, D.C. to participate in Solidarity Day.

The 400,000 concerned citizens who united to take part in that historic event comprised one of the largest protest demonstrations ever seen in the nation's capital. The size of the demonstration was remarkable because the protesters refused to fly to Washington in the aftermath of the air traffic controllers strike. Instead, they journeyed from throughout the country by train, bus and automobile. They marched from the White House to the steps of Congress to express their opposition to the Reagan-Bush Administration's war on workers. They proclaimed their dissent from the White House's meat-axe attack on longstanding social and economic policies.

Now, ten years later, the time has come for the American Labor Movement to renew the spirit of Solidarity Day. Workers should return to the seat of government to declare their unrelenting commitment to achieving an enhanced quality of life.

The AFL-CIO has designated August 31, the Saturday of Labor Day weekend, as Solidarity Day 1991. Solidarity Day 1991 will have three goals:

- A ban on the permanent replacement of strikers. CWA firmly believes that as long as

businesses can use permanent scabs, the right to strike will equate to the right to be fired. Unscrupulous employers have come to see collective bargaining not as a means of negotiating wages and working conditions but as a means of recruiting a new, more compliant workforce of strikebreakers. On Solidarity Day 1991, the labor movement will urge Congress to enact a public law that would prohibit employers from using permanent strikebreakers and prevent businesses from discriminating against workers who participate in labor disputes.

- Reform of National Health Care. Americans spend more on medical assistance than do the citizens of any other industrialized nation in the world. But the citizens of every other such country receive far more "bang for their buck," obtaining more comprehensive coverage and higher overall quality of health care than do Americans. On Solidarity Day, trade unionists will articulate their support for comprehensive national health care that would result in no out-of-pocket expenditures by workers.

- The right of freedom of association. Private sector workers who want to join labor unions confront a maze of obstacles. Public workers are denied basic collective bargaining rights at the state and federal level. Wage earners in foreign nations who wish to form labor organizations must struggle against repression from left-wing and right-wing regimes. On Solidarity Day, workers will reaffirm their allegiance to freedom of association, which is fundamental to a democracy.

Other goals of Solidarity Day 1991 will include civil rights, anti-recession programs, education and workplace safety.

The first Solidarity Day helped inspire CWA to create the Jobs with Justice campaign. It assisted in the development of the Union's organizing network and aided in stimulating the mobilization project. Indeed, these CWA programs emanate from the same principle that energized Solidarity Day -- that standing together hand-in-hand, we are stronger than any of us standing alone.

Participation by CWA members in this year's Solidarity Day is vital to workers' well-being and to the future of the American Labor Movement.

RESOLVED: That CWA wholeheartedly endorses Solidarity Day 1991.

RESOLVED: That CWA members will join with other unionists at that event to show America we are one, we are strong and we are determined.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-6, Solidarity Day 1991.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been moved and seconded. Is there any discussion?

On Mike 3, Delegate Layman.

DELEGATE DAVID LAYMAN (Local 2204): President Bahr, members of the Executive Board, fellow delegates: I rise in support of the resolution that is before us, Solidarity Day 1991. Living in Virginia, a right-to-work-for-less state, I know the importance of Solidarity and what it means to working people.

In 1989, we struck Bell Atlantic for 23 days and not the first union member from our Local-- that is none-- crossed the picket line during that strike. At the same time the UMWA was in a bitter strike against Pittston Coal which lasted for nine months. This strike was an aggressive attempt to bust the UMWA, but it ultimately failed because of the single most successful mobilization effort ever displayed by so many different unions joining together in solidarity.

I was in Washington on September 19, 1981 for Solidarity Day I, and I will never forget that feeling of purpose, unity and solidarity. It is imperative that we make every possible effort to attend and bring as many CWA members as we can to our national capital on August 31st.

In 1981 Ronald Reagan fired the Air Traffic Controllers and sent the message to every board room and corporate head that it is okay to fire workers who go on strike. You and I know it is not okay. But it is shameful to have to live in a country that allows this to happen.

When our President decides to send Americans halfway around the world to fight for rights for people in the Far East, then he should care about rights for American citizens in our own country (applause): the right of freedom of association; the right to quality health care for all Americans; the right to strike without the fear of losing your job.

So on August 31st let's pack the mall wall to wall on Solidarity Day II. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Mike 1, Delegate Boback.

DELEGATE SHARON BOBAK (Local 1112): I would like to amend the motion to say, "And be it further

"RESOLVED: That CWA declare red to be the color of Solidarity Day," and they make the shirts available for order and purchase in a timely fashion so CWA members can easily be identified. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been moved and seconded. Is there any discussion?

The delegate may speak on the motion.

DELEGATE BOBAK: Basically, I don't have anything else to say other than the fact that red has been our color for mobilization and whatever, and it seems to work well. We want everyone to know in Washington that we are there in full support of Solidarity Day. Thank you. (Applause)

VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: American made.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Jim Booe has had the sewing machines going. (Laughter)

Are you ready for the question?

. . . Calls for the question . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of the motion to add a resolved that red be the color for CWA indicate by--

DELEGATE MICHAEL M. AGNEW (Local 2336): I wanted to speak against the motion, President Bahr.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me recognize the Delegate at Microphone No. 4.

DELEGATE AGNEW: Morty, in District 2 we have already ordered the shirts in purple and gold, and those are the Union's colors. I appreciate what they are trying to do with the red, but let's stick with purple and gold. Thank you. (Applause, cheers and whistles)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegate caring to speak on the motion, all those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Opposed by a like sign. The motion is defeated. (Applause, cheers and whistles)

Brother Booe indicates that his interpretation of what just happened is we are going to stick with the purple and gold. (Applause and cheers)

On the Resolution, on Microphone No. 3, Delegate Mulligan.

DELEGATE KEVIN P. MULLIGAN (Local 7777): I want to urge my fellow delegates to support this resolution on the convention floor but to take this resolution back to your Locals and turn it into action. We have little time.

If we make a real effort to send our members to Washington on Saturday, August 31st, we

could more than double the attendance of the Solidary Day of 1981.

This is also an excellent opportunity for us to exercise and fine-tune our mobilization networking into our heavy bargaining year. Let's all commit-- and I will reiterate again what the speaker before me said-- that on August 31, Solidarity Day, we make Washington, D.C. CWA Wall to Wall. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: We will recognize on the Privilege Mike Delegate Lingo.

DELEGATE JOYCE J. LINGO (Local 3972): Morty, my question is: We understand that you had made the statement that the International would pay one-half the price of a bus ticket for the people who could go to Washington for Solidarity Day. The people--

PRESIDENT BAHR: That is not quite what I said.

DELEGATE LINGO: All right.

DELEGATE LINGO: It would be chartered. I understand.

PRESIDENT BAHR: All right.

DELEGATE LINGO: We have checked on prices in Alabama for a chartered bus for the people for the Alabama Political Legislative Committee, and it would be \$87 something per person, so that half price would be \$40 plus maybe.

Will the International apply the \$40 for each person that we can get from Alabama to go to Washington on Amtrak towards their train ticket?

PRESIDENT BAHR: I know our Secretary-Treasurer probably will kill me for responding this way, but we will pay for whatever form of transportation you take; like in this case, the amount it would have been had it been a bus.

DELEGATE LINGO: All right.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The half portion.

DELEGATE LINGO: Thank you. That answers my question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: All right. He says it does not cover coming on a bicycle. (Laughter)
On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Melby.

DELEGATE MARY MELBY (Local 7200): I move the previous question.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: A motion has been made to close debate. It is not debatable. It requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. Debate is closed.

All those in favor of Resolution 53A-91-6 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. We will guarantee to have at least 2,000 people there. (Applause) It is adopted. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

If the delegates would please turn with me to Page 1 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of No. 53A-91-1.

PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

CWA's top priority for the 102nd Congress is the enactment of legislation pending in the

House and Senate that would prohibit employers from using permanent replacement workers during labor-management disputes.

Throughout the 1980s, unscrupulous employers exploited court decisions and the anti-worker policies that emanated from the Republican White House to hire unprecedented numbers of permanent replacement workers, thereby weakening the right to strike. In fact, businesses announced they would use permanent scabs in nearly one-third of all the work stoppages that took place in 1989, according to a report released by the General Accounting Office.

Today, in 1991, dishonest employers are continuing to provoke strikes, eliminate pro-union wage earners, hire permanent replacements, terminate collective bargaining agreements and escalate their war on workers.

To help stop this expanding problem, CWA is urging the passage of legislation introduced by Representative Bill Clay (D-MO) and Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio). Their bills would amend the National Labor Relations Act so as to make it an unfair labor practice for employers to use permanent strikebreakers. The Clay legislation is designated as H.R. 5 while the Metzenbaum measure is numbered S. 55.

More than 200 Representatives have co-sponsored this legislation as have more than thirty United States Senators.

The bill is equitable because it does not prevent an employer from operating during a strike with either supervisory or temporary personnel. Despite this fact, the Secretary of Labor has testified at Congressional hearings that the Bush Administration is opposed to H.R. 5 and S. 55.

Enactment of the Clay-Metzenbaum legislation would help balance the scales of justice in labor-management relations. It would protect the right to strike. The bills would free workers from the threat of permanent replacement or the danger of discrimination, safeguards which the National Labor Relations Act promises but fails to deliver.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America will redouble its grassroots lobbying effort to persuade Members of the 102nd Congress to enact legislation that would protect the right to strike.

RESOLVED: That CWA will advise the AFL-CIO it will join in considering support or opposition to such legislation by Congressional candidates as a litmus test for political assistance if a majority of the membership of the AFL-CIO Executive Council calls for such an action.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-1, Protecting the Right to Strike.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been moved and seconded. Is there any discussion?

On mike 3, Delegate Unger.

DELEGATE LAURA UNGER (Local 1150): I rise to support Resolution 53A-91-1, Protecting the Right to Strike. I go home every night through the Port Authority bus terminal in New York City. Walking from the subway, I pass the Greyhound ticket line. Most days, the line is very long. Poor people, lured by fares of \$69 to anywhere in the United States, hardly notice the one or two workers with picket signs.

These workers were forced out on strike over 14 months ago and, despite a ruling in their favor by the NLRB, the buses are still rolling and the union workers are still on strike.

This situation cannot be allowed to continue. What power do we have as workers, political power? Right now, not a lot. Our ranks are not politically united and too often the candidates we support stab us in the back once they get in office. Like we heard about yesterday with Dinkins and Cuomo in New York or Florio and Bruce King in New Mexico.

We have the power to mobilize our communities and work in coalitions, when we use it. But when you get right down to it, we are workers. We sell our hands and our minds and our skills to provide services and produce products so the bosses can make a profit. Our main, most basic, most effective weapon is our ability to stop that profit by refusing to work, by exercising our right to strike.

In telecommunications, we were always very smug. We thought we were so skilled we would never be replaced. We worried about the number of managers doing some of our work and the technology doing some of our work if we went on strike, but we thought we were too skilled. Nobody could take our jobs.

But the situation has changed. The number of managers has increased. Technology has increased and there are now thousands of unemployed telephone workers on the street and other companies training people in our skills. What is worse, the management has changed and many of the companies we work for are becoming viciously anti-union.

Facing negotiations in AT&T in 1992, passing this bill is absolutely crucial to us as it is to every member of this union and every worker in this country. (Applause)

I urge you to support the resolution. It is not enough to write letters and lobby. The CWA has to let every politician, every Congressman and Assemblyman know that an enemy to a bill that protects our right to strike is an enemy of labor, and we won't support them. (Applause)

We have to tell every politician that if you are against the anti-scab bill you are no better than a scab yourself. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 1, Delegate Conroy.

DELEGATE DONNA CONROY (Local 1112): I have an amendment to Resolution 53A-91-1. The amendment is to replace the second Resolved with the following language: "That CWA will advise the AFL-CIO that it will not support any Congressional candidate that does not co-sponsor or support H.R. 5 or S. 55. (Applause and cheers)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been moved and seconded. Is there any discussion?

The delegate may speak on the motion.

DELEGATE CONROY: Sisters and brothers, this amendment is not radical. It is at the very heart of labor's survival. The time for milktoast, weasel rhetoric and ambiguous messages must cease for labor, if we are to overcome.

In good conscience, how can we say we will consider supporting or opposing a Congressional candidate based on his or her support or opposition to H.R. 5 or S. 55? That is tantamount to saying we will consider supporting or opposing scabs for elected office.

Let's not delude ourselves. If we don't have the right to have our jobs back when we strike, then we have no legal right to strike. (Applause)

It is not enough that strikers lose their jobs, their benefits, their houses, and the very necessities of life in their struggle for justice. As Brother McGlotten said this morning, we must tell our legislators that we are sick and tired of Congress not dealing with our issues. We must tell them clearly that if they do not support H.,R. 5 and S. 55 that CWA will not give them one thin dime, not one single endorsement. (Applause)

And we will dedicate ourselves and our energies to defeat their union-busting asses in the fall. (Laughter and applause and cheers)

Sisters and brothers, I urge your support of this amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment, mike 3, Delegate Crump.

DELEGATE ANN CRUMP (Local 4600): Brothers and sisters, how long must we wait? How long are we to be patient?

Here is a simple solution. They don't support us on the issue. We don't do their phone banks. We don't give them our money. We don't drop their literature, and we turn our backs on them. (Applause and cheers)

There will be no more excuses. There will be no excuses. There will be no excuses. Thank you very much. (Applause and cheers and whistles)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 4, Delegate Hughes.

DELEGATE JEFFREY HUGHES (Local 2100): President Bahr and delegates: I rise in opposition to the proposed amendment, not because I don't believe in what we are trying to do, but we don't have the power to tell elected officials, especially ones that represent our members and support 80 percent of the proposed legislation or 90 percent of the proposed legislation, to come out and tell them that if they don't support this one issue, we no longer support them. We don't have the votes to do that. We have the money and we have the ability to give them some labor in their campaigns, but we cannot get the votes to get them elected or unelected.

They understand that and understand it well. On a similar bill, on the GATT trade negotiations, we have two very good Democratic representatives in the State of Maryland, Hoyer and Cardin. They stood before a meeting with the Maryland State AFL-CIO and told us they were going to oppose that legislation, and the representatives from the United Steelworkers Regional Council said, "If you don't support this legislation, we are not going to support you. You are not going to get a dime from the United Steelworkers."

Can we do that or should we do that to our elected Representatives, the ones that support us? (Applause and cheers) The ones that support us in all aspects of the things that we strive to do?

I think we are foolish if we come out and try to take a stance if we cannot prove to them that we have the votes to defeat them. We have to go to them and we have to work with them, and on some issues, yes, we can oppose them but it can't be the sole purpose for opposing that particular candidate.

I request that the delegates defeat the proposed amendment and if necessary, pass the resolution as it's proposed. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 5, Delegate McSwain.

DELEGATE KERRY McSWAIN (Local 6222): Mr. President, does the language in this amendment say that we would not support candidates or office holders that will not "co-sponsor and sponsor", or does it say "co-sponsor or sponsor"?

PRESIDENT BAHR: "Co-sponsor or sponsor", and by that I assume the delegate means when the vote comes they would vote for the bill.

DELEGATE McSWAIN: Not necessarily being a co-sponsor.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That's "co-sponsor or sponsor".

DELEGATE McSWAIN: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, Delegate Buttiglieri.

DELEGATE JANN L. BUTTIGLIERI (Local 2101): Sisters and Brothers, I urge your support for this amendment.

Last year you guys sitting up on the podium, all of us sitting down here, we sat together in Toronto and we listened to United Mine Workers Richard Trumka vow to us that UMWA would not spend one penny on any candidate that would not support this legislation, and you know what

we did? We stood up and we cheered.

Then we went home and we individually in our Locals went to our membership. We asked them to sign letters. We asked them to make telephone calls. We went in March to Washington D.C. when you guys made this our number one priority legislation, and we worked hard. And we have been working hard ever since then.

And in August of this year we are going to spend thousands of dollars as a Local to go to Washington again to send these people a clear message that this is our number one priority.

Now, are we a Union? Are we just leaders or are we just delegates sitting around not quite ready to make this decision yet? (Applause)

I know one thing. You know what I see? Leaders here. I see strength and I see Union and I say hurt them where it hurts worse-- in the pocketbook. (Applause)

And if they won't support us, we won't support them. (Applause)

I urge your support. (Prolonged applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Kelley.

DELEGATE NEAL E. KELLEY (Local 7401): What an act to follow. (Laughter)

I just got to tell you this, this makes it one issue voters. We have got two good Democrats in Nebraska, and they give us a vote, almost all the time they run 70, 80 percent.

However, if we refuse to support them, when they run for election next time based solely on this vote, I don't know who is going to take their place. I guarantee you probably a Republican will get elected who will give us 20 or 30 percent or 5 percent.

I've been coming to these Conventions for 20 some years, and we kind of get a little carried away with our own rhetoric once in awhile. I think we need to get back to earth. This is a very important issue, both of these are very important, and we certainly need to have our best influence on our Senators and Representatives in every way possible, but to totally pull the rug from under them because of this one vote is not very smart.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone no. 3, Delegate Banks.

DELEGATE ED BANKS (Local 3250): President Bahr, Brothers and Sisters: I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-1 and the proposed amendment. HR.5 and S.55 is the most critical legislative issue to face organized labor in the past 50 years. The CWA, the AFL-CIO and virtually every labor group in the country has made this their number one priority, as it should be. I encourage every member of CWA to continue the diligent effort we have already put forth to see the passage of this legislation.

However, I must also point out a fact that disturbs me greatly. Tomorrow this body will be addressed by Labor Secretary Lynn Martin. (Boos) This is the same Lynn Martin that testified before the House of Representatives in subcommittee hearings and stated that we in organized labor did not need this legislation, that it would give labor an unfair advantage in contract negotiations, and would encourage strikes.

She also noted that President Bush will veto this bill in any form. Yet this same Lynn Martin now has the honor of speaking at our convention. While we realize that her job is appointed and she answers to the administration, I personally refuse to sit and listen to her remarks. (Applause)

In the District 3 meeting this morning, I proposed a walkout during her remarks and was accepted overwhelmingly. (Applause)

While we do not oppose Secretary Martin as a person, we cannot tolerate the policy she represents. I therefore ask all delegates who agree to join us in a mass walkout tomorrow.

(Lengthy applause)

It's time to decide. Are we CWA Wall to Wall? Do we unite in Solidarity? Or are we sleeping with the enemy. I hope we choose solidarity. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Green.

DELEGATE FREDDIE GREEN (Local 3410): I move the previous question.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate on the amendment. It is not debatable, and it requires a two-thirds vote.

All those in favor indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

All those in favor of the motion to amend as presented indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The amendment is carried. (Applause and cheers)

On microphone No. 3, Delegate Chapman.

DELEGATE MIKE CHAPMAN (Local 4600): I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-1.

We as Local Union leaders need to support this grassroots effort to protect our right to strike. We need to mobilize our members to contact our legislators to support HR5 and Senate Bill 55.

If we fail to succeed in this effort, strikes will remain an ineffective tool in collective bargaining. Failure will also equate to regression in the early days of the Labor Movement when bloodshed was commonplace in our fight for fair and equitable treatment and a decent standard of living.

I personally will fight for my job, and I'm sure every brother and sister at this Convention will, too. Scabs and businesses that continue to hire them will lose this fight.

Please support this resolution. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 3, Delegate Houchins.

DELEGATE RICH HOUCHINS (Local 2201): I speak today in favor of Resolution 53A-91-1 which provides action to protect our legal right to strike. History has proven that good contracts are achieved through good faith bargaining, and most labor negotiations reach equitable resolution. By this process, workers achieve needed benefits and fair wages. The corporations, in turn, receive satisfied workers who produce quality products and first rate services.

When these negotiations break down due to bad faith bargaining by the corporations, our basic right to strike remains the best action to pressure them back to the tables.

By allowing the permanent replacement of striking workers, the Republican White House has worked to weaken one of our best bargaining tools. The time has come for George Bush to "read our lips," as our united voice says "No" to permanent striker replacement.

I urge each delegate to vote "Yes" on Resolution 53A-91-1. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Schultz.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: A motion has been made to close debate. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

All those in favor of Resolution 53A-91-1 as amended indicate by raising your hand. Down hands opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

Now let me just say that when I got word about the action of the District 3 delegates this morning, we canceled the Secretary of Labor's visit. (Prolonged applause)

But now I am challenging the delegates from District 3, because out of 18 U.S. Senators, only 3 have co-sponsored the bill; go get the other 15. (Applause)

And of 82 U.S. Representatives from nine states, only ten are co-sponsors, in two states you have none; go get the other 72 and let's bring this bill home. (Applause)

Would the Constitution Committee come to the platform, please.

Let me introduce the members of the Constitution Committee.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

James Pappas, 1st Vice President, Local 2336; Lula Odom, President, Local 4000; James Tucker, President, Local 6320; Robert Duggan, President, Local 9587; Carla Floyd, President, Local 7901, Chair . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE CARLA FLOYD (Local 7901, Chair, Constitution Committee): Thank you, Mr. President.

REPORT OF CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

The Constitution Committee met in the City of Washington, D.C. beginning April 22, 1991 through April 25, 1991 for the purpose of reviewing and considering proposed amendments to the CWA Constitution. All members of the Committee were present.

The Constitution provides under Article XVI that the Constitution Committee is "charged with the duty of considering and reporting to the Convention and to the Executive Board on proposals to change this Constitution." Article XXVIII provides that amendments submitted by the Locals sixty (60) days in advance of the Convention will require a majority vote of the Delegates present to be enacted.

Any amendment proposed at the Convention shall require a three-fourths (3/4) vote on those voting thereupon at the Convention to effectuate such proposed amendment, but in no event shall the three-fourths (3/4) vote of those voting thereupon be less than a majority vote of the approved delegates at the Convention.

The Constitution Committee has held meetings in San Francisco, California beginning on Thursday, June 20, 1991, to consider additional proposals which may be received after the Preliminary Report was issued. In addition, two of the proposed amendments, number four (4) and number nine (9), in the Preliminary Report have been withdrawn. Three additional proposals were received.

The Committee has made itself available to any and all wishing to appear before the Committee.

This Final Report sets forth all proposed amendments which have been considered by the Committee.

To the extent the delegates have come before the Committee they have helped to expedite the business of the Convention. It has been a privilege for us to serve you and we appreciate the cooperation given us by one and all.

If the delegates will turn to page 7 of the Constitution Committee Report, Committee Member Jim Pappas will read the first resolution.

DELEGATE JAMES PAPPAS (Local 2336):

CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT 53A-91-17

BE IT RESOLVED, That Article V (Membership), Section 1 (Eligibility), Paragraph (c) of the CWA Constitution be amended to read as follows:

Section 1 - Eligibility

(c) Members of the Union who are on leaves of absence from their employment or who are employed on a full-time or part-time basis by the Union or a Local may continue to be active members. Members who are or may be retired for any reason may continue to be active members provided the active membership is continuous upon retirement.

Mr. President, the Committee moves adoption of the Constitutional Amendment 53A-91-17.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It's been seconded from the floor.

On microphone No. 3, Delegate Bates.

DELEGATE CHARLES D. BATES, JR. (Local 2101): Good afternoon, fellow delegates.

This language clarification amendment was submitted by our Local.

In talking with some of the delegates this week, I've sensed some confusion as to our intent.

The confusion is understandable because few Locals have had to deal with the problem that we are trying to correct. So I will try to simplify our position.

We are not trying to exclude participation by anyone in our great Union. Our only intent is to clarify this language in our Constitution so that it's clear and distinct.

When a member comes to the end of his or her career and retires, whether from a bargaining unit company, our International Union or as an Officer of their Local, they should decide at that time whether they want to remain an active member or not.

Today, they have the ability to remain an active member by simply paying dues based on a formula that's applied to their pension. If this amendment is adopted by the body this will remain an option.

We have a member in this very situation in our home Local. The past Secretary-Treasurer of our Local has kept his active member status by continuously paying his dues since his retirement some four years ago. His dues are based on that formula applied to his pension, and he's assigned a processing number for units not under contract.

We accept this, and we believe it to be a fair policy. What we would like to do is eliminate the in and out ability, the ability of a retiree to come back to his or her Local after a year or two years or even five years of having not paid any dues, and for whatever reason decides to become an active member by simply resuming payment of dues.

We are not talking about a member who is laid off and reemployed by a company that we hold a contract with; we are talking about the retiree who wants to come back and tinker.

As everyone in this hall realizes, the work we do everyday cannot be looked upon as a hobby or a time filler. Our Local has a very active retirees club, and we are proud of all of our retirees. I myself have enjoyed immensely my active participation in CWA during my career, but I also realize the fact that once I retire and leave the mainstream of our industry, my ability to serve my Local will be greatly diminished.

I feel very comfortable in stating this, because I'm not a newcomer in the early stages of my career with our Union. At age 51, and 27 years in this great Union, I'm a grandfather of five and

fairly close to the retirement stage of my life.

We do hold our retirees in high esteem, and we realize if it was not for them pioneering the way, then we probably would not be here today.

Again, brothers and sisters, our intent is to clarify this language, not change it, and I urge your support. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Fox.

DELEGATE DOUG FOX (Local 9588): I move to amend the amendment as follows:

Section A, "Persons who retire prior to the adoption of this amendment shall have 12 months from the date this amendment becomes effective to reinstate their membership and remain continuous."

PRESIDENT BAHR: Is there a second to that motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. The delegate may speak on his motion.

DELEGATE FOX: Thank you. Some day I expect to retire from GTE. Until I became aware of this amendment to Article V, I did not know I could remain an active member in my Union.

I am an elected Officer. I know from my own experience that our members are not aware that they have an option to continue active membership status during their retirement years. This amendment will allow present retirees one year to re-enroll as active members in CWA.

In addition, it would allow new retirees an opportunity to have 12 months from their retirement day to make proper arrangements to return or continue active membership in their Union.

After the 12-month post-retirement period, the retiree would not be able to withdraw from active membership and rejoin.

Thank you for support of this amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, Delegate Kines.

DELEGATE DALE KINES (Local 16300): Mr. Chairman and Delegates. To begin with I would like to inform this delegation that, number one, when I retired my career did not end. My career began because I had more time to spend working in the Union on a full-time basis, on a volunteer basis. (Applause)

Now I went before the Committee and discussed with them the proposal. Their concerns, as related to me and in their narrative, was to discontinue or disallow the so-called jumping in and jumping out of retirees. No problem.

Another area was the Committee's effort to remove some ambiguity in the wording.

Number three, they wanted to correct in the wording inconsistencies in the present interpretation of the Constitution.

Now I submit to the delegates that the amendment which you just heard would protect all three of the areas in which the Committee was concerned. This amendment would simply say that the retiree would have the 12 months to make a decision.

A lot of us made the decision; I made it upon being retired. That's not a problem. I dare say in this hall today that there are many, many delegates, until this week, where they could even continue their Union work on a full-time basis.

And I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that in 1971, when this Convention created Retired Members Clubs, that was the first step. In 1988, we created the Retired Members Council, and now we have grown to 14,000 dues-paying members in the Council that are doing

political work, community services work, all over this country and throughout CWA. Now to deny them the same opportunity that we allow scabs, a scab can come in and out of this Union as they please.

I ask you, allow us this 12 months to make up our minds. People have enough problems upon retirement. Especially those that have been forced out because of surpluses; especially because of illnesses. It's a traumatic time. They need time to consider.

Now we are not talking about local officers that have retired from the telephone company or the other companies in which we are represented. We are talking about the rank-and-file members that wish to have an opportunity to make a decision if they want to carry on their work in the Union. It didn't cost the Locals a dime. It didn't cost the Union a dime for us to be members.

We pay our pension. The dues are based on our pension. You don't represent us. We represent you, and I urge you to support this amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate McLucas.

DELEGATE AVANELL M. McLUCAS (Local 4630): I rise in support of the Constitution Committee report and against the amendment. Our Union needs every active member we can get our hands on. The Committee report imposes no hardship on anyone. It merely assures us that we can depend on the status that a retiring member selects when he or she makes the transition to retired status.

For the most part, I believe this will become a moot point as increasingly retirees have come to understand the enormous economic erosion they are suffering because our employers are unwilling to bargain on pension increases, and the law does not compel them to do so. Clearly, these companies feel no moral obligation to do anything for retirees. The only hope we have for changing their attitude is to successfully mobilize retirees into a potent force acting in their own interest.

Amending this resolution would contradict the intent of the report. It would permit these decisions to become political footballs which could have the practical effect of tearing a Local apart.

I urge you to vote against this amendment.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Schnickels.

DELEGATE DAWN H. SCHNICKELS (Local 7200): I move the previous question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate on the amendment. It has been seconded. It is not debatable. All those in favor indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. Debate is closed.

Let me read the amendment. After the word "continuous" on line 24, delete "upon retirement," and add "or reinstatement occurs not more than twelve months following retirement and remains continuous."

Subparagraph (a), "Persons who retired prior to the adoption of this amendment shall have twelve months from the date this amendment becomes effective to reinstate their membership and remain continuous."

Let me just explain the last part. Since amendments to the constitution become effective 30 days after the close of the convention, we are talking about twelve months from the 30 days; so that everybody is clear.

All those in favor of the amendment indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. The amendment is carried. (Applause and cheers)

On the main motion, on Microphone No. 4, Delegate Biondo.

DELEGATE RITA BIONDO (Local 16100): I am from the Retired Members Council. I am also on the District 1 Executive Board. I rise to speak against the proposal to amend Article V, Section 1, paragraph (c) as proposed by the Constitution Committee.

This proposal bothers me a lot. Is CWA trying to prevent our present and future retirees from being full members of our union? Or should they be doing something to draw them back in to active membership in the union?

UAW retired members are still considered a part of their union. They have an excellent program which helps retirees with their health care problems. By paying dues of \$2.00 a month they can receive the help of trained counselors who are in the Local Union office one night a week to help retirees with their medical bills. They encourage their members to be active members of their union.

What if legislation is passed that gives the union the right to bargain for retirees and one of the conditions is that they must still be an active member of the union?

Is CWA going to lock out retirees now by a constitutional amendment to never let them come into the union? How would you feel if they did this to you?

We have never been encouraged at the time of retirement to stay in active membership of our union. We receive a lifetime membership card at the time of retirement, and many of us felt we were lifetime members of the union. We were given a one year's membership in our Western New York CWA Retirees Club, paid for by our Local Union. We felt honored by our union Brothers and Sisters. We supported them on picket lines and they have supported us.

We have strived to be a unified body, both active and retired. This constitutional amendment would again divide the active and retired members of the union. Is that what this body wants?

We have been asked to support you with mailings, phone banks and other tasks, such as writing letters to our legislators or calling them in support of legislation favorable to labor.

Perhaps they never thought about paying dues to the union because they thought that by paying dues to the Union Retired Members Club this was membership in the labor organization-- a union labor organization.

Now, we also pay dues to the CWA Retired Members Council. Many of our Brothers and Sisters, as well as Local Officers, fought long and hard to get recognition for retirees in this union and to establish the Retired Members Council.

Finally, in 1988, an article was written into the constitution recognizing our retired Brothers and Sisters. It is the retired member of CWA who helped build CWA into the great union that it is today. (Applause) Why lock them out? Why put constraints on retirees that have never been placed on scabs?

Please vote against this proposal to amend Article V, Section 1, Paragraph (c) as proposed by the Constitution Committee.

Remember: Solidarity. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Sickman.

DELEGATE DANIEL L. SICKMAN (Local 13000): Mr. Chairman, I have a question on the amendment. If this amendment is defeated, can a retiree start paying dues at any time and then be eligible to run for an elective office or be eligible to vote in an election?

PRESIDENT BAHR: I would have to answer it this way: that depending on Local bylaws, that could be true. In short, a Local that has bylaws that says a person who has lapsed membership must pay-- and they are all over the lot-- a higher initiation fee, or has to go through a membership committee and may be rejected by the committee and the membership meeting.

So the answer is, yes, depending on what may be in a Local's bylaws, because the bylaws are different in a lot of different Locals.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE SICKMAN: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 3, Delegate Renish.

DELEGATE RON RENISH (Local 16900): I am the representative of the Retirees for District 9, also Chair of Organizing for the retirees.

I thank you for that, because you gave us a vote from the floor. At that time I asked the retirees to stand up and applaud the action taken by the Delegates that allowed us to be part of the Union.

Now, over the years I have never seen a letter of any kind that goes out to the membership and says, "You are allowed and encouraged to be a continuous member of the Union." There are letters that go out by many, many of the Locals who do have retirees clubs since 1971, that encouraged their memberships or their retirees to join the retired members club. And, as you well know, we were a social organization until 1988. We did do a little political work, but that was strictly up to the whim of your particular Local. We were not organized nationwide.

Now we are organized nationwide. We are losing people in this great Union right and left. They should have the right to remain in the Union, and it should not have to be on a continuous basis.

The amendment is set up in such a way that a person-- this is the intent-- who has retired, that did not know they had these rights, has, as Morty said, starting 30 days from the end of this Convention, they have one year to join. At any time after that they drop out, they are no longer continuous; they are no longer a member. That is their choice. We should have the option to educate those people.

I have seen no education come from the National, nor from the Locals. From this point on, with the amendment, the way it is written, anybody who retires would have the same option from the date of their retirement; they would have one year to join. It would have to remain continuous.

This would satisfy the fact that we do not want people jumping in and out of the Union, which we are not able to do with the scabs. I don't know how it is where you are, but I do know in California we have had one or two people resign just before a strike, and then come back in at a later date. Yes, we have procedures that take care of that, but it can be done.

I would love to see this Union continue to be strong. I would like to see us do a better education program for those folks that are getting ready to retire, as our Brother Fox stated one day he expects to retire and he doesn't know of any of this until he got here.

One last thing. There are eight of us Delegates that represent the retirees. We are considered the executive board. Two of us are continuous members because we knew and fought for what we wanted to do. The other six did not know.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike 4, Delegate Kines.

DELEGATE DAN ANDERSON (Local 6143): This is Dan Anderson. Was there a Kines before me? He is not here.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Go ahead, then.

DELEGATE ANDERSON: I wish to speak against the committee's report.

I understand the hard work they did and the deliberations they did, and the report they have presented to this Convention, but as Secretary-Treasurer of my Local, I see from week to week,

month to month, and day to day, these people who have made application, who have scabbed, or people who are in bad standing, or people who used the escape period to get out of the Local and then come back in, and then we have a retiree who has paid his or her dues for forty some odd years, and you are going to restrict them for twelve months from getting back in. They have to make the decision upon their retirements whether they want to stay in the Union at that time or not. That just ain't right.

I am just asking for your support to defeat this committee report.

Thank you very much. God bless you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Johnson.

DELEGATE DICK JOHNSON (Local 7200): Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion made to close debate.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is not debatable. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

We have in front of us 53A-91-17, as amended. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is defeated. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the committee.

CHAIR FLOYD: Committee member Lula Odom will read the final resolution.

DELEGATE LULA ODOM (Local 4000):

Constitution Amendment 53A-91-18

BE IT RESOLVED: That Article V (Membership), Section 4 (Termination), Paragraph (d) of the CWA Constitution be amended to read as follows:

Section 4 - Termination.

(d) Membership in the Union shall be terminated following receipt of a member's written request sent to the Local of the Union in which the membership is maintained.

Mr. President, the committee moves adoption of Constitution Amendment 53A-91-18.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Kneupper.

DELEGATE RICHARD KNEUPPER (Local 6171): I want to rise in support of the proposal to strike the certified or registered mail from Article V, Section 4 of the CWA Constitution.

Brothers and Sisters, this proposal does nothing more than simply put us in conformance with the law. By trying to hold workers in, due to the fact that their letter was not registered or certified, and then ending up and being beat up in front of the National Labor Relations Board, is not building our Union or membership.

This type of activity, in fact, hurts the Union, when we are forced to post notices that we have committed an unfair labor practice. What does this do to the perception of the very workers that we are trying to get to join the Union and that we need to build our Union?

We need to focus our efforts on reenlisting these people and getting them back into our Union by going out and talking to them on a one-to-one basis and showing them that we do have

a mission and do have a passion.

I urge you to support this, as it will bring us into conformance with the law, and we will not have this problem anymore within our Union. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike 3, Delegate Duffy.

DELEGATE THOMAS DUFFY (Local 9000): In 1983, 1986 and 1989 we had a strike in California, just like everybody else did, I guess. We kept records of every person who scabbed and was charged, and we brought to trial. Everyone convicted was fined, and every effort was made to collect those fines.

We took them to Small Claims Court, and in some cases, in fact in most cases, if the people said, "Well, we mailed the letter in, we dropped the letter into the mailbox," the judge ruled for the scabs. We were not able to collect those fines. The common defense in these cases was successful.

We hope it never happens again. Registered letters do not work; they are not in conformity with the law. And we would like to have it taken out of the Constitution.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 4, Delegate O'Neill.

DELEGATE ELEANOR O'NEILL (Local 4209): I don't want any scabs, and I am sure you don't, either, but if they are going to scab, then I want them to have to pay Uncle Sam for the message. I think it is fine, absolutely fine, to leave it as it is. We are trying to fix things today that don't need fixing. By golly, let's get to the things that we need to fix and quit messing with those we don't need to fix. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 3, Delegate Clark.

DELEGATE JAMES CLARK (Local 4604): I stand in support of this constitutional amendment, because the NLRB is not going to recognize the fact that it was registered or certified. All they care is did that member who wishes to drop out mail a letter. If the member says they mailed a letter, we lose. We lose a member. We lose time. We lose money. We lose face.

I don't really care if Uncle Sam gets the money for the registered mail. We don't see any of that money.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 3, Delegate Buttiglieri.

DELEGATE JANN L. BUTTIGLIERI (Local 2101): In 1984 I stood on this Convention floor and proposed this constitutional amendment be added to our Constitution, because at the time we did not have any method of resignation from our Union.

There was a court decision, saying then that the Unions did not have the right to put a time restraint on resignation, but there was nothing in that decision to say that the Union could not establish a method and that is what we tried to establish through this constitutional amendment at that time.

At the time President Glenn Watts stood at the podium and answered a question from a Delegate, and that question was, "Can we as a Union or do we have the right to require a certified or registered letter," because there was concern, obviously, from the Delegates. President Watts said, "We truly do not know. We will have to wait until that question comes in front of the NLRB."

This year the NLRB has answered that question. We have had 58 scabs that have gone to trial in our Local, totaling over \$80,000 in fines, that we are successfully collecting right now through civil court. But that does not resolve this issue.

When we realize that something needs to be corrected, it is the time to do it. Believe me, there is no one any stronger here in his or her feelings about the low slime scabs than I am, but I

can tell you now we need to make this change. So I rise in support of the Constitutional amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 5, Delegate Anderson.

DELEGATE ANDERSON (Local 6143): I would like to direct this question to the Chair, if I may. Has it not been ruled by the Labor Department or the NLRB that a 29 cent stamp is sufficient for this type of presentation?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The answer is yes.

DELEGATE ANDERSON: Is this correct?

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question Yes, you are correct.

DELEGATE ANDERSON: You answered my question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 4, Delegate Smilnak.

DELEGATE GEORGE S. SMILNAK (Local 4309): I would like to urge the Delegates to vote against the Constitution Committee's recommendation on this.

All I know is that in my Local we have successfully won cases in small claims court based on the fact that scabs could not prove that they resigned from the Union.

Clearly this is significant. This is as recent as last year. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 5, Delegate Woitena.

DELEGATE GARY WOITENA (Local 6143): Morty, are we under any kind of order or anything from the National Labor Relations Board that would compel us to change our Constitution to comply with what they want?

PRESIDENT BAHR: We have avoided the issue of such an order by agreement that we would submit it to this Convention.

You are entitled to a second question.

I see you standing there. In short, what I am saying is that had we not agreed to submit it to this convention to amend our Constitution, there would have been an order to do so.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE WOITENA: No further questions. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 3, Delegate Rucker.

DELEGATE KENNETH A. RUCKER (Local 2323): We are currently successfully going through the court system in right-to-work Virginia to collect fines from scabs. I have gotten good news while I have been at this Convention. We just won five out of six pending cases in Republican Fairfax County, collecting fines or judgments for well over \$3,000 in those five cases. The one case that we just lost in the judge's decision referenced a Virginia Supreme Court opinion that for any contract revocation, U.S. First Class mail was acceptable, and it was effective the date it was placed in the mail.

So I rise in support of changing the Constitution. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 1, Delegate Johnson.

DELEGATE DICK JOHNSON (Local 7200): I move the previous question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion made to close debate. It has been seconded. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate closed.

In front of us is 53A-91-18. All those in favor of the committee recommendation indicate by

raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Let me make this suggestion, with your concurrence. There are a number of motions pending. I don't think it would do justice to those making the motions if in the middle of debate we had to call the orders of the day, which would take place in 15 minutes. With your concurrence, we would recess now for thirty minutes and come back and pick up from where we are now.

Do I have your concurrence? (Applause)

We stand in recess for 30 minutes.

. . . 30-minute recess . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Will the delegates take their seats please. The Constitution Committee is up here. I will ask you to indulge us for a few minutes, and you will see why very shortly. Take your seats as quickly as possible.

We heard earlier this week, yesterday, about the struggle for workers' rights in Tiananmen Square. But we really don't have to go around the world to witness virtually that same struggle.

We have with us today workers from companies such as Sprint. I think you will realize they are here at great risk to themselves, but their courage is noteworthy and we want to move ahead with this part of the program because obviously they have got to travel and get back to their jobsites tomorrow.

We will hear now stories from our own organizers who risked their own jobs and are investing their lives to build the union. Let me introduce to you now for that purpose our Director of Organization, Larry Cohen, who will introduce them.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded and chanted "Union, Union, Union" at length in unison as Sprint workers came up to the platform . . .

LARRY COHEN (Director of Organization): We all thank you.

This group of local CWA officers and activists are the shield that protects workers who are organizing in this country. Without this protection, unorganized workers stand little chance of winning.

This shield today is symbolic, but the work of these local activists back home is real, not symbolic. They are the arms and legs, the hearts and minds of the inside organizers we will hear from today.

As is our tradition, the organizing report will be delivered by frontline organizers, workers who led the fight on the job to build the union, despite the most systematic, massive and illegal union-busting effort by employers in our nation's history.

These organizers and the CWA activists who work with them and support them will tell three stories from three industries symbolic of the hundreds of organizing efforts that CWA locals across our continent are working on every day.

One would think that these three stories would be different. We will hear about organizing in AT&T, Sprint and among hospital workers in Western New York. Yet the stories are mostly the same: courage, commitment and hard work; but also the fun, excitement and love of working together to overcome fear and intimidation from their employers.

While the spirit of these organizers is exceptional, as Morty said yesterday, there is nothing exceptional about these three employers. In the last week alone, we have seen Bell Atlantic use similar tactics in fighting organizing efforts at their SORBUS subsidiary, which repairs and maintains computers.

In Union County, New Jersey, in Panama City, Florida, we have other examples right now of health care workers battling for more than a year to win jobs with justice and the right to organize.

First we will hear from workers at Sprint, owned by United Telecom, with 10,000 union represented employees. We will hear from operators about the conditions faced by themselves and 2,000 other Sprint operators fighting efforts by United Telcom's Sprint to turn back the clock on living standards, benefits and working conditions to levels more like the 1940s than the 1990s.

These operators are the first among 100 Sprint employees who will publicly surface in the next few months to lead the national effort to organize Sprint.

Welcome now Steve, Gayle and Dawn, workers from Sprint, and send a message to all of our employers that when they threaten workers like these, we will all fight back. (Applause and cheers)

STEVE STEPHENSON: Hi, my name is Steve Stephenson, and I'm a customer agent for Sprint Services in Indianapolis. Customer agent is the same job as operator at other phone companies.

I would like to tell you about some of the working conditions at Sprint. I'll start with the most obvious, our pay. After 4 years of service, Sprint pays its customer agents about \$6,000 less per year than Indiana Bell or AT&T operators. And our raises are not even automatic. They're based on "merit" and they can be withheld or accelerated by our supervisors. We customer agents are the lowest paid employees at Sprint.

The bulk of our benefits come disguised as something of value, a package called Flex-Care. Flex-Care is a cafeteria style plan with options from which we can pick and choose. Sprint provides a certain dollar amount to purchase the benefits and options you need. The only problem is the benefits and options you need always cost more than the dollars Sprint gives you, and the difference comes directly out of the agent's paycheck.

Because of the low pay, many agents are unable to afford to purchase many of the benefits they and their families need. Adding insult to injury, Sprint raised our premiums and deductibles this year and cut the disability insurance from 52 weeks to 26 weeks without notice or explanation. Of course, none of this was negotiated with the employees, because we have no union.

Several months ago, I had a meeting with the operations manager to discuss my work schedule. During the meeting, he asked me why I even worked at Sprint. He said I must be an underachiever to keep this job, and that the customer agent position was for young kids with no work history, or bored housewives who just need to get out of the house for a few hours. (Boos)

Can you imagine a manager describing his employees this way? This pretty much sums up Sprint management's attitude in dealing with their employees. If you bring problems or concerns to management's attention, you are generally told to go work somewhere else if you don't like it here. These are a few of the reasons I'm helping to organize CWA at Sprint. (Applause) We need union representation and we need it bad.

I would like to thank the CWA, and Local 4800 in Indianapolis for all the help and support they've given us so far. With your help, we're going to make Sprint a union workplace. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

GAYLE: Hi, my name is Gayle. I'm a Sprint operator representing the Sprint Employee Network in Winona, Minnesota.

Years ago when I was hired by AT&T, I was automatically a union member. I didn't realize then how fortunate I was. When I first started at Sprint, it didn't take me long to realize that something was wrong, something was missing. I didn't have the secure, comfortable feelings as I did when CWA was there representing me. I was proud to be a union member then and I believe the union is what made AT&T one of the best companies to work for. (Applause and Cheers) Our families need this at Sprint.

The working conditions at Sprint in Winona would not exist if a union was present and active.

Here's the sort of treatment we receive from our managers: One day our director, with whom I had a very pleasant working relationship, accused me of a minor violation based on hearsay. He said he had decided to fire me-- then changed his mind. I said, "You can't fire me on hearsay anyway." He said, "Oh, yes I can. I can fire you if I don't like the color of the socks you are wearing; I'm in charge here." My heart was pounding. That was the moment I was faced with the awful fact that we had no union.

Another agent at our center was harassed for weeks by a supervisor, insulted, humiliated and stressed to the breaking point. As weeks passed she became more and more stressed from this harassment. One day she had a stroke on the job. Many other operators have had encounters with management that have reduced them to tears. Another operator was hospitalized for a week and was told she had to use her vacation time. Later Human Resources apologized by saying she could have collected partial disability, but it was too late to fix it now.

We have no one to represent us. Our wages here in Winona are not only way below what union operators make, we also make 2 to 3 dollars an hour less than the other Sprint centers.

After living with these conditions for too long, a few of us decided we needed a union. CWA Local 7213 was there when we reached out for help. After learning of our past and present problems, they offered help for the future. With genuine concern they set up our first meetings at our convenience and care was taken to keep our identities safe. Since then we have come a long way from that handful of employees, full of fear, to an ever-growing network, bonding, organizing into committees, looking out for and keeping each other informed. Yes, we are becoming a union at Sprint.

Through these eight months, the Communications Workers of America has helped us to help ourselves in a very supportive and professional manner. I don't know what we could have done without that help. We hope to spread our convictions that CWA is the only way to go. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

DAWNE EASLEY: My name is Dawne Easley. I'm a customer agent at Sprint Services in Richmond, Virginia. The stories you've just heard are real and the conditions are steadily getting worse. We, as employees of Sprint Services, came to the realization that changes are in desperate need.

With the help of CWA Local 2202 in Richmond, we have formed the Sprint Employees Network. We are a group some 50 plus strong dedicated to the organizing ourselves and getting the union voted in to Sprint Services. (Applause) The Richmond Local has guided us each step of the way and their commitment has been fundamental to the progress we've made thus far.

The Sprint Network meets weekly to discuss where we are now, where we're going and how we get there. These are not easy questions with simple answers, but each of us is determined to see the union voted for in Sprint. We are continually seeking new network members on the inside and our efforts have included organizing cookouts and open house meetings for our co-workers, phone banks, housecalling, and writing and distributing literature to Sprint employees.

We recently held a regional meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina where CWAers and Sprint employees from five different locations on the East Coast met to discuss organizing strategy and compare notes. It was inspirational to interact with Sprint employees from many different locations and it brought home the realization that we are not alone in seeking dignity and respect for ourselves in the workplace. This experience shared with other determined, enthusiastic network members was the shot in the arm, the spice in the chili, that we needed to push us all into the next phase of organizing and gave us the motivation to turn anger into activism.

Our campaign is now in full swing and we're looking forward to our formal "coming out" this fall. CWA local 2201 has given us the assistance and moral support we needed to take off and we're now ready to fly on our own and meet the challenge. Thanks CWA. We don't know where we'd be without you. (Applause and Cheers)

DIRECTOR COHEN: Next, we will hear from Janice Berger, a worker in AT&T at the

Paradyne Plant in Largo, Florida, and a leader in our effort to win union jobs Wall to Wall at AT&T.

For more than two years, Jan and her co-workers have stood up to the worst intimidation ever by AT&T in the fifty year history of organizing that company.

This is the new AT&T, run by business unit presidents like John Mitcham, who have made millions of dollars on the backs of employees who make \$6.00 an hour. (Boos)

Join me in welcoming Jan and applauding her courage in standing up to AT&T in the fight for Jobs with Justice. (Applause)

JAN BERGER: I would like to thank you all on behalf of AT&T and the Paradyne Organizing Committee in Largo for the opportunity to come here and tell my story and tell their story.

If I sound nervous it is because I am. (Laughter)

Our company, a manufacturer of computer modems, was purchased by AT&T in December of 1988. For more than two years, we have been struggling to build our union at AT&T/Paradyne, and have been opposed at every turn by the management of AT&T.

They have used both "the carrot and the stick" in their efforts to persuade AT&T/Paradyne production workers that they do not need a union.

The carrot has been to agree to provide AT&T/Paradyne workers with most of the benefits that union AT&T production workers enjoy. When we organized around our health benefits, we were given the AT&T benefits plan. When we organized around our pensions, we became part of the AT&T pension plan. When we organized around the savings plan and profit sharing, we received those benefits as well. And each time we received improved benefits, we were given the message that we did not need a union since we could get the benefits without one. Yet those of us who were involved know that our organizing was largely responsible.

And then came the stick. First, several of us were told that AT&T/Paradyne would stay non-represented. Even when union recognition was obtained for 400 Paradyne customer support employees, we were told that the company would fight our efforts to organize. Supervisors intimidated Vietnamese workers who were primarily recent immigrants.

Supervisors were each assigned their work areas and they were trained to use various anti-union arguments, one on one, the exact message varying depending on the individual workers.

Then, after we built majority support last summer, AT&T refused to grant recognition based on card check, even though for the past five years they had granted recognition to many other unorganized units in this manner.

Much more importantly, John Mitcham, the company president, became personally involved in the anti-union effort. He held a captive audience meeting in our employee cafeteria with 700 employees, half of them management and engineers, and the other half our bargaining unit.

He described in great detail his account of CWA's declining influence and numbers at AT&T, and ended by saying, "If there is an election on union representation, vote 'No.' Just vote 'No.'"

Paradyne management view themselves as the new AT&T. At the time of the takeover, Mitcham had only worked at Paradyne for less than one year, yet he received \$1.5 million worth of AT&T stock, \$2.5 million in other bonuses, and a three year employment contract. Yet he tells us we do not need a contract, and Paradyne management are spreading their message throughout AT&T.

With your help, we are determined to continue the fight to organize production and office workers at AT&T/Paradyne. We are the lowest paid AT&T production workers in the United States. Some of us make as little as \$6.00 per hour. Many of us have worked in the plant for ten years yet make \$8.00 per hour. Many of us are single parents of young children and many have

to work two jobs to make ends meet.

We cannot win this fight alone. We need your help in delivering a message to AT&T that they cannot talk about union cooperation in your workplace and then support union-busting in ours. (Applause)

AT&T is one company, whether Paradyne, Long Distance, computers, credit cards, etc. We must be one union. If we can stick together in our plant, will you stick together and insist that the double standard stop and that ATT recognize that a majority of us want a union? We will not stop. We will not give up. And we will not stop organizing until we get CWA. (Applause)

And with your continued efforts, by the grace of God, we will be at the 1992 bargaining table.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded and cheered)

DIRECTOR COHEN: And finally, Karen Enright will report on an incredible and inspiring victory by registered nurses at Mercy Hospital in Buffalo, New York. This story about an extraordinary commitment by a group of registered nurses is quickly becoming a legend, not only in CWA but throughout the Labor Movement.

But this victory belongs not only to these nurses, but to all of those who have built CWA into the dynamic, progressive union that we are in Western New York. Karen. (Applause)

DELEGATE KAREN ENRIGHT (Local 1133): My name is Karen Enright and I'm a recently organized R.N. from Mercy Hospital, Buffalo, New York. Mercy is a Catholic, mid-sized teaching hospital.

Catholic hospitals are notoriously difficult to organize because of the psychological hold the nuns seem to have over their employees. Mercy was no exception. Our original organizing committee consisted of nine R.N.s. In the beginning we were virtual strangers, but we were soon drawn together by a common bond-- the hope we could make things better at Mercy.

We became a family, sensitive to each other's needs and limitations. Each one of us suffered a personal crisis during the two years it took to organize Mercy, and the others were always quick to lend emotional support while they picked up the slack. We operated as a team, always inclusive, not exclusive. The large tier of secondary support we were able to build demonstrated this. The message we sought to deliver throughout our campaign was, "We, all of us, are the Union." Together we will build and persevere.

We built our union around kitchen tables which automatically involved our families in our effort. The informal atmosphere and personal touch this kind of organizing provides helped our nurses feel more relaxed and fostered cohesiveness.

Guilt was the main weapon the hospital used against us. They tried to make us feel disloyal and selfish for organizing. They insinuated we had turned our backs on our patients. One of the most difficult lessons we had to learn as nurses was that before we could take better care of our patients, we had to learn to take care of ourselves.

Mercy's campaign against us was savage and relentless. It culminated with the CEO begging for another chance. At the same time nuns were brought out of retirement and into the hospital to cry and claim the union would "ruin" Mercy. It worked. We lost that election by six votes. But within five hours of defeat, we were ready to go again.

We filed objections with the National Labor Relations Board citing the hospital's conduct during the campaign. As we waited for their decision, we reached out to our community, citizen action groups and other local unions for support. We had an informational picket. Hospital employees, neighbors and community leaders turned out in full force to demonstrate how effective our networking had been. The Board ordered a new election. After 18 months of sticking together and believing, our efforts paid off. The R.N.'s voted 268-70 for CWA. (Applause and cheers)

In closing, I would like to say that the support that we felt in the last couple of days, especially here, just showed us how extensive this family is, and just how much we can do. And it has confirmed our beliefs that CWA will make a difference. (Applause)

This is going to give us the strength to go back to Mercy Hospital and make Mercy Hospital CWA Wall to Wall. (Applause and cheers)

. . . The delegates arose and applauded in unison as the brothers and sisters left the platform . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The story of Mercy Hospital is not quite complete, and I would like to complete it. It is true that our organizers and plant committee people learned quite well how to deal with the management consultants. It was our first time in dealing with nuns pressed into service to be anti-union.

The second election, just a week before the date of the election, some of the most scurrilous literature that you could see, obviously written by an outside firm, was posted throughout the hospital, including places where the patients and visitors to the hospital were able to see it, putting this union in absolutely the worst possible posture.

Well, they faxed a copy of one of those posters to me, and I gave it to one of the best friends organized labor has in the church. He had been a close personal friend of Joe Beirne, Monsignor Higgins of Catholic University. (Applause)

He was so outraged that he wrote me immediately the kind of letter that you can expect I would have written for the campaign, saying that while he steadfastly supports the right of people to organize, he never really interferes in the free choice. But the conduct was so outrageous at the hospital that he authorized the distribution of his letter to me.

Now, obviously that did contribute-- I think we would have won anyway, but it did contribute to the victory and set the record straight.

Now, it was a week later, the good Monsignor called me and said, "I just wanted to let you know that some of the nuns from Mercy Hospital just left my office. They came down to visit me. I didn't know they were coming." He said, "I thought they came for me to hear their confessions." (Laughter)

"But," he said, "it turned out not to be, but the long and the short of it, after four hours with me," he said, "I hope your collective bargaining is going to be a lot easier than the organizing." (Laughter and applause)

This is what makes our union great and will make it even greater. We can all be very proud of everyone you saw up here.

Now, in 1990, we added 69,000 new members to our union from new units. Most of these gains were accomplished by the CWA Local Organizing Network. Over 80 locals joined this network last year, making a commitment to organize one hundred new members this year.

We are now going to honor those locals who have reached that goal. But in doing so, we are also honoring those locals that tried to reach that goal but were prevented by the increasing employer opposition prevalent in the U.S.

We have asked the President and the Organizing Chair of each local to come to the platform to receive this very special award. As I call your local number, please step forward.

Let's all give each local the traditional one clap of recognition.

. . . As the names were called, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Local 1032 in Trenton, New Jersey, organized 825 workers at 13 employers this year.

Local 1038 in Woodbury, New Jersey, organized 30 workers at Gloucester Community College and 150 employees at TRIS, a private non-profit agency.

Local 1040 in Trenton, New Jersey, organized 85 workers at Elwyn Institute, 300 associates at Foster Care of New Jersey and four workers at Oakview Care.

Local 1120 in Poughkeepsie, New York, organized 135 workers at five telecommunications companies and 15 employees of the Town of Saugerties.

Local 1133 is a new local established as a result of the resounding victory at Mercy Hospital in Buffalo, New York, where we won an election to represent 388 nurses.

Local 1201 in Connecticut is a new local established when the 110 pharmaceutical workers at Upjohn Chemical Company joined CWA.

Local 1400 for organizing 250 associates who work at private non-profit agencies in New Hampshire.

Local 3108 in Orlando, Florida, for organizing more than 200 taxicab drivers.

Local 3122 in Miami, Florida, for organizing 103 employees at the American Red Cross.

Local 4773 for organizing 104 telephone operators at GTE in LaPorte, Indiana.

Local 14226 in Vancouver, British Columbia for organizing 191 workers at 5 different newspaper and printing companies.

Local 7037 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, for organizing 240 state workers at the Office of Cultural Affairs.

Local 7777 in Denver, Colorado, for winning recognition for 240 employees at US West.

Join me in congratulating all of these winners. (Applause) Through them and all of the others who tried and didn't quite make 100, and maybe made nothing, but they were there trying. (Applause)

Now to conclude this part of our program, the President's Annual Award was first created in 1972 to serve as an inspiration to our union's organizing efforts. That's still our focus-- meeting the great organizing challenges that our union faces.

When Joe Beirne first announced the award, almost 20 years ago, he knew that organizing would take the energy and efforts of all of us together. No one person can do it all; we have all got to get together, pitch in and do our share.

In the spirit of Joe Beirne, Larry Cohen and I ask one thing from each of you: to care enough about the future of CWA, your local and your members to make a commitment to organize new workers. If you haven't already made that commitment within your local, you can make it as soon as you get home from this convention. Don't be afraid to ask for help. The important thing is to start now, to organize now, to build today for the future of our union.

The large award trophy is now on display, over to my right. Throughout the year, the trophy is on display right outside my office in our headquarters building. The names of all past winners are engraved on that trophy. The winner or winners of the President's Annual Award are chosen the same way today as they were when the award was first presented-- members of the CWA executive board are asked to make recommendations and then I make the selection from those recommendations.

This year, I am acting on a recommendation from Vice President Jan Pierce of District 1. The winner is Peter Cerenzo (applause and cheers), President of CWA Local 1032, in Trenton, New Jersey. In nominating Pete Cerenzo and the officers and members of Local 1032 who have worked so hard on organizing, we all have to frankly admit that he doesn't even know the exact number of units that the local has brought into the union. "They are so active that I doubt if any of

us has an accurate count," Jan told me.

Well, Larry Cohen and I did some checking, and we found that within the last year, Local 1032 has brought nine new units into CWA and that within the last five years the local has brought in some 25 new units. (Applause) They have grown by 1,500 workers over the last five years. (Applause)

Their strategy is to never say "No." They go for the small units as well as the large units, believing that all of us together are important within the CWA family. They believe that our enthusiasm and dedication can feed and strengthen us, so that we all benefit.

This local is so committed to organizing that all six of the full-time officers and staff of the local are involved. That's putting money and your time where your mouth is. Not even the Reagans or the Bushes or the National Right to Work for Less Committee or the hired guns of anti-union bosses are going to stop them from organizing new units. They have a wonderful record, winning 90 percent of the campaigns they get involved in.

The variety of new units within Local 1032 is incredible as well. They range from police and fire dispatchers to clerical and judiciary employees, from telephone answering service operators to workers in day care centers. They represent a printing plant in Asbury Park and highway and road workers in several jurisdictions.

One of the local's largest and most recent wins was among the 600 workers for Sussex County, New Jersey. Pete Cerenzo reports that they ratified their first CWA contract by a 241 to 11 majority-- that since the contract settlement, 42 more workers have signed CWA cards. (Applause)

The Local is currently involved in four more organizing projects that should bear fruit in the very near future. That is a Local, Brother and Sisters Delegates, that did not even exist when Joe Beirne first created the President's Award in 1972.

As a matter of fact, Pete's first attempt to help organize his own unit failed -- CWA's 1976 effort among New Jersey State supervisors. But Pete Cerenzo learned a valuable lesson -- never give up. he and a lot of other people regrouped, came back and won that unit and three others in the election among 37,000 state workers in New Jersey, in 1981. That was the year that Local 1032 was chartered as a CWA Local, just tens year ago.

There is a great lesson in all of this for us. Organizing is hard work. It takes ingenuity, effort and energy. Organizing demands dedication and a desire to help other people, something I said last year.

We are not the richest workers or the poorest workers, but we have an awful lot to offer others. We need to remember there are millions of workers in this country who are working below the poverty level. They have been passed by and overlooked.

They are hospital workers and public workers. They are university workers and cafeteria workers.

I want to digress for a moment because a month or so ago I was in Austin, Texas, at a rally of our Texas State Employee Unions on behalf of their own wage increases. CWA members from all over the State of Texas showed up, including workers from the Steven J. Austin Cafeteria in Nacogdoches, Texas where we had a Jobs for Justice rally several years earlier in order to help them get into the Union. They came back as a means of paying back. (Applause)

Just as Maquiladora workers are being exploited in Mexico, we have workers in our midst who are being exploited right here in the United States. They are the people we meet and talk to everyday. And just as we need them so that we can prosper and grow, they need us so their lives can be enriched and improved.

As the leaders of the Trade Union Movement in this country and Canada, we must always remember that one of our most important jobs is to help those who need help, not only for added

wages and benefits but for the dignity on the job that so many of us take for granted.

With these thoughts in mind, it is my great pleasure to present the award this year to Peter Cerenzo and the officers and members of CWA Local 1032 who are so active, so determined and dedicated to organizing the unorganized, to making life just a little bit better for those who need our help. (Presentation - Applause)

The plaque has got a caricature of Joe Beirne's hat and it reads, "The President's Annual Award to Peter Cerenzo, President of Local 1032, in grateful recognition of dedicated service as evidenced through wholehearted acceptance of CWA's growth policy and program and dedicated effort to making that policy effective. Awarded by the President of the Communications Workers of America on behalf of the Organization, June 1991."

Congratulations, Pete. (Presentation - Applause)

With that goes this scroll that is suitable for framing to hang in your office.

DELEGATE PETER CERENZO (Local 1032): Thanks a lot. (Presentation - Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: And then there is a replica of the original trophy that some day I hope I can receive. (Presentation - Applause)

I give you Pete Cerenzo, this year's winner of the President's Award. (Applause)

DELEGATE CERENZO: Thank you. It's a hell of a thing to get caught off guard, but today I don't mind it.

I have no speech, other than to say a few words. I'm very happy and proud to be accepting this Award on behalf of 1032. Its Executive Board and staff did a fine job, as Morty just mentioned, and I hope that we will be able to continue doing what we have been doing, building our Union.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Join me in congratulating all the winners today. (Applause)

We are going to go back to the Constitution Committee Report. Brother Chavez has graciously indicated he will wait. Hopefully, we can dispose of the Constitution Committee Report and then we want to hear from Cesar Chavez. (Applause)

So on microphone No. 1, Delegate Egan.

DELEGATE JOHN J. EGAN (Local 4034): I rise to move adoption of Proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 4, that "A Local shall be a unit of the Union with a minimum membership of 100 dues paying members in good standing and shall be chartered by the Executive Board. If I receive a second I would like to speak on it.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. Is there a second.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

DELEGATE EGAN: Fellow delegates, I understand the Constitution Committee's concerns regarding Proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 4. However, I believe we need to do more than refer the matter to a task force.

Many of the delegates here today were also delegates to our Special Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where we received the Committee of the Future Report, which included issues regarding the locals of CWA. Since that Special Convention there has been some movement towards restructuring in some parts of our Union, but it is occurring at a much slower rate of change than the rapidly changing world in which our members labor.

Granted, I am from the communications industry, but I believe my rationale for submitting this Constitutional Amendment has merit for the Printing, Publishing and Media sector which is also

experiencing technological changes and hostile employers like the New York Daily News and also for the Public Worker Locals who are taking the brunt of failed domestic policies and state government budget cuts.

But because I am more familiar with the communications industry, allow me to develop my opinion in that area.

Veterans of the 1984 Bell System breakup know how quickly and drastically things can change. AT&T in 1980 dominated the P.B.X. market. Now they have less than 25 percent of the P.B.X. market and we all know what has happened to our members at AT&T during the decade of the eighties in our current structure. Therefore, I think our Union structure needs to be redesigned to address the challenges of the 1990s to CWA, and I think this Constitutional Amendment could initiate major fundamental changes within our Union to position us better for the 1990s in telecommunications, as well as the Public Workers and PPMS sector.

Our current structure dates back to the 1948 Convention where the delegates chose CIO affiliation instead of AFL affiliation to support an industry-wide single employer strategy for Telephone workers.

Obviously we have a very different situation today with many separate and diverse employers and industries. Therefore, I believe we need to revamp our structure into more of an AFL format allowing us to deal with multiple employers in a geographic area that is generally commutable, providing we have Locals large enough to handle their own administrative functions, while at the same time having the resources locally to accept some of the roles the International currently fulfills in order to effectively deal with the new environment we face across all segments of our Union.

I base that view on my experience with assisting laid-off workers and relocated workers. I think in a multiple employer situation we can be more successful in securing local employment, benefits and eventually pension portability for our members in their own community in the event existing employers decide to move their operation and desert a community, or if economic conditions cause loss of employment for our members.

Notwithstanding the Committee's concern that this Amendment would be highly disruptive if adopted, I ask for your support on this Amendment, as our members deserve our leadership as much today as when the delegates in 1948 set the course they decided was appropriate at that time.

I believe today it is appropriate to begin the process of modifying our structure to meet today's realities and tomorrow's challenges.

In conclusion, let me state that this Constitutional Amendment is not an accusation or indictment that Locals with less than 100 members aren't representing their members currently, nor is this an attempt to effectuate hostile takeovers of small Locals.

It is merely my intent to contribute to the health of our Union and the protection of our membership now and in the coming years.

I ask for your vote in support of this Constitutional Amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4. (Boos)

No, no, no, let's respect one another. On microphone No. 4, Delegate Schaich.

DELEGATE JOHN SCHAICH (Local 3113): I rise in support of the Committee's recommendation to defeat this proposal. I am President of an 80 member local which is surrounded by non-organized United Tel Workers. We have been active in the organizing drive of these workers. Our local has been in existence since 1975 and we are 90% organized.

We have reached our COPE quota for thirteen years. Our local reached our Joseph A. Beirne Scholarship quota many years ago when we had 156 members; many larger locals have

not. We have donated our quota to the Pediatric Aids Foundation and the Retirees Network. When we receive our letters requesting assistance for one of your members, they are read at our meetings and in many cases we have sent one dollar per member to assist. I challenge the larger locals to do this also. (Applause)

Our local has a \$1,000 death benefit that is given to the member's family immediately in case of their death. My members accompanied me to Solidarity Day 1981.

No, we do not have tens of thousands of dollars in our treasury. But some years ago I can remember hearing from the Executive Board of CWA that some locals were becoming banks.

That is not our case. We have used our dues money to promote the programs endorsed by our Union. How many locals here did a mail-out for national health care week? We did.

If this amendment is adopted it would cause the loss of many of our members. It could remove the right of 500 locals to a voice at meetings, which will eventually lead to a loss of members. We as a member cannot afford this.

What about the locals with 200, 150 or 120 members? If their membership drops to 99, they would be forced to merge with another local, which could be hundreds of miles away. What kind of representation could they possibly receive?

They would drop out of the Union and there would be no one there to resign the members. (Applause)

I ask you again on behalf of all small locals and their members, defeat this proposal. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 5, Delegate Riemer.

DELEGATE RIEMER (Local 4309): My question is, on the report from the Constitution Committee it states that a task force reviewing the structure and role of Local Unions is established. Are they going to be making a report to the next Convention with recommendations that we will be voting on?

PRESIDENT BAHR: They will be reporting through the Executive Board any recommendations they may have and the subject matter on the floor today is just one small part of what they will be looking at.

There will be focus groups through the Union to listen to and discuss recommendations. Anything that would require a constitutional amendment would be before the Convention, yes.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE RIEMER: I have no further questions. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 4, Delegate Flinn.

DELEGATE THERESA M. FLINN (Local 3177): Brothers and Sisters, I ask your support today in defeating this amendment to Article XIII, Section 1, Paragraph (a). Our Local has been active and dues paying members for the past fifteen years. We are a small Local of some 90 members, but I ask: Does size really matter?

The whole purpose of Unions in our great nation is to guarantee fair wages and benefits for all, no matter how great or small. Strength is in numbers, not size. How can this Union in one breath say we are for solidarity and should stand together, and in the next say that if you are under one hundred members strong, we don't want you, we don't need you.

In essence, that is what this amendments says. (Applause)

The Union says that everyone should have the right to organize, the right to bargain, the right to strike. Yet, this amendment says we have no rights. It takes all of our rights away. If this amendment passes, in fact, the Union will be union-busters of their own Union, of our Union,

United we can stand against anything. Divided, we surely will fall.

On that last note, the whole foundation of our country was founded by just a handful of men. therefore, I ask that you do not ever underestimate anybody by size.

I urge you to vote against this amendment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 1, Delegate Layman.

DELEGATE DAVID LAYMAN (Local 2204): I call for the question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion made to close debate. All in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. Debate is closed.

All those in favor of the constitutional amendment please indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

Microphone No. 1, Delegate Francis.

DELEGATE RUDY FRANCIS (Local 3410): Brother President, members of the Executive Board, Delegates, Alternates and Guests to our annual 53rd National Convention, as the maker of this constitutional amendment, amendment to Article XVI, under "Committees," I rise in support.

The constitutional amendment proposed calls for CWA--

PRESIDENT BAHR: Hold it. Make your motion. The motion is--

DELEGATE FRANCIS: The Constitutional Committee Report, Article XVI. That is No. 6.

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor-- may I have a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You got me thrown off a little. Seconded from the floor. The Delegate may now speak five minutes on his motion.

DELEGATE FRANCIS: Thank you.

Brother President Bahr, members of the Executive Board, Delegates, Alternates and Guests to our Annual 53rd National Convention, as the maker of this constitutional amendment, I rise in strong support.

The constitutional amendment proposed calls for CWA to reconstitute the Committee on Equity and the Women's Committee as a constitutionally required committee, and for those committees to report at National Conventions.

Further, that they be allowed to make recommendations when deemed necessary.

When I say straight talk, I mean that in a very literal sense. The straight talk must come from those with the experience. We must be allowed to speak for ourselves.

Executive Vice President M. E. Nichols yesterday gave his annual report, and I must say that he did an excellent job of giving an overview of minority events that occurred throughout the year. But I did not hear the straight talk that is necessary to move our Union forward towards the year 2000.

In private and among our own kind we open up about racial and sexual issues in a way we almost never do when we are brought together. If the sexes and the different racial groups are going to deal with the problems that divide us, we must learn to understand or at least listen to each other's views to the day's realities.

The COE is a nationally sanctioned committee, charged with the responsibility of finding solutions and making recommendations on inequities that exist within our Union, as well as on

the job. the COE is not a single-issue committee that simply deals with problems of minorities or special interest groups. The committees should be reporting out to you the elected leaders of this great Union information on that which affects each and every one of us. They should be reporting to you directly on issues such as age discrimination, veterans benefits, child care, national health care, handicapped, as well as sex discrimination.

For those reasons alone the annual COE and Women's Committee report should be mandated and constitutionally required at Conventions. We must ask ourselves are we our brother's keepers? and I would like to think that we can all honestly say yes, we are. CWA - Wall to Wall. (Applause and cheers)

The preamble to the CWA states, in part, that we seek to form a more perfect means of securing for ourselves and Labor in general full enjoyment of the inherent rights and dignities which our institutions were ordained to preserve. In order to facilitate true equality in our Union, there must be an educational process.

We simply want fairness to be applied equitably to all groups. Reporting to a Convention is pertinent to this established CWA goal. I urge support for this constitutional amendment.

Give us our right to really be heard.

CWA, leading the way, forward forever, backward never.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 5, Delegate Nelson.

DELEGATE GERALD NELSON (Local 4100): My question is concerning the last three words, Section 8 of the amendment-- "when deemed necessary."

My question is who will have the authority to deem it necessary?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me refer that to the committee. The Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR FLOYD: Responses on that amendment will be made by Committee member Tucker. (Laughter)

DELEGATE TUCKER: Mr. Chairman, the Committee believes the maker of the motion to intend that the "when deemed necessary" remark had to do with the Convention and the Executive Board's decisions.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE NELSON: The Constitution Committee's recommendation to deny adoption of this proposal-- the rationale was submitted, stating that certain mechanisms already existed. My question is are any of these mechanisms that you propose adequate for the reporting out void of time restrictions?

DELEGATE TUCKER: Mr. Chairman, as was stated at the beginning of this conference, there are time restrictions on microphones, but I would like to state for the Committee that the Women's Committee was founded by Convention action, and there was adequate time for the Convention to act on said motion.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 3, Delegate White.

DELEGATE DIANE WHITE (Local 2201): Good afternoon. Officers and Delegates and Guests, as the District 2 representative to the Women's Committee, I rise to speak in favor of this motion. Women are a growing and active part of CWA. We, however, are not the only ones affected by what is often considered women's issues. Men, too, are single parents. Men, too, are suffering with child care issues. Men, too, oftentimes need parental need and elder care.

The Women's Committee was established by the Convention in 1974. The Committee on Equity was established by the national Executive Board in 1976. These are the only two national

Union committees that do not report to Convention. We want the opportunity to be heard on our issues. We want to gain the opportunity to share with you at Convention information and issues of concern to you and your membership. (Applause)

Time after time at the various national and district conferences for women and minorities it has been said that an educational process must occur within CWA if there is to be improvement within CWA. Convention is a meeting of all local leaders, and there is no better place to begin the education than right here with you.

You, then, can share this information with your members. If you believe that you and I are the Union, then you understand that we have a right to be heard.

Our issues affect everyone here and our members. I ask you to support this constitutional change. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 1, Delegate Nelson.

DELEGATE NELSON (Local 4100): I rise to amend the proposed amendment.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would you state your amendment.

DELEGATE NELSON: My amendment is to strike the last three words from Section 8, "when deemed necessary," and the last three words from Section 9, "when deemed necessary." (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion made.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded. the Delegate may speak on his motion.

DELEGATE NELSON: The purpose of this proposal in the first place is to open dialogue. If we place the decision as to whether or not they can report out at the Convention in the hands of the Executive Board, where it already exists, then we have accomplished nothing. I don't know what the problem is here. (Applause)

All we are talking about is open dialogue, reporting out to the membership. We invite speakers around the world. We have speakers in the foreign bureau section that we invite in to speak, with no time restrictions, to give us their plights, what is happening in their countries, that we can do little or nothing about, but to hear them. We have brothers and sisters right here in our own Local and we do not want to hear them. I cannot understand it. (Applause and cheers)

The same mechanisms that are open to us, as you say , to put these things on the floor, are open to those who have opposing viewpoints. If you can't hear it, how can you oppose it? If you can't discuss it, how can you grow? How can we grow as a Union?

I have been hearing a lot of "Wall to Wall" here, but it seems like some of the bricks in the minority portion of the wall aren't as high as the rest of the Local. (Applause and cheers)

I think the decision to create the committee was a good one, but the purpose of the committee is to go out and gather information, come back and inform the membership of the problems that are happening in our own back yard.

If we do not report out, then how can we make intelligent decisions on that? We need to be about the business of opening up the forum, getting educated, eradicating racism, sexism and all the other isms that are keeping us from growing and get on with the business at hand. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Delegate Walker on Microphone No. 3.

DELEGATE K. WALKER (Local 9505): Mr. President, Officers, Delegates, Alternates and Guests, race has never been a simple issue in America. When the 1990 census asked people their race, they received many different responses, such as "a little bit Norwegian," " a little of

everything," "California boy," "Laotian," "A living soul," "A fine blend," "Heinz 57," (Laughter) "Golden chile," "Extraterrestrial and Alien," "Exotic Hybrid," "Exchange student," "Half and half," and "Father adopted; race unknown." (Laughter)

Some people think a racist is a person who drives a sports vehicle at the Indianapolis 500. I want to tell you, folks, racism is alive and well in the minds of many. In the May issue of NEWSWEEK an article was captioned "As distrust and resentment grows between blacks and whites, Washington strategists manipulate the tension with clever slogans and divisive labels."

In June 4, 1991, the L.A. Times ran a cartoon that portrayed President Bush holding the Civil Rights Bill that is torn in two, saying, "Dead at last, dead at last, thank God Almighty they are dead at last."

Folks, prejudice is an unreasonable like and dislike for a person, place or thing, usually an opinion formed without thought. Discrimination is an act of one or more persons preventing another from enjoying their liberties or rights. Discrimination, prejudice and racism come in all ages, religions, sizes, shapes, colors, sexes. Some babies don't like anything that isn't mama.

We have lived the way we do for so long that it seems to be a way of life. Any other way of living, at least to some minorities, is contrary to the natural order of things.

I belong in my place or position and you belong in yours.

Bringing women, other minorities and blacks into skilled work means accepting these inferior people. Once that happens, the job is degraded, I will be degraded and, worst of all, I may be identified with them.

Many of these views are shared by some employers and employees alike. Our way is the right way.

Being a notch higher than a minority for some is the only way to avoid psychological insecurity. For those who feel I have got to be better than someone, racism is a security blanket.

Poverty, racial disadvantage, must end in America. To accomplish parity between races, we must dismantle the remaining discriminatory barriers in our society. We must invest in programs that help make people independent earners, thereby meeting the needs of the poor.

Four out of five new workers in the 1990s will be African-Americans, other minorities and women. These new workers will be the ones that will be counted on to help support an aging population, and they cannot do that without good jobs at good wages.

America must put its own house in order and give to its own people the right that it supports for others. Make the 1990s--

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE WALKER: --the 1990s a decade in which we finally eradicate racism.

In conclusion, there is an African proverb that states there is no medicine that will cure hatred. Thank you very much. (Applause)

DELEGATE JAMES W. HILLEARY (Local 2207): I move the question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I would just note that the previous speaker was not addressing the amendment, but I chose to let him have his five minutes.

What we have in front of us is the amendment of deleting in the two places where it exists "when deemed necessary," and that is what we are voting on. First let me take the vote to close debate.

All those in favor of closing debate indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign.

What is in front of us now is the amendment to delete "when deemed necessary" in the two places it appears.

All those in favor of the amendment indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. The amendment is carried. (Applause)

On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Slater.

DELEGATE MIDGE SLATER (Local 7102): I move the previous question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion made to close debate. This is on the motion as amended. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. Debate is closed.

. . . The following prepared remarks were presented by various delegates for inclusion in these proceedings regarding the discussion on the Constitutional Amendment No. 6:

DELEGATE TEREZ WOODS (Local 4309): Sisters and Brothers: My name is Terez Woods from Local 4309, Cleveland, Ohio, and I stand before you today as a minority and a woman to ask for your support in correcting an inequity that exists in an organization that prides itself on equitable treatment for all.

For too long minorities and women have had to fight the uphill battle for equal rights, equal access. We've had to tell the story too long, and too many times, to still be facing so much confusion or feigned misunderstanding of what the issues are. We simply want the same compassion and desire for rightness that CWA has shown for victims of unfair situations, such as Maquiladora, Tiananmen Square, Pediatric Aids, and so on, to be shown for members of CWA's own family.

CWA has built a great house, with a strong foundation, but unfortunately many of its members, minorities and women are still being treated as guests in the CWA house, asked in for tea and sympathy when instead we should have a room of our own.

If we really mean it when we call for inclusion, not exclusion, if we truly mean it when we say we will strive to meet the changing needs of our membership, if we truly mean it when we say, "We as trade unionists must take care of our own," then let's make sense to ourselves, and create an addition to the house of CWA with a guaranteed room for minorities and women. Thank you.

DELEGATE SAMUEL BARELLA (Local 6733): Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, alternates and guests: I rise in support of Constitutional Amendment, Article XVI (16) under committees, and ask all the delegates to consider the impact these committees-- Women's Activities Committee and Committee on Equity-- will have on workforce 2000, and the role these committees will play in CWA.

It is estimated that by 2010, 80% of our workforce will be comprised mainly of women and minorities. Our efforts will be concentrated on organizing these projected demographics. Let CWA set the pace for all other unions, companies and government. It is the responsibility of the C.O.E. and the Women's Committee to fairly represent all minorities.

CWA is no longer a black and white union. Our Brothers and Sisters, Orientals, Hispanics and native Americans are now part of us, and must be given an equal voice in our union. The only true way to have that equal voice is to report directly to the convention as a convention committee. I ask for your support on this amended article to the constitution.

DELEGATE MADELYNN C. WILSON (Local 7818): Even U.S. West has a program, sad that it may be, that they call pluralism that is set up to give "people of color" fair and equal representation, some kind of opportunity to be a leader and a chance to be heard.

As I sit here in the CWA 1991 Convention, I see no "people of color" in fair and equal representation in the position of a leader.

If the Committee on Equity could have a constitutionally required forum at the convention and a guaranteed process of having the views of all "people of color" heard by the entire convention, this would be a start. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: In front of us is Constitutional Amendment No. 6. I will wait for you to sit down, because I can't see the people who are under the platform.

Okay. All those in favor of Amendment No. 6 in the Constitution Committee Report indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

There are no other Constitutional Amendments pending. Please join me in thanking the Constitution Committee for the work they performed for this Convention. (Applause)

Did I hear a point of order? State your point, Fritz.

DELEGATE CLARK (Local 1111): Is it still true that the majority of members in CWA are women? It used to be.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The recent poll we took, and it has a margin of error, according to Peter Hart, of 3 percent one side or the other, and I am trying to give this the best from memory, was about 53 percent male and 47 percent female. So the margin of error puts it pretty close. But it has shifted.

DELEGATE CLARK: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the escort committee please bring Cesar Chavez to the podium?

. . . The Delegates arose, applauded, cheered and whistled and there was prolonged applause as Brother Cesar Chavez was escorted to the podium . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: In 1952, a 25 year old migrant farm worker left the apricot orchards of San Jose, California and walked into the pages of labor history. He was Cesar Chavez and today he is president of the first successful farm workers union in the history of our nation.

But Cesar is more than a labor leader. He is a symbol of hope, progress and solidarity for his people. His life is a reminder of what the power of passion can achieve in your union service, because the farm workers union faced many difficult and hard years.

As he said while he was slowly building the large network of workers who later became the backbone of the UFW: "If you're outraged at conditions, then you can't possibly be free or happy until you devote all of your time to changing them."

Today the Farm Workers Union is still engaged in a bitter fight. During the past decade, the Republican Administration of Governor Deukmejian undermined the landmark state agricultural labor relations act that was adopted in 1975. In response, the UFW instituted a national grape boycott, patterned after their unprecedented and successful grape boycott in the early '70s which led to the adoption of the state labor act for farm workers.

And I'm sure he will tell us more about their current struggle.

He is a legendary union leader whom you have all heard about, a man who stands for the principles of non-violence and a man who believes that "we have nothing else to do with our lives except to build our union."

I'm proud to introduce our good friend, the President of the United Farm Workers, Cesar Chavez.

. . . The Delegates arose and applauded . . .

BROTHER CESAR CHAVEZ (President, United Farm Workers Union): Thank you very much, President Bahr.

Officers and Delegate, we thank you for your kind reception. We appreciate that very much.

We bring you greetings from the Farm Workers to you and success in your 53rd Annual Convention. Families that find themselves in the worst of circumstances send their appreciation to you for your concern and support all these years.

We want to thank especially those Locals who have housed our people, who have provided office space and materials for us, and who have been on the picket lines with us when we do grape boycott picketing.

We also want to take this time to tell you that we all lost a dear friend, no one more committed to our cause than Bill Demers. If Lorraine is here, Lorraine, we are with you today, and our prayers are with you as we think of you and Bill.

My message today is very short; in fact, two words: "Boycott grapes." (Applause)

We ask you to boycott the red grapes and the green grapes and the purple grapes and to boycott anything that looks like a grape, just to be sure. (Laughter and applause)

In fact, we ask you to "Say no to grapes." (Laughter)

You know, we have had many problems with pesticides. Pesticides, by nature, are poisons. There is no such thing as a safe pesticide. There may be safer pesticides but not really safe.

There are more poisons in the grape vineyards in California than all of the other crops combined in the state. 52 percent of all the problems reported to the Department of Health originate in the grape vineyards-- 52 percent of all of agricultural problems in California.

The crops are sprayed by plane, by helicopter, and they drift over great areas, at times for miles. It is a big problem. Constant exposure to these pesticides is linked to high rates of cancer and sterility, birth deformities, miscarriages, low weight births and even death.

We are here today asking you to support us in this struggle because of those pesticides. Pesticides create cancer clusters, and those cancer clusters are very technical issues, and now they are very controversial issues, but the victims are very human.

They are very defenseless people, very innocent, very young.

In the central part of California, in the San Joaquin Valley of California, the largest agricultural region in the world, in the midst of this great wealth lie these cancer clusters for the pesticides are everywhere: in the fields, in the streets, in the soil, in the air, in the water, in the school yards, in the back yards. And they are poisoning and they are killing our people, and particularly our children.

We call it slow death. In McFarland, California, in Tulare County, where I live, the cancer cluster there is 800 percent higher and the incidence of cancer for children between the ages of 2 and 12, is 800 percent higher than the national average.

If you travel fifteen miles north on Highway 99 to Earlimart, a smaller community, there is another cancer cluster that our union discovered by doing the research there, the incidence of cancer for children between the ages of 2 and 12 is 1200 percent higher than the national average-- 1200 percent higher.

In McFarland there is one block where every single house has a child with cancer, dead or dying.

The growers keep right on trying to deny that there is a problem, and the children keep on dying.

Last month, our last victim was Monica Cartovar, aged twelve, who died. Felipe Franco is a child you may have seen in the show "The Wrath of Grapes." He was born without arms and without legs-- not even stumps. He was born that way, we are told, because his mother, in her early period of pregnancy, went into the grape vineyards sprayed with a fungicide Cap 10.

I visited Felipe not long ago. He is now in school. And I tell you this because it is difficult even to report it. I came to his little home where he lives, and he was there so proud, and he wanted to show me what he could do.

He was on a little, small couch, and he went onto the floor and rolled. You should have seen his neck muscles. And he grabbed a piece of paper with his mouth and then a pencil, and then he labored for what seemed to me an eternity, while I sat there watching him writing his name for me.

And then, after he had done that, he looked at it and said he had made a mistake. So he redid it again.

I cannot tell you how difficult it is to see that. And it is more difficult to know that if we do not stop this there will be more children like Felipe, born deformed, dying.

The Environmental Protection Agency, EPA, says they have insufficient data to really ascertain whether or not pesticides cause cancer. And the Food and Drug Administration says that the tolerance levels that they give you are inadequate. And the General Accounting Office says that it will take EPA until the year 2010 before they can investigate every single pesticide to definitely determine whether those pesticides are having an impact on your health and your life.

The working conditions for the workforce, about 50,000 workers, 800 growers, 50-50 men and women, are horrendous. They have horrendous working conditions. Basic human needs, basic human rights are forgotten. No water, no potable drinking water, no restroom facilities, no breaks, no lunch breaks.

There is tremendous pressure, especially on women, who are the packers, who are asked and made to pack so many boxes. If they don't they get laid off and they get fired, and so, in order to do that, they come in early before working time starts and they put in a good hour before the clock starts running. They do not take a break. They do not take a lunch break. And oftentimes they work after quitting hours to be able to make the quota in order not to lose their jobs.

We have involuntary servitude. There have been no wage increases since 1983. Older people are summarily suspended and then fired. Sexual harassment is rampant.

A lot of new immigrants coming into the workforce are asked, men and women, to come and work for two weeks, and they are told, "We know you are an immigrant. We know you do not know how to do the job. Come and work for two weeks and I won't pay you." These are labor contractors. "If you do a good job we will hire you."

We estimate that between 15 and 18 percent of all the work is done free because the people never get hired. That is slavery.

Union activity is prohibited. To mention my name or the name of the union is enough to get fired.

The labor contractors today control about 70 percent of the jobs. The labor contractor is the worst thing ever invented by a human mind.

We estimate that some of those workers are getting less than \$3.00 a hour, even though the minimum wage is \$4.25.

I have never seen conditions as bad as we see them today. The California Institute for Rural Studies estimates that one-third of the kids in the Valley-- the wealthiest valley in the world, which produces \$12 billion of crops each year-- one-third of those kids are suffering hunger-- they are hungry-- and two-thirds are sometimes hungry.

There are over 600,000 workers in the fields in California. Some estimates go as high as a million. 90 percent are Mexicans, with some smaller number of Central Americans.

The growers, in 1936, developed a scheme. They called it a "Farm Labor Surplus Pool," and they maintain that surplus pool, sometimes one and a half to two people for every job, and they maintain it mostly through immigration; and they keep the surplus pool and they have kept the people poor and the unions out.

Agribusiness has perfected that pool. They know that is how they depress wages and working conditions and keep the union out. They control not only the farms but everything that lives and walks and works there. They have total control of the rural courts. They control the police, and they control everything. Well, they control almost everything. They do not control you.

And so we come to you for what we call public action: the boycott. That is our main thrust. That is the one thing they have not been able yet to control: the American consumer, who has been our court of last resort. It has been you, the consumer, you the members of CWA and other unions, who have helped us put this union together. And without that help we cannot do it. We cannot do it because the odds are too overwhelming against us.

You see, the boycott is public action, millions of consumers joined together. It takes a long time to work, but it does work. It does work.

They join together in a very simple act of just not buying the grapes. That is simple. It does not take any special effort but just to remember and to tell everyone you know, "Don't buy grapes."

The growers have not been able to defeat that public action. That action is totally protected by the Constitution, and it is embraced by the First Amendment. And thank God we have saved the Constitution. That is why we can boycott.

We cannot do much more than that. Everything we do we get enjoined.

We approached Von's Supermarket, the largest supermarket in California, and asked them to agree not to promote and advertise grapes. Being told that if that happens, we will cut their sales by between 30 and 50 percent, Von's said, "No." We started boycotting them, and in a ten-month campaign in Southern California, we finally got them three weeks ago. They agreed to a meeting with their chairman of the board. He met with us and said he was ready to make a business decision not to advertise and not to promote grapes. (Applause)

In quick success, we got Ralph's and Lucky's and Hughes and Viva's. We got 79 percent of all the supermarkets in Southern California to enter into that agreement, and we waited. (Applause)

But as you may expect, the State Commission, a state agency, filed a suit against Von's in Pasadena. But the suit was filed after they met, after Von's attorneys and the grocers met to work it out, then they filed the suit. They filed the suit today and a minute later they had an agreement. The agreement was that Von's would then go back and publicize and promote the grapes.

When that happened, all the stores crumbled. So we went back to the picket lines, and we are now picketing them. We are having success. People are upset by the double-dealing, very upset, and we are asking the court, "How can a public agency supported with money created by the state go file a suit against a store to force them not to deal with us?" So that is pending.

We are now boycotting Von's from Fresno to Imperial County. If you want to help us, don't shop at Von's and tell those managers not to advertise, tell your friends not to shop at Von's until they settle with us. (Applause) If you do that for us, it will help.

We now have many people at the parking lots asking people not to shop at Von's. They readily agree they are upset because of the double-dealing. So we are happy because of that.

Many of your locals have been involved with us, and we thank you so much. Hardly a weekend goes by that someone from CWA is not there, marching with us and picketing and

helping us do the work. We want to thank you very, very much for that.

Meanwhile, back at the farm, back at the California Rural Courts in Imperial County, to be sure, Judge Lockhart just issued an order and gave a grower who sued us as a result of a strike ten years ago a judgment for \$10 million against us. We appealed to the appellate court in California and lost. We went to the State Supreme Court and they wouldn't hear the case. Now we are in the process of appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the meantime, Lockhart called us in. We have put up a bond for \$2.5 million from money that we borrowed from many sources. Now he has ordered, even before we hear the case in the Supreme Court, on July 1st he is releasing that money to the growers. That is rural justice for you. That bond should not be released until the case is finally settled.

Sisters and Brothers, I want to thank you for your support, and we ask you to please keep saying "No" to grapes, to help us at Von's.

In closing, we would like to just remind you of this tragic irony. Men and women and children, 800,000 kids under the age of 12, still work in the fields in this country to make ends meet. They are the ones that plant the seeds and cultivate the plants and harvest them, the greatest amount of food known in the history of the world that feeds you and me three times a day. We are connected to them. We eat from their labor.

Yet oftentimes they go to bed hungry. That is the terrible tragedy of our times. Thank you very much.

. . . The delegates arose and extended a standing ovation to Cesar Chavez and chanted in unison "No Grapes, No Grapes" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: This is kind of academic. I want to recognize Delegate Moye at the privilege mike.

DELEGATE QUINCY MOYE (Local 7775): I just want to make a motion before the body-- and I know I am not at the motions mike-- to have all units in the CWA boycott grapes in the manner of not having them on our trays or as garnishes when we have functions that CWA supports or funds.

A lot of times when we have different functions, grapes are brought out on the tray with other fruit. We need to let the hosts of those hotels and motels, Holiday Inns, any function, know that grapes are boycotted and that we will not have them on our trays or on our plates as a garnish. (Applause and cheers)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let the convention record indicate that this was adopted unanimously. (Applause and cheers)

Before Cesar Chavez leaves, about this two and a half million dollar bond, that is just one of many that he always has hanging over him. I think if they ever sued him for about \$1,200 he would worry. (Laughter)

But there is a constant struggle for funds just to get through day to day. So Jim Booe is going to present, on behalf of the National Union, a check to the Farm Workers. We have the Sergeants-at-Arms ready to pass some buckets around. Empty your pockets. Your generosity can be well served in assistance to the Farm Workers who need it so desperately.

On your behalf, let me thank Cesar for being with us today. I know I don't have to say it because he knows it: this union stands in his corner, stands for justice for Farm Workers, side by side with him. We are in the fight till it is won. (Applause)

. . . Secretary-Treasurer Booe presented a check to Cesar Chavez on behalf of the CWA . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I want to thank the Escort Committee for Brother Chavez:

. . . As each member of the committee was introduced, as follows, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Donna Conroy, President of Local 1112; Charlie Buttiglieri, Executive Vice President, Local 2101; Michael Washington, Executive Vice President, Local 3808; Diane Fernandez, Vice President, Local 4013; Sam Barella, Jr., President, Local 6733; Patty Martinez, President, Local 7774; Andrea Montoya, Executive Vice President, Local 9510; Jeff Haas, President, Local 13552; Robert E. Petersen, President, Local 14200; and Lane Colvin, President, Local 9416.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Ibsen.

VICE PRESIDENT IBSEN: Thank you, President Bahr.

Brothers and Sisters, there are few great artists that American working men and women can claim to be one of our own-- someone who comes from our ranks who understands our lives, our struggles, our joys and our pains-- the premier workers' artist of our time is Ralph Fasanella.

Ralph began his career as a union organizer who, after many years of fighting the good fight, discovered that he had the great gift of being able to put paint on canvas and convey a message about our history, our issues and the glory of being in the working class.

Here is a short video that was produced for a "We Do the Work" program about Ralph Fasanella.

VICE PRESIDENT IBSEN: I am sure you can agree with me that we can all be proud of the great achievement of this great artist.

And now Ralph has done a painting about CWA, a Union organizing meeting from the early days that conveys so much feeling for the roots, the heritage and the culture of our great Union.

It's with a great deal of pride that I would like to present this painting to CWA, but before I make that presentation to President Bahr I would like to ask Ralph to say a few words.

BROTHER RALPH FASANELLA: First, I want to thank you for letting me speak here, and also the leaders of the Union.

I can say a few words, I can say a lot of words. I've been in this thing from 1927, I started at the age of 15. We have a long history. There are very few periods in this American history in the last 50 years I didn't touch. I started prior to the wagon racking into the whole history of the Labor Movement.

Then we go into the thirties with the formation of your Union and many other Unions. The thing I got most out of unions, and I want to make a point, I heard the "Wall To Wall", the commitment and I think that's great.

I think the thing that I'm interested in is the commitment. And what is the commitment? The commitment is, besides believing in unionism, we have to grow, and the Union Hall to me is a learning place.

This Union Hall must be our hang-out. If we were able to do that with people, then I think we've got it. I spent some time years ago going to unions when I got into town. On the first floor there was a big room where they played cards, had shuffleboards, drank whiskey, and read books. They did everything.

On the second floor they had a theater. The third floor, movies. It became a cultural center. So I believe the Union has to be a learning place. It's the learning that gives it the drive. It's the drive we talk about, the "Wall To Wall", the inspiration. It's those things that get us up every morning. Without getting up in the morning and having that surge, you'd better give it up. And the Union has to have it. And what about you people? You have it.

I was at the dance the other night. I flipped. Young people were dancing. This is the thing

going over, this is the energy we have, and this is the energy that we need to make it.

This society of ours, which is all screwed up, doesn't know what the hell it's doing. We have got to pick it up. (Applause)

Who else but we are going to save our lives in this country? Not those guys. We have got them all over the world.

Every place has money. They duck here, they duck there, and they leave us alone. It's up to us to take them on. We have the ability and we have people like you, and let's not forget it.

I could go on and on, but let's do what has to be done. Thank you.

I just want to say one more word - you are all in it. Don't worry about it. (Laughter and applause)

That's what it's all about. Otherwise the painting falls flat. You are all in it. That's what makes us. We are there. That's you and I. That's what's got to be done. That's it. (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT IBSEN: I hope each of you will take the opportunity to get one of the posters we have created from this painting which Ralph is autographing to hang in your Union Halls.

Now on behalf of the Locals and the members and the staff of CWA District 9, it is a great privilege for me to present to CWA the painting by Ralph Fasanella to President Bahr. Thank you.

. . . The delegates applauded as President Bahr was presented with the CWA painting from Brother Ralph Fasanella . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You can be sure that will hang in a very conspicuous place of honor when we move next month.

Thank you, Ralph. And thank you, Harry and thank the Locals in District 9. (Applause)

Let me announce the Platform Observers for tomorrow.

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Lee Roy Bates, President, Local 3601; and William Metz, President, Local 14620. They should come to the platform at 12:15 p.m. tomorrow and report to Virgil Parks, the Platform Sergeant-at-Arms.

The invocation will be given by Father Thomas Moran, Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church, Redwood City, California. His Escort Committee will be:

. . . As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

Nola Gray, Second Vice President, Local 3310; Eddie Simsalek, President, Local 3911; Robert Reagan, Vice President, Local 13500; Scott Marx, Vice President, Local 13550; Elaine L. Cameron, Local 14200; Ruth A. Kochman, President, Local 14445. And they too, should meet Virgil Parks at 12:15.

I want to thank on behalf of all of you, the Telephone Platform Observers for today. (Applause)

Now just a few announcements and then Jim Booe has some as well.

The CWA Dance is beginning at 8:30 p.m. and concluding at 12:30 in Grand Ballroom B, San Francisco Hilton, and it's only \$10.00, sponsored by the District 9 Host Committee.

. . . Further announcements were read by President Bahr and Secretary-Treasurer Booe . . .

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: That concludes the announcements, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT BAHR: A delegate requested to know the amount of the check that we presented to Cesar Chavez up here. It was for \$500.00.

We stand recessed until 12:30 tomorrow.

. . . The Convention recessed at five-forty-five . . .

WEDNESDAY SESSION

June 26, 1991

The Convention reconvened at twelve-thirty o'clock, p.m., President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the delegates take their seats please. Please take your seats quickly.

We are honored to have with us today to deliver the Invocation a trade unionist, Father Thomas Moran, of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church, Redwood City, California. He is a former business agent of IBEW Local 1269, and after the 1983 strike against the Bell System, he said, "There must be a better way of serving humanity. (Laughter)

So it is a great honor for all of us to have Father Thomas Moran get our Wednesday session underway. Father Moran. (Applause)

FATHER THOMAS MORAN (Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church): O, God, may Your spirit and presence help us to have loyalty to our principles so that everyone may know where we stand and what we stand for. Help us, God, to have loyalty to the truth so that everyone may know our word can be trusted.

Help us to have loyalty to our brothers and sisters in this union, the Communications Workers of America, and all union members so that they can be certain that we will stand by them in any company, in any circumstance.

O, God, You have given us life. Help us to live in such a way that we shall make a contribution to the life and well being of our brothers and sisters.

Help us always to remember all that has been done for us and all that we have received from the sacrifices of our brothers and sisters who went before us in this union. Help us to take our full part in the life and work and service of our community and of our union.

Help us always to be loyal to You and Your spirit, Lord, so that we will never be ashamed to show that we gain courage and strength and spirit from You.

As we begin this session, grant us the serenity to accept the things we cannot change, the courage to change the things that we can, and the wisdom always to know the difference. Amen. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much, Father Moran.

I neglected to mention he was a Yellow Pages salesperson.

It has been called to my attention that there is an ongoing problem with the use of the Union label by the United Farm Workers organization. I will, as we turn over the \$5,937 that you have contributed to Cesar Chavez, carry that message and work to resolve the problem of the Union label on their printing.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary-Treasurer for some greetings.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: First, I have some items. What appears to be a lady's set of reading glasses that were left at the dance last night.

A Delegate badge for Elizabeth Ahue to the 5th Annual Printing, Publishing Media Workers Sector Conference of CWA.

And if anyone has found a St. Jude medal on the bus that went to the San Francisco Hilton last evening, please turn it in to the Secretary-Treasurer's office or up here.

Those items will be either here on the platform or in the office at the Teakwood Room in the Hilton.

I also have a bag with a face on it. It says, "Okinawa". It says, "Con Gart Kun." Anyone claiming that can reclaim it up here.

I have some greetings on the stationery of the United States Senate, a letter directed to President Bahr.

"Dear Mr. Bahr: Let me convey my best wishes to your 53rd Annual Convention. You can be proud of the achievements attained by your hard work and dedication to improving working conditions for your members. I believe you also can be proud that these achievements are not limited to members of CWA only, but have the potential to affect all workers who are seeking decent pay, employee benefits, and safe working conditions.

Let me also express a special note of thanks for your union's active support of my legislation to lift the current restriction that bars the Bell Operating Companies from manufacturing equipment in the United States. Your efforts and those of the Bell Companies have helped the Committee move this legislation along.

I commend you all and wish you a productive and successful week.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

s/Ernest F. Hollings,

Chairman." (Applause)

Another letter on the letterhead of the Congress of the United States, Committee on Energy and Commerce, directed to President Bahr.

Mr. Morton Bahr, President

Communications Workers of America

1925 K Street, NW

Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Bahr:

I extend my best wishes to you and the Communications Workers of America officers and members from across the country who are participating in CWA's 53rd Annual Convention.

By working together to improve the situation for CWA families in particular, and our great country in general, you are furthering the great American tradition where cooperation leads to mutual benefit.

Congratulations on reaching this milestone in the illustrious history of the CWA. You have my best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

s/John Bryant

Member of Congress (Applause)

And on the letterhead of the Public Employee Department, a letter to President Bahr.

Dear Brother Bahr:

On behalf of its 33 affiliated international unions representing some 4.5 million federal, postal, and state and local government workers, the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department extends warm fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates assembled in the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America.

We salute you and take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the support and helpful role played in PED affairs by your union. Such cooperation is essential to a strong labor movement. It has allowed us to safeguard our successes and will be vital for expanding the protections of collective bargaining to all our brothers and sisters in both the private and public sectors.

Our hearty good wishes for a most successful convention.

Fraternally,

s/Al Bilik,

President" (Applause)

That concludes the correspondence.

PRESIDENT BAHR: I want to emphasize the action element outlined in the Health Care Seminars this morning. During June Health Care Action Week, we circulated these ballots that I am holding up, supporting National Health Care. To demonstrate the broad support for health care for all, the Jobs With Justice coalition plans to collect millions of these ballots in the fall and deliver them to Congress.

CWA's minimum goal will be to collect ballots from 50 percent of our members in the United States. And we do not have to only collect them from members. We should ask our family, neighbors and friends. Throughout the summer, we should circulate these ballots and hold them for the fall.

We can begin the process today by each of us here signing the ballots and passing them forward for the Sergeant-at-Arms to collect. So I hope each of you will do that.

Now, for the purpose of delivering a report, I want to introduce to you Executive Vice President Barbara J. Easterling, who works hard, she and her staff, 365 days a year on the programs and policies of this Union in the political and legislative arenas.

Please welcome Barbara Easterling. (Applause)

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT BARBARA J. EASTERLING: First let me introduce the Government Relations staff present here as we review last year's activities and preview the coming year. My Assistant, Steve Olney; the Political Director, Loretta Bowen; the lobbyists, Hall Sisson and Lou Gerber;

John Morgan, the Administrative Assistant, has remained back home so he can protect CWA's interests on the Hill. I want to publicly acknowledge the great job they do. (Applause)

And we want to applaud you for your grassroots support that makes this staff one of the most powerful groups in Washington. (Applause)

What did we do, the field staff, the locals, the retired members clubs, and Government Relations? Well together this past year we tried to save jobs, create jobs, protect working conditions and benefits. We fought to stop the flow of jobs to foreign countries, educate our children, save the environment, restore civil rights for women and minorities. We were out front promoting health and family issues. And not once did we have to look over our shoulders to see where you were, because you were always there with us, not behind us.

Letters, phone calls, visits, we get loads of them when we ask and you also take the time to let us know about the responses you receive. But the Senators or Congressmen also let us know the job you are doing on their campaigns or keeping them informed on our issues.

I mentioned the retirees, let me tell you, if you don't have a retirees club in your local, you have overlooked a valuable tool with enormous power. Currently, we have 13,000 members affiliated with the Council and during the past year, the retirees' Council has chartered eight district-wide clubs.

We have seen their expertise in lobbying and political campaigns and now we are beginning to see a real payoff in our union programs as well.

For those of you that may not be aware of it, earlier this year, we designated retirees as a special target group in support of the stock proxy campaign at AT&T and they responded far beyond our expectations. Of the two million stock proxies we obtained, more than 1 million were submitted by CWA retirees, an outstanding response. (Applause)

They also voluntarily participated in our Pediatric AIDS Foundation and CWA-COPE programs. We are very proud that our department has the privilege to work with such dedicated unionists that know senior power means political power.

And politics is where it's at. In order for us to achieve the successes we have during the past year, we had to elect friends to Congress, so let me demonstrate how your CWA-COPE dollars and your votes have done that and as a result provided the foundation for our recent victories.

1990 was an extremely successfully political year for us. Seventy-five percent of the congressional candidates we supported won their seats. There wasn't anything magical about it. Our Political Director, Loretta, spends the COPE dollars you raise very wisely. She also raises additional funds for candidates from other unions and organizations that are part of a very powerful network that CWA is a major player in. Then you get out and work the campaigns. You run phone banks, handbill and put signs on lawns. You manage the campaigns. The candidate knows you. Your name is the first one mentioned when we visit their office.

That is why we are seeing results. Since our last convention, two CWA supported telecommunications bills have become law: the Telephone Operator Consumer Services Improvement Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The Operator Services Act was passed by Congress as a result of the thousands of consumer complaints to the FCC about overcharges by alternative operator services (A.O.S.). CWA was the leading organization in winning these new restrictions on AOS companies, and we took an active part in the FCC's rulemaking process.

Title IV of the Disabilities Act requires each state by July 1993 to have operator relay services to extend telephone service to those with hearing and speech impairments.

We joined with a large coalition of groups representing the disabled and consumers in filing comments with the FCC and we also are active in monitoring the compliance of states to establish the needed relay services.

That was last year. Now, we are moving on to new battlegrounds. There are three bills that require immediate action by us that I want to focus on in the rest of my remarks. These bills directly relate to union jobs, our power at the bargaining table, and the quality of life enjoyed by our members.

And each of these bills can be won, and I will tell you how. The first is H.R. 1527, a bill that will allow the regional operating companies to enter into manufacturing, and which will create jobs in America for American workers. This bill is one of CWA's top legislative priorities. The Senate passed its version on July 5 by an overwhelming 71-24 margin. I will be testifying before the Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee in the House July 11th.

Why is this bill so important to our members? Currently, the RBOCs are barred from entering

manufacturing under the Modified Final Judgment issued by Judge Greene. This bill will lift that ban. CWA supports H.R. 1527, because we authored the strong domestic content requirements into the bill so that manufacturing must be done in the United States by U.S.A. workers. (Applause) Only if the component is not available in America, can the RBOCs go offshore.

Imagine the new jobs that will be created by this bill. H.R. 1527 represents the first job creation policy in the telecommunications industry since the breakup of the Bell System in 1984. Since the breakup, we estimate that more than 100,000 jobs have been lost in the telecommunications industry. The technician and manufacturing crafts have been decimated, and few high-skill, high-paying jobs have been created to replace this work. Even today, robotics technology is threatening to eliminate operators' jobs while the remaining manufacturing jobs are being shifted to overseas nations such as Singapore and Mexico.

Ironically, most of the opposition to H.R. 1527 comes from AT&T. Unfortunately, we see little interest by AT&T in job creation for our members.

In contrast to the RBOCs, AT&T has embarked on a corporate policy of downsizing and eliminating jobs, shutting down domestic manufacturing plants and investing in overseas operations. The company has closed or substantially reduced operations in eight U.S. plants and started up operations in 16 different foreign companies.

AT&T has refused to give the union a firm commitment to keep the remaining work in the U.S., or to invest in new jobs for our members. So far, only the RBOCs are willing to make that commitment to CWA and to our nation.

Let me just share with you the latest in our long list of AT&T horror stories. It seems one of the RBOCs had a need for a \$700 million procurement of switches in 1990.

There were two bids: \$400 million on urban switches and \$300 million on rural switches. AT&T took the \$400 million bid, but refused to bid on the \$300 million rural switch procurement. The RBOC approached them and specifically asked that they do so. They refused; that forced the Bell Company to secure a foreign manufacturer as there was no alternative to AT&T in the U.S.A.

Once again, work for union members was diverted overseas by AT&T. So, the stakes are high for the future of our members and the potential of new union jobs that will be created with H.R. 1527.

I want to add that the RBOCs have been trying to get this bill passed for years without success. Once they agreed to the job creation policies, we agreed to support the bill. And that was when things started moving.

CWA is the reason that bill passed by a veto-proof margin in the Senate. The industry knows it; the news media knows it; and the members of Congress know it. (Applause) Our eventual success on this bill will be another demonstration of how successful political action, coupled with legislative influence, can create a better future for our members.

But, now we need each and every one of you to do your part to win passage of this bill. Immediately upon returning home from this convention, you must call, write and fax your Representatives in the House to co-sponsor or support this bill. The Administration is divided over the bill solely because of the domestic content regulations. So we must pile up enough votes in the House to ensure a veto-proof margin.

As always, your voice will be critical to our success. The second bill that we must act on immediately is H.R. 5, the bill that would prevent the hiring of scabs to take the jobs of striking CWA workers.

This bill is absolutely essential to protect our right to strike and to prevent employers from permanently replacing striking union workers with scabs.

Corporate America through the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of

Manufacturers and others, is mounting an all-out campaign to defeat us. Believe me, the Members of Congress are keeping a "mail count" of letters that they receive from their constituents on this measure.

To counter the business lobby, I have provided each of you today with two postcards to be sent to your U.S. Senators and a postcard for your Congressional Representative. Fill them out right now. Don't wait. Please do it now.

These postcards urge your lawmakers in Congress to vote for H.R. 5. So please mail these postcards before you leave. I want everybody in CWA, from wall-to-wall in this Convention, to do that important job today, and do it before you leave San Francisco.

Finally, we are continuing to build momentum and support for H.R. 1218, which is our electronic monitoring bill. Momentum is growing on this bill as we educate the Members of Congress about the immoral and unnecessary secret electronic monitoring conducted by employers against workers at the workplace.

For too long, telephone companies and other businesses have been spying on workers. We must put an end to these insidious business practices. H.R. 1218 will stop this misguided practice.

The chief sponsor of the House version is Congressman Pat Williams, who is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations. On the Senate side, our good friend Paul Simon is the sponsor.

Earlier this month, President Bahr testified in support of this bill before the House. As he explained to the Members of Congress, this bill would provide workers for the first time with the right to know when and under what conditions monitoring will take place.

We agree with the advice of Harvard Professor Charles Hecksher who calls monitoring a tool for bad managers. As the professor says, "The best way to get effective work out of people is to tell them what needs to be done and then get out of their way and let them do it."

That is what all of us should be fighting for on the job for our members, the right to do their jobs without being spied on by management.

Our involvement in the health care fight is an example of CWA's philosophy in our approach to legislative action. Fighting for-- and winning-- positive legislation for our members requires patience, persistence, and constant pressure.

It is similar to organizing. There are no overnight successes. That is why I am urging you to build pressure now on your elected officials in support of H.R. 5 and H.R. 1527. These are the hottest bills in Congress and votes on these measures are scheduled within the next couple of weeks. We just need a little push to win the final victory. But if we don't, we will be back again and again and again.

We will never be the "Robert Allens" on the Hill. I am sure you recall all the publicity he received when he was working with a variety of groups to resolve the differences big business was having with the Civil Rights bill. However, when the White House pulled his chain, he disappeared from the scene.

Well, the difference between the Bob Allens of the world and CWA is that we are people of principle. Our commitment to doing what is right and just will never be influenced or stopped by the White House, or anyone else's house. So if we don't achieve all of our objectives this session, we will be back in '92, '93, or however long it takes.

In closing, I want to remind you that the concept of CWA-- wall to wall extends beyond the workplace-- means CWA's involvement in the legislative process and the political process. That is how we make sure the lawmakers respond to our need for union jobs in America.

"CWA - Wall to Wall" requires us to move together as a union-- the national, district and local

leaders, the retirees. Each department, each activity, each project, supports our ultimate goal of union jobs for our members.

When we support candidates with our CWA-COPE dollars and then get the voters to the ballot box, we elect friends who help us win our legislative goals. When we have stronger laws for working people, we can achieve more power at the bargaining table. Success at the bargaining table attracts more members and those members with your leadership are a critical component to our legislative and political activities.

And the cycle begins anew. Together let us renew our commitment to building a better America for our members, retirees and our families. The CWA Government Relations Department is committed to doing our part to building CWA wall-to-wall.

Neither the staff, myself nor you are lobbyists for greater profit or greed for corporate America. We are the messengers for the hopes and futures of working America, and our future rests in creating more union jobs for our members. Union jobs create a stronger working America and a better nation for our children. With your help we will continue to serve the members we represent as well as those that have no one to represent them.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Barbara.

As Barbara mentioned, a few days before coming out here last week I testified before the House subcommittee on labor management relations, and in the discussion that took place after my formal testimony a member of the committee asked me what was happening in the telephone industry that might have been positive. And I honestly felt good that I found something I could say worthwhile about a thing that was happening somewhere within AT&T.

Richmond, Virginia Operator Services, where we have our members and self-managed teams, the efficiency is 1000 percent, and as Barbara said, the responsibility was given to the operators and the management out of the way and the place runs the way it should.

And no sooner did I get back to my office and I found the other face of AT&T, because this document was on my desk. It is written by a manager called Beverly Swanson of the CSSC Mobile, Alabama AT&T, and it's to the service reps, in her handwriting.

"Effective immediately our Buddy Pam will be observing Team 8 when I'm off on vacation. I will be observing her Team too when she is off. This is my effort to keep you informed and be real open and honest with you. All Managers have the capability of observing from home. Have I told you this before?"

Now, this will be part of the record before the Congress, so that when legislation is passed to prohibit monitoring in the workplace, it also means from a supervisor's bedroom. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Executive Vice President Nichols for the purpose of introducing the next subject.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT NICHOLS: Before I introduce our next speaker, a few words about my role in the Holocaust Program. You will hear more in a moment about President Emeritus Watts' participation in the Holocaust Museum, but let me assure you how honored I was when Glenn Watts called and asked for my assistance in the program. During the next few minutes you are going to see some very vivid recollections of mankind's inhumanities. As you observe the next few minutes of our Convention, be aware there are forces out there that would have us believe these dark pages in our history never happened.

Sadly, they did, and we must never forget.

Now let me introduce to you Robert Mendelsohn. I have three pages of distinguished accomplishments of Bob Mendelsohn. I shall give you only a few of those accomplishments.

Bob graduated cum laude from the University of California-Berkeley, with a degree in political science. Presently he is president of Mendelsohn Associates in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco. Mendelsohn Associates is a development and consulting firm specializing in project coordination services for commercial development.

Bob has served as assistant professor of the Political Science Department, San Francisco State College. He has a long list of governmental experience, including Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, serving as advisor to the secretary on various issues, primarily urban and cultural policy; Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation activities, and manpower and youth employment activities.

He is also a past member of the Board of Supervisors, City and County of San Francisco, elected in 1967 and reelected in 1971 and 1975.

He is co-author of a book titled "Voices of the People," a textbook on the U.S. Constitution.

He has a long list of affiliations, including the Board of Directors at Wolftrap; the Board of Washington Trustees - Federal City Council; member of the Executive Board, College of Letters and Science at California-Berkeley; a member of the Board of Directors, National Parks and Conservation Association.

Last, but certainly not least, he is a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, by appointment of the President of the United States.

Would you give a warm welcome to Bob Mendelsohn. (Applause)

ROBERT MENDELSON (Holocaust Memorial Council): Thank you so much, Nick. That is a marvelous introduction.

President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Booe, Ladies and Gentlemen: You may have noticed on your printed agenda that this particular spot that we are occupying was originally intended for a Cabinet Secretary.

Now, the fact of the matter is that yesterday afternoon, I had the great pleasure to be present from twelve-thirty until the three-fifteen break, and I watched the interesting chain of events that led up to this substitution.

I want to tell you, I think you did beautifully. You substituted Glenn Watts for Lynn Martin. (Applause and cheers)

And I must say, I was enormously impressed with the diplomatic skills of Morty Bahr. (Laughter) I was enormously impressed.

Ladies and gentlemen, the German Lutheran pastor Martin Neimeuler, who was a leader in the resistance to the Nazis, and who, in fact, himself was sent to Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps from 1938 until 1945, said something at some point in his life. And by the way, I am happy to tell you that he lived to a ripe old age and died in 1984.

He said something that has been repeated time and time again, and I hope you will bear with me when I read you this sentence, because it is so precisely on point for our purpose here this afternoon.

Pastor Neimeuler said, "In Germany, the Nazis came for the communists and I didn't speak up because I was not a communist. And then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I was not a Jew. And then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I was not a trade unionist. And then they came for the Catholics. I was a Protestant so I didn't speak up. And then they came for me, and by that time there was no one to speak up for anyone."

Now, the fact of the matter is that four months after Adolph Hitler came to power, 58 years ago, January 30th, 1933 to be exact, within four months the Nazis had invaded the union halls,

arrested the trade union leaders, and confiscated the union funds.

Immediately, the American Labor Movement began to speak up. Indeed, they were one of the only organized movements in the world who was speaking up and trying to point out to the rest of the world what was going on in those early times in Nazi Germany.

The AFL-CIO Convention passed resolutions pointing out what was going on and calling on President Roosevelt to ease up on restrictions in immigration. He did. He did not do enough, but he did.

And the fact of the matter was that the Trade Union Movement from 1933 until this day has been one of the great, perhaps the greatest, international voices, first of all in opposition to the Nazis, and second of all in trying to point out the horrors of the Holocaust, and most recently, trying to help to honor the victims of the Holocaust; and extremely importantly, to tell the story of the Holocaust so that we can avoid those horrible events in the future.

Now, in 1980, President Jimmy Carter appointed the Holocaust Memorial Council. It was created by the Congress unanimously in 1980. President Carter appointed that Council and the only International President to serve on that Council was Glenn Watts.

Now, the fact of the matter is that in just a moment I am going to be making a presentation to Glenn on behalf of my colleagues on the Holocaust Council, of whom, of course, he is one.

I want to tell you for a moment what is going on in Washington as regards the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

It was begun a year ago. The steel is up. It will be open two years from now in April of 1993. It is going to cost a total of \$150 million. The Federal Government gave us the site for it. The site is right next to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, kind of katty-corner from the Washington Monument, about mid-way between the monument and the Jefferson Memorial.

I encourage you to go by and take a look. It is rapidly rising. It will be 250,000 square feet. And here is something that you may possibly be interested in. From the top of the towers which are now up, down to the bottom of the basement and from wall to wall, it is 100 percent built with Organized Labor. (Applause)

Now, 50 years ago, a guy went to work for the Chesapeake and Potomac Phone Company in Washington, D.C.-- C&P-- in April 1941, as a matter of fact, April of 1941. He immediately joined Local 2336 in Washington. (Applause) I will say it again: 2336 in Washington (applause). I think we know where 2336 is located on the Hill.

And a few months later, he had the great good sense to marry Bernice. In November of 1941 he married Bernice. That means that 1941 is the 50th anniversary of not only Glenn Watts' entrance into the holy state of matrimony, but his entrance into the holy state of the Communications Workers of America; so that was a pretty good year for Glenn Watts.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to tell you that Glenn Watts has been absolutely the single most important link for the effort to remember the 6 million victims of the Holocaust and to tell the story of the Holocaust on the Mall in Washington, D.C., so that future generations can understand what happened and can understand that evil, regardless of how horrible that evil may be, can be transcended by good, because that is what finally happened. That is what finally happened, and that is the story we are telling.

Glenn Watts has been the single most important member of the Organized Labor Movement in that regard.

It is not surprising to me that the head of the CWA for all those many years would be, because when I was on that Board of Supervisors across the street, in City Hall, it was the CWA, led at that time in this area, in this District, by Jim Booe. This was so long ago that Booe had long hair. (Laughter) They are led now by Harry Ibsen.

And the fact of the matter is that the CWA was one of only a handful of Unions which would be down at the City Hall lobbying for efforts that did not just relate to their own wages and hours. They were down there for other matters: matters of social justice. They were down there for the cause of the fellow you heard from yesterday, Cesar Chavez. So it is not surprising to me that Glenn Watts, who headed up this fabulous Union for so many years, was in the forefront of this enormously important effort.

Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Holocaust Memorial Council, I have a small presentation to make to President Emeritus Watts. And I would like at this point to ask if he will approach the podium.

. . . The delegates arose and extended an ovation to President Emeritus Glenn E. Watts . . .

PRESIDENT EMERITUS GLENN E. WATTS: Hi-Yo.

. . . Applause as the delegates responded "Hi-Yo" . . .

PRESIDENT EMERITUS WATTS: Bob Mendelsohn, thank you very much for the wonderful things you had to say about me, to begin with, and about our union as well, and also letting the people know that I have had the marvelous opportunity to have been married to Bernice Watts for 50 years. (Applause)

President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Booe, I must advise all of you that during my observation of yesterday, which brought back many exciting memories (laughter), I was glad I wasn't in the Chair. (Laughter)

Somebody said, "Do you miss us?"

And I said, "I certainly do, but not enough to come back." (Laughter)

But I am really here today to talk about a serious subject, a subject which I hope I can play some part in sort of burning into your mind and memory so that you can carry back to your locals and to your communities the message of remembering the Holocaust.

You know, being associated with CWA for most of my life, many wonderful experiences have come my way. Only because I had the great privilege to have been elected President of CWA in 1978, President Carter appointed me, along with a large group of individuals, in what he originally called "the Holocaust Memorial Commission." And as a result of that, I have a great piece of paper signed by the President and the Secretary of State as an official commissioner of the United States Government.

Then, as Bob Harris already told you, in 1980 the President recommended to the Congress and the Congress converted that commission into an institute of the United States Government and called it "The United States Holocaust Memorial Council." It was that Council that struggled with the idea of what to do beyond creating that original action, having been "Days of Remembrance" which occurs every year in the spring and is held in the rotunda of the Capitol of the United States, and which is a moment of remembrance for all of the people who died during that horrible event that has been identified as the Holocaust.

Well, "Days of Remembrance" was established, and then as the commission became a council, it struggled with how to have a memorial. Its final conclusion was not to just have a big block of stone, but to do something that would create a living memorial, a living memory.

So the idea was to build a museum and to tell in that museum the story of the horrible nature of this thing called the Holocaust, and have within that museum a library that would be available to scholars from around the world to come and study the collected artifacts and items of memorabilia and the books and papers written on this subject by well known authors, such as the original Chairman of the Commission and Council, Elia Weizel, who himself was a survivor of the camps under the Nazis.

Well, this idea of a museum was wonderful in one sense in that the United States

Government, through the Congress, did in fact donate, as Robert has said, the land rights in the middle of the mall where this museum could be built.

But then the Congress also said they would not pay for it. They would give you the land. So then it fell to individual citizens of the United States to raise the \$150 million to build this building.

I originally thought that was an awful lot of money and I don't know that labor can make any impression on anybody by making a little contribution to it. But as the ideas developed and they began to talk about the library, into which will go records of the American Labor Movement and the German Labor Movement as they were related to this whole episode, it became pretty obvious to me that there was a unique opportunity for us to participate in a significant way, and try to raise enough money to sponsor that part of the whole project.

That effort in terms of the building-- not the upkeep following, but the building initially-- will be about \$5 million. Now that sounds like an awful lot of money until you begin to divide it by the number of members there are in the American Labor Movement and then it gets down to be a pretty small figure.

At any rate, as we go forward with all of this, we hope that labor will, in fact, be a significant part of this particular effort.

Labor, as has already been indicated by Bob, was an early target of Hitler and the Nazis. American Labor, as Lane Kirkland writes in a letter to the International Unions that I think was put before you yesterday, "American Labor has a record in those terrible days of which we can be proud, and that story will become a part of the Holocaust Museum's legacy for future generations."

But memory has and is being slipped away. Concern about this loss of memory, about the awful human experience of the Holocaust, has caused significant efforts to be made to renew that memory and keep it alive.

Such things have occurred as a gathering of the hidden children that took place on Sunday, May 26, 1991 in New York City at the Marriott Marquis Hotel, where hundreds of poignant notes were pinned to a bulletin board where people were saying to other people gathered there such things as, "Looking for a lost child," "Looking for my sister."

"My name is Jack Trompetter. I was hidden in Heind, Holland, 1943 to 1945, with the deGrupp family. If you know this family, please contact me."

These notes speak out, even after fifty years, about the separation, loss and pain of Jewish children who were taken in by non-Jewish families, who in many instances were strangers, after their own parents were killed, deported or forced to flee the Nazi regime in the Nazi-occupied portions of Europe.

All of this, of course, during World War II.

These notes spoke not only of the heroism of the hidden children, but also of the courage of the people who at great risk protected them from the Nazis.

One of the hidden children survivors who went to that gathering was Rita Posalski, now 57 years old, who lives in the Pelham section of the New York City Bronx, who came there on May 26th, to this first national gathering of the children hidden during World War II, hoping to find some clue or lead to her long-lost twin sister, Natia. She recalls they were about age 10 when their mother was placed on a farm and their father sent to a concentration camp. But their mother was able to place them with different Polish families, and Rita recalls the last time she saw her mother she was all dressed up, crying, and she was waiting for the police to come for her.

Rita was taken in by a family called Jaskiewski, who knew she was Jewish, and Czeslaj Jaskiewicz, who is now 80, is the subject of an effort on the part of Rita, who wants to find a way to nominate him for his and his family's kindness and heroism.

Now, as has been said repeatedly, over six million persons, mostly Jews, against whom was held prejudice, were forced to slave labor, tortured, gassed, burned-- yes, cremated-- buried alive, killed, all died at the hands of the inhuman Nazis.

Many of them were children, children not fortunate enough to have been hidden.

Now, many of us in this hall were alive when those tragedies took place, but we hardly noticed, if at all, and those awful events have come through now to our consciousness as a result of a film we are going to look at in a moment, and other such documentaries, and from survivors who still carry on them the tattooed numbers that were put upon them as they were taken into concentration camps, as well as some witnesses who saw the results of the Holocaust and all of whom, survivors and witnesses, are fast answering the call of time and will no longer be among us to bear witness.

But to help us start a process remembering and helping others of our fellow citizens remember, let us now look at a film that will help us tell the story.

And as we see this film on the television here I would ask that the doors in the back of the room be closed so that we will get the sharpest images on the screens.

Can we have the film now.

. . . A very moving film entitled "The United States Holocaust Memorial Council presents - A Campaign To Remember" was shown before the Convention . . .

I think that you conclude, along with me, that we now have a great obligation to ourselves, even as we and history have an obligation to remember, to not forget, to burn into our human being, into our consciousness, an absolute conviction that there shall not again occur a Holocaust.

We can be a small part of that assurance by participating in the act of making certain that this museum is completed and functions as now planned.

You have already, through your Union at the national level, made a total contribution of \$50,000.

The AFL-CIO has made such a contribution. The Steelworkers have contributed \$100,000. SEIU has contributed \$100,000. The Retail Wholesale Workers have contributed, as have several others, as much as a total of \$1,200,000 at this moment.

But it is possible in my opinion for the remainder of the Union, and if the Locals within all of the Unions work and participate and also get to our members, for us to in fact raise a total of \$5 million, to be sure that we are a significant part of that active remembrance through the library in this wonderful museum.

So, if as you go back into your Local and you report on this Convention and give the messages of what you have heard here about this subject as well as others, you will have an opportunity working through Brother Nichols, to get copies of this film to show your members and get other material that would assist you in following through.

I would suggest, as a matter of fact I would urge, that you give serious consideration to raising a dollar a member from within your Locals, pledged over a period of five years. If that's done, that's just a question of 20 cents a year per member, or a penny and a half a month during that period of time.

Little enough to be sure that we have made an investment, because as we all know, our minds and hearts usually are with our pocketbooks, and so if we do make a contribution we more likely will be committed.

Remember also that when you come to Washington to legislative conferences, when your children or grandchildren go to Washington for spring tours with their school classes, be sure they

make this a stop on their tour, because they will in fact come away with a feeling of the impossibility, of forgetting.

And so let me say thank you for your time and your patience, and say that for Bernice and me it's been more than a pleasure to be with you again. We look forward to another such day. And thank you all for your consideration now.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded at length . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I would only add very briefly to what Glenn has said, particularly in recognition of our colleagues in Germany who are visiting us this week from DPG, and all of the other German Trade Unions. It was two years ago when I was part of a CWA delegation visiting Germany, they made it a point to take us to Dachau, and the first thing that hit me was the vast amount of young people, young German people who were visiting the Dachau concentration camp.

But you can see this and you can read about this, but when you yourself stand in a shower, it was not really a shower but a gas shower, and know that the people who stood there some years ago thinking they were going in to take a shower were actually gassed, or as you stood in front of the ovens try to imagine human beings being put in there. It defies any means of understanding.

But I think it's terribly important for us to recognize that not only must we not forget, but that there is so many in Germany who were determined to see that it's not forgotten among them and the leaders of the German Trade Union Movement and some of our brothers that are sitting up there today. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. If the delegates will please turn to page 7 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution 53A-91-7 entitled "Holocaust Memorial".

RESOLUTION - HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL

In 1980 by a unanimous vote, the United States Congress enacted a law to establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, responsible for the creation of an appropriate Holocaust Memorial Museum to be built in Washington, D.C., currently under construction adjacent to the National Mall. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum will open in April of 1993.

President Emeritus Watts is a member of the Holocaust Memorial Council by appointment of the President of the United States.

The record of the Labor Movement in the United States in upholding human rights and fighting anti-semitism is without parallel. During the 1930s the American Federation of Labor repeatedly and vigorously condemned the Nazis' violent suppression of the German Free Trade Unions and persecution of the Jewish people. The historic role of Organized Labor in Germany and the response of the United States Labor Movement during the dark years of Nazi persecution will be documented in the museum's permanent exhibition as well as in its archives and Library.

Organized Labor has undertaken a nationwide campaign to support the creation of this Memorial. The goal of the Labor Campaign is to raise funds to build the Holocaust Memorial Museum Library, on the fifth floor of the museum, which will serve as an international resource and research center for Holocaust scholars for future generations.

The International Union has contributed \$50,000 to the Holocaust Memorial Museum. The Joseph Anthony Beirne Board of Directors have approved a contribution as well.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee move the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-7, entitled "Holocaust Memorial."

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It's been seconded from the floor.

On microphone No. 3. Delegate Marks.

DELEGATE MARGIE MARKS (Local 9410): President Bahr, President Emeritus Watts, Sisters and Brothers: In these times, more than ever, we need reminders that we must hold on to the past in such a way that it is a part of our everyday lives.

It was very painful for me to sit here and watch the film that was just shown, and it is difficult to understand how the brutal slaughter of six million women, men, children and infants was allowed to happen, but we do need to understand. What makes the Holocaust so important to remember is that those forces of evil that caused it to happen - racism, religious bigotry, militarism, nationalism and economic oppression are still present and could bring the Holocaust back at any time.

We see them. We feel them everywhere, and regretfully, incidents of racism and anti-Semitism are increasing in this country.

David Dukes, an avowed KKK member, was able to get elected to the Louisiana State Legislature. Racism was alive and well in the senatorial race in North Carolina where Conservative Jessie Helms defeated a black candidate.

The Bush Administration has used blatantly racist radio advertisements pitting white workers against black workers in their attempts to build opposition to the passage of civil rights legislation.

Instead of celebrating our rich diversity and encouraging tolerance, there are numerous "English Only" legislative propositions going on across this country.

Incidents of anti-Semitism have increased. Attacks on synagogues and other Jewish institutions have risen dramatically in the last twelve months.

My own ten year old daughter has been a victim of anti-semitic remarks and came home from school not understanding why this happened.

The forces that cause people to persecute each other along national and religious lines are everywhere. We have seen numerous examples of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Tragedy continues for the minority Kurdish population in Iraq. The white minority continue to suppress the black majority in South Africa.

Even in Israel there is the oppression of Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

On Monday, I listened with tears in my eyes to Lu Jinghua, the Beijing worker who spoke about the oppression of workers and students in China merely because they want to express themselves.

We need to remember the Holocaust. But more important, we need to learn from it and let those lessons shape and change our lives so that we take no part in either making the same mistakes or allowing them to happen.

As Rabbi Judy Shanks said Monday in the invocation, "We believe that there can yet be a time of peace and a time of justice, a time of brotherhood and a time of tranquility for all who live on earth."

As a member of CWA I am proud and grateful that my Union has chosen to support the Holocaust Memorial Museum with financial as well as moral support. I ask that you join with me and do the same. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, Delegate Henson.

DELEGATE EMMA R. HENSON (Local 2381): President Bahr, Brothers and Sisters: I rise

in support of Resolution 53A-91-7, "Holocaust Memorial".

The Communications Workers of America is known for its support of worthy causes, and this, fellow brothers and sisters, is for a worthy cause.

The information provided by the Holocaust Memorial will give a better understanding of Jewish history, their struggle and their impact on the Labor Movement.

One must understand this past in order to be successful in the future. Let it be known that I endorse the historical preservation and the education of all races and cultures. Understanding is the key to tolerance; knowledge is the key to understanding.

We all need to know and understand each other's background.

Local 2381, the Clerical and Accounting Employees of B'nai B'rith in Washington, D.C., which I represent, was organized by the Communications Workers of America over 17 years ago. We are part of this diversified body of Organized Labor.

The eye cannot say unto the hand, "I have no need of thee," nor again, the head to the feet. We all have need of each other. We must open the eyes of our understanding to be enlightened, that we may know what is the hope of our inheritance.

Support of this resolution means support from CWA members to other CWA members. It means denouncement of anti-Semitism and hate. It means support of love and respect for which all of this organized group are a part, whether black or white, man or woman, Jew or Gentile. Thank you. (Applause)

DELEGATE GEORGE SMILNAK (Local 4309): I would like to amend the resolution as follows:

After the word "victims" on Line 21, to insert the following: ". . . which included six million Jews and millions of Poles, Slavs, Russians, gypsies, clergy, the physically and mentally handicapped, gays, communists and trade unionists." (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been seconded.

The Delegate may speak on his motion.

DELEGATE SMILNAK: I don't know what more I could say after seeing that film, but I would just like to urge the Delegates to support this amendment. I believe it more clearly spells out the horror and scope of the Holocaust.

I would also like to encourage the Delegates to read the excellent article in the *CWA News* that we all received yesterday, and I would like to commend President Bahr, President Emeritus Watts and all of CWA for their work on the Holocaust Memorial.

I just want to say may we never forget the millions of victims who so cruelly perished.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 3, Delegate Choma.

DELEGATE BILL CHOMA (Local 4309): Brothers and Sisters, I rise in support of this amendment. A year ago I visited Poland, and my tour group visited Auschwitz, and also while we visited Warsaw

we were shown a film of how this capital city of Poland was leveled, building by building, as the Nazis retreated and the Russians advanced on the city. This destruction was deliberate. The Nazi command was to destroy the city.

The Polish underground fought the Nazis with whatever tools were available. They even

liberated sections of Warsaw from the Nazis, but in the end could not prevail.

The underground and the Polish people suffered a great loss of life. Also, twenty million Russians died during World War II, a large percentage of the Russian population.

Brothers and Sisters, what if the United States were invaded and twenty millions of us died? Can we comprehend this?

Gay people were also victims of the concentration camps. In the camps gays were even distinguished by having to wear the color pink on their prison uniforms.

In the Elie Wiesel book "Night," the Holocaust is described as "A story the world would have preferred not to hear, the story of how a cultured people turned to genocide and how the rest of the world, also composed of cultured people, remained silent in the face of genocide."

Indeed, some people today, some among the young, do not believe the Holocaust occurred. Some individuals have even gone so far as to say the Holocaust is a deliberate contrived lie that never happened.

Brothers and Sisters, we must remember all the victims of the Holocaust and keep their memory alive. Let us remember the words of Pastor Neumoller, which we heard earlier. Please give this amendment your support. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The amendment is adopted.

Microphone No. 3, Delegate Noyce.

DELEGATE CALVIN J. NOYCE (Local 7704): I rise in support of this resolution.

I don't have any prepared remarks. The film impressed me, as I am sure it impressed all of us.

My heritage, of being gay, entitles me to say something, I believe. I proudly wear the pink triangle, which was worn by my gay brothers and sisters that were in the Holocaust. The some hundred thousand or so that were also killed.

As you are in this city, please look about you. Respect that gay triangle, the pink triangle. I am hoping that our emblem up there above the stage-- I hope there was some connection there with the triangle.

I urge you to vote for this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 1, Delegate Schellin.

DELEGATE MARC A. SCHELLIN (Local 2336): I move the question. (Applause)

. . . The following remarks regarding Resolution 53A-91-7 were presented to the reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

ROBERT GOODEN (Local 3511): Mr. Chairman: I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-7, Holocaust Memorial. Brothers and Sisters of CWA: my heart goes out to the family members of all that lost loved ones in that tragic slaughter of human lives. The late Dr. Martin Luther King once said that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We must continue to educate our members as well as the people of our community to eradicate the injustices in this world...

PRESIDENT BAHR: In front of us is 53A-91-7, as amended. All in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

Last year at our Convention in Toronto we all met Elizabeth Glaser and embarked upon a labor of love.

Elizabeth brought to us the story of children with AIDS, and you all responded to the

emotional plea of this remarkable woman by adopting the Pediatric AIDS Foundation as our Union's official "charity of choice."

Since that time hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised and are continuing to be raised to bring hope for children with AIDS.

In just the six short months following our Convention last year, in short, from July through December, 362 Locals contributed to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. With the contributions received from these Locals and their efforts in soliciting funds from some of our companies, I am proud to report that CWA contributed in that six month period a total of \$263,471. (Applause)

And you, and through you to our members, are all to be congratulated for that generosity.

And we are not alone. Elizabeth, Barbara Easterling and I have been working together to bring her story to the rest of the Labor Movement and to the management as well in our industry, and I can tell you that I think Elizabeth has already received it, a \$10,000 check from the management of CENTEL.

Other Unions are responding as well. For example, and just as an example, the United Food and Commercial Workers has pledged \$50,000 a year, each year for four years. (Applause)

In fact, the American Labor Movement, with our Union in the forefront, is now the largest single contributor to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. (Applause)

Unfortunately, the White House has not helped, and Congress so far has given lip service.

The working men and women of CWA and other Unions have opened their hearts and are in the forefront of the effort to find a cure for this worldwide tragedy.

You see, we know a real person when we meet one, a real friend.

Please join with me in greeting our friend and member of our family, Elizabeth Glaser.

. . . The Delegates arose and there was prolonged applause as Elizabeth Glaser came to the podium, to the tune of "Getting to Know You," sung by James Taylor . . .

SISTER ELIZABETH GLASER (Pediatric AIDS Foundation): Thank you.

I thought I would not be nervous this year, because I did it once before, but I am wrong. The song that you just heard is James Taylor singing "Getting to Know you," which is the first song on the second side of a record album that has just come out from which all the proceeds will go to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, and we are really excited about it. (Applause)

But I also have to start by telling you that James was my daughter Aurielle's favorite singer, and that is how that record came to be, and seeing her picture, her drawing, on the tables all around, I feel very much that she is with us today, and that she wants to say thank you for making her a part of your family as well. (Applause)

I want to start by telling you how proud I am to be here. All year, I have felt that the Pediatric AIDS Foundation was a part of your family. I have spoken about how much it means to me personally in many television and newspaper interviews.

But also, I am proud of the strong leadership it shows and sets an example of, of how we can all help. But now here I am, one year later, knowing how far we have come in a year and also how far we have yet to go.

Let me tell you some of the highlights of the last 12 months, and some of the disappointments, because there have been a few. Let me tell you where your money has gone.

With your help, we raised \$3.5 million this year. (Applause) We funded over \$3 million of research that will lay the foundation work for the breakthroughs that I know lay ahead. This year, we released the record album, and it is on the charts-- in fact, we were 31 on the billboard charts last week. (Applause) It is called "For Our Children," and I hope all of you will help by supporting

it. You will love it.

This year, we also started a summer training program for students interested in pediatric AIDS. We hosted two think tanks. Let me tell you just for a minute what the think tank is, because we just don't say we want to fund research in pediatric AIDS; we are setting the national agenda of priorities.

Do you know how we do that? We bring together 30 doctors to a house in Santa Barbara, not just doctors but people from drug companies, people from the federal government, from academia, and we tell them they can't show slides. A few of them say, "I don't want to come if I can't show my slides." They get so nervous.

We say, "We want you to sit and talk with each other and decide what are the questions that need to be answered." From those think tanks that have been so incredibly successful, we have been able to focus on the research we have been able to fund.

We have given \$160,000 in emergency funds to hospitals around the country serving a significant pediatric AIDS population. Last fall, we gave out the first Pediatric AIDS Foundation Hero Award on the CBS Morning News show, honoring real people around the country who are doing the right thing, and thus becoming our leaders.

Now we have just completed our national Parent Education Program. We are so proud of it. No one has seen it yet, but when I showed "A Gift of Time" last year I felt like I had something really special to share with you. And I wanted this year to have something really special to share again.

I feel that everything we do at the Pediatric AIDS Foundation we do with the CWA; that we are really doing it together. So I wanted to share a small part of this video with you to give you a sense of the kind of things that we are doing.

The video was made as a part of this larger program because some parents don't know what to say or how to begin to talk to their children about HIV. So what happens? They just don't talk about it at all. They are too afraid. But we can't prevent AIDS-- and AIDS is not a preventable disease-- unless we talk about it. We can't be compassionate unless we are not afraid.

This film was designed to help parents find the right words so they can talk about this with their children. I hope that each local will be interested in using this video. I have a meeting next week with AT&T. If I can sell it to them, then I get to give it to all of you for free, which is my plan. (Applause) If I don't sell it to them, we will sell it to someone else, I promise.

But we have accomplished a lot, and we are proud of it. I want you to be proud of it too, because we could not have done it without the support of each one of you.

So I would like you to join me for just a few minutes and watch just a part of this first video called "Parents Talk to Kids About HIV."

. . . The delegates were shown an informative video presentation entitled "Parents Talk to Kids About HIV" (Applause) . . .

MS. GLASER: We have been working for a year to find a way to not just focus on the families like mine who are infected, but to educate all the other parents and families out there. We are really proud and hope that this video will have a huge impact around the country.

Our successes have been great and we have set our sights high because we have to accomplish miracles. However, there are two disappointments in the last 12 months that come to mind as well. I would like to share them with you.

The first shows what happens when real, everyday people are not educated about HIV, and it happened to me a month ago. I had to go in for a routine cardiac exam. They hooked me up to these monitors and did a sonogram prior to a stress test, and then the sonogram again.

I was lying on the table waiting to have the sonogram done, and the nurse, the technician, walked in and she had on gloves and a mask. I had lived through that when my daughter was in the hospital and my eyes must have registered my horror, because she looked at me and said, "I look kind of strange, don't I?"

I said, "Yes, you do. Is there a reason for that?"

She said, "Yes. You are HIV positive."

And I said, "Yes, but are you taking my blood?"

She said, "No."

I said, "Do you have a cold and you're afraid I might catch your cold?"

She said, "No."

And I said, "Then why are you wearing gloves and a mask?"

I took a deep breath and said, "But you can't get HIV that way."

And she said, "But you may cough in my face."

I said, "But you can't get HIV that way." And you have to understand that I was shaking. I looked at her and said, "You are more dangerous than I am," which is what I believe. (Applause)

I said, and my hand was shaking, "I want you out of my room. I won't let you do my sonogram." And she left. (Applause) I said, "If I let you do my sonogram and you think what you are doing is okay, then the problem does not change. But if I tell you to leave, I hope you go home tonight and think about the choices that you are making, because you are part of my problem and many other people's problem."

The other two nurses in the room said, "Elizabeth, you are here for a cardiac exam. Please calm down." (Laughter) I said, "I can't."

But that showed me, at that minute, how far we still have to go. But it also showed me how important each of you are, how important the attitude of each person in this room and the importance and the immediate effect it has when people are educated and when they do want to reach out.

The second disappointment is with America's accepted leaders. This year, we reached out to corporate America. We received a consistent response: We don't touch AIDS.

Well, that may be; but they are fools because AIDS touches everyone. (Applause)

I can't wait for corporate America or the White House to wake up. We are in a race with the clock. If the leadership won't come from the top, then let it start at the bottom with every man, with real people saying, "Not only do we care, but we will do something about it." (Applause)

This is the year to fly. You have passed a resolution. Now I need you to make it a reality again, to deliver the 650,000 members, each contributing one dollar or more. Next year in the war against AIDS is too late. The time to run is now-- and as fast as we can-- because I know that together we can bring hope. Together we can show leadership. Together we can make a difference.

Your President and Vice President, Morty and Barbara, have helped us to reach out to other union families. We can all help to spread the word, but you have to care not just now; you have to care when you go home as well.

Listen to this: The World Health Organization estimates that by the year 2000, which is only nine years from now, ten million children will be infected with HIV worldwide. We have to make sure this prediction never becomes a reality.

Sometimes it is hard to be moved by numbers, so let me bring it home. Each and every one of us wants to be a family. We all need to feel loved and embraced when we are faced with difficult realities. You are our big and wonderful family. You are my family. You are the family that brings hope to moms and dads and kids, families like mine, around the country who are still hiding, isolated and alone.

My son Jake is six and a half and he is doing great. We are having a race with time. He hit a double in T-ball last week. He lost his first tooth, and he made his first real joke yesterday. Each day is precious.

None of us have any guarantees. He and all the other children battling this disease deserve their best shot. We have not given it to them yet. I am counting on you to help me make the difference.

In the opening song of the album "For Our Children," which you have heard two songs from now, Marilyn sings, "Give a Little Love." It says, "We have to give a little love, have a little hope, make this world a little better, try a little harder than before. Let's see what we can do together. We can really make it better, but only if we try."

I thank every one of you in this room for trying to make the world a little better. Thank you.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

MS. GLASER: Thank you. I really love you all from the bottom of my heart. (Prolonged applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is now time-- we are not supposed to move these. The guys back there just go ape every time we move this. Don't touch the microphone. (Laughter)

It is now time to present our first-- and I almost intended to say the first of many, but we don't want to have too many awards. I don't know how many of us read the "Hope for a Vaccine." We want to make that a reality without losing people.

But in recognition, we are giving two Pediatric AIDS Awards. The first award is the Ariel Glaser Award, named in memory of Elizabeth's daughter. This is presented to the local that gave the most dollars to PAF. That local, with a contribution of \$10,627.20 is Local 13000. (Presentation - Applause) Local President, Bob Powell. (Applause)

The other award is the "Hope Award," given to the local union that raised the highest percentage of its quota for the foundation. The winner of that award with a percentage of 2193 percent is Local 4700. (Applause) Would Pat Gorman, President of Local 4700, come up and accept the award. (Presentation - Applause)

MS. GLASER: Oh, I'm not supposed to touch it. (Laughter) I don't know how to follow directions, that's for sure. Maybe that is why we haven't been more successful. (Laughter and applause)

It is hard to figure out how to let each person know how very important they are. I don't get to talk to each of you individually, but CWA has meant so much to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. So we wanted to present an award to you, Morty and Barbara. I will read it because it is for everybody.

It says, "To Morton Bahr, Barbara Easterling, and every member of the Communications Workers of America. By adopting the Pediatric AIDS Foundation as your charity of choice, each of you across the nation has brought hope to children with HIV and AIDS. Your courage, your commitment, your caring show unprecedented leadership. As we race with the clock, knowing you stand by our side gives us the strength to keep going. For all these reasons, you are our greatest heroes. Our thanks and love, from the Pediatric AIDS Foundation and all families battling AIDS."

Thank you. (Presentation - Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On behalf of Elizabeth and her colleagues at the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, I want to thank all of you for your generosity in supporting our charity of choice. As our motto says, "CWA and the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, working together in partnership to give hope for children with AIDS."

But let me bring this a little closer to home. Paul and Mary Osborne are both telephone operators and members of CWA Local 9421 in Sacramento. They lost their eight year old son Michael to AIDS in March. Although we invited them to join us today, their loss was too recent for them emotionally to do so.

I would like Brenda Baldwin, the Secretary-Treasurer of that Local, who has been working closely with them, to take CWA's Pediatric AIDS Foundation poster, signed by Elizabeth, back to them with our deepest sympathy.

Just think, if all of us met our PAF quotas for 1991, our Union would contribute more than \$600,000 to help find a cure for this terrible disease and help the innocent children who are the victims. Thank you very much. (Applause)

I am putting a dear friend in a terrible predicament now. Who would want to make a speech after this early afternoon's emotion? But I think our next speaker can rise to the occasion. He is one of the young, dynamic, up and coming leaders in telecommunications around the world. He is Tony Young, the General Secretary of the National Communications Union, which is the largest union representing telecommunications workers in the United Kingdom.

Tony has come a long way to talk about the development of privatization and deregulation in his country. Just as the break-up of the Bell System sent shock waves that were felt around the world, events are taking place in the United Kingdom today that are a portent of things to come for us in the future.

Tony is going to give us an idea of the future challenges that we can expect. Tony was elected General Secretary of the NCU in 1989. He believes strongly in international cooperation between unions and is deeply concerned about the global policies of transnational companies.

I met Tony shortly after he was elected the leader of his union and I have become very impressed with this vision and his ideas for the future.

As the European nations moved toward a single market, his message today is very important for us. So please join me in welcoming the General Secretary of the National Communications Union of Great Britain, Tony Young. (Applause)

BROTHER TONY YOUNG (General Secretary, National Communications Union, Great Britain): Delegates of the Convention: As I sat here this afternoon-- and I suppose I have been to a few conventions in my time-- I don't think I have ever been more moved by the contributions that I heard this afternoon.

I think there was a common theme really that both of those contributions had, the one on the Holocaust-- and I have a personalized interest with that. I was born a Jew and I had relatives who, in Europe, died in that Holocaust, so I identify very strongly with it. But that and the fear of AIDS, both those contributions you have made were about combating ignorance and prejudice, something that I always wanted to be associated with, something that has inspired me throughout my trade union involvement.

So, Sisters and Brothers and Fellow Trade Unionists here, it is a great pleasure and I must begin by thanking you most warmly for the invitation to visit your convention and to speak to you today.

In the last two years, the contacts between our two unions have increased in warmth and intensity, and I have been delighted to work closely, in the PTTI and elsewhere, with your President Morton Bahr and other CWA Staff.

I am very glad to be here today and I bring you the fraternal greetings of my own National

Communications Union, and the Union of Communications Workers, with whom we are developing closer lines and hope to merge in the near future, as well as other posts and telecoms trade unions in Britain and of the entire British Trade Union Movement.

In preparing this contribution-- and that was before I heard this afternoon's contribution-- I became aware that by now you would have heard a lot of speeches, including the best and the worst of the Dan Quayle jokes. But I promise you, no Dan Quayle jokes. I am sure you are aware that Margaret Thatcher, our ex-Prime Minister, visited your country recently. Now, there are not too many jokes about Margaret Thatcher. She has that effect on people.

However, I like the comment attributed to George Schultz recently. He said, "If I were married to her I would be sure to have her dinner ready when she got home." (Laughter)

She is a woman who is suffering from a grand delusion, actually, that she is still the Prime Minister. It is a curious complaint because it seems to have infected her successor, John Major, the Prime Minister, because he is not sure whether he is the Prime Minister and whether he is going to be the Prime Minister for much longer.

As I left the UK, the Labor Party had a ten percent lead in the polls. I am hoping he is not going to be the leader of our country for much longer. (Applause)

Sisters and Brothers, I am particularly pleased to be here in the United States because it is a special occasion actually. Perhaps not many people know why it is, but we all should in the Labor Movement. It is the 200th anniversary of the publication of a book that historically has meant a great deal to both our countries. I mean, of course, a book called *The Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine.

Now, Tom Paine was a major influence in the Declaration of Independence. He had been in this country, in America, but for a short period of time when he published a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, and that pamphlet was influential in committing people to taking the step in declaring independence.

He was a remarkable man of working class origin, little education, and yet he was able to publish that very first influential pamphlet.

Tom Paine, in the publication *The Rights of Man*, argued forcibly for democratic rights, fair taxation, education for all and fair wages. He argued in another publication for the rights of women. He was a very progressive person. And when I looked among his works for something that I felt was a relevant theme, I came across this.

He said, "My country is the world and my religion is to do good." I don't think you could put it a lot better than that.

When I looked at that theme, I thought, "Well, our country is the world. Communications, telecommunications have truly created a global village. If you did not believe that, when recently you saw those pictures coming back from the Gulf War in a way that stops us being insulated from the kind of horrors that happen in war, when you saw those pictures coming back recently about the flight of Kurds, or of the Bangladesh who were marooned, then you saw that we really have a global village these days, because whatever the differences between countries, the problems we face in telecommunications trade unions are more and more the same.

More and more, we are facing the same kind of employers. British Telecom has a major stake in cellular mobile telephony in the United States, and they have invested one billion five hundred million pounds in that company. Sprint is working closely with Cable & Wireless on a global communications network, and is planning to become a long-distance operator in Britain.

Several of the Baby Bells-- and these are not babies by any means-- have major interests in British cable television, which is to provide competition in the local loop. The vast majority, 90 percent of British Cable TV is owned by the Regional Bell Operating Companies and other North American interests. Believe me, they are not just there for cable TV.

Very recent legislation in the UK means that they are allowed to carry telecoms over the same network, something that would be denied to them in the USA.

If we as trade unions are seriously going to challenge these multinational employers, we have to work ever more closely together. We have to exchange information. We have to offer support and solidarity. We have to strengthen our links. I am glad to say that both the CWA and the NCU are fully committed to doing just that through the PTTI and bilaterally.

But that's not all. Technological change and the breakup of traditional business organization have meant enormous changes for our members and our unions, right across the world.

Here in the United States, you have had the divestiture of AT&T. The establishment of the independent RBOCs, ever-increasing competition, ever more new services, the transfer of work to cheap labor areas, attempts by management to block union organization, and the issues you faced in your dispute with NYNEX and the Daily News. I congratulate you on these historic victories. (Applause)

In Britain, we have seen the privatization of our main telecommunications company, the introduction of competition in almost every sector of the telecoms market, reorganization after reorganization of British Telecom's business structure. And since the British government reviewed its telecommunications policy earlier this year, we are to have the widest possible extension of competition, regardless of the price to customers and regardless of the cost in jobs.

I know that AT&T shed 81,000 employees between 1984 and 1989, as its share of the long-distance market fell and new technology was introduced.

That's the kind of dramatic change in employment levels we can have to deal with in our industry, and you have the full support of British trade unionists in your current dispute with AT&T. You have our full support not least because we too are facing an attempt by British Telecom to cut the workforce in British telecommunications: 19,000 jobs cut in the last year and another 15,000 more cuts planned for the next two years, a total of around 15 percent of British Telecom's workforce.

That is the kind of threat our membership, like yours, is facing. Our aims are to fight for retraining, re-employment, personal rights protection, a fair deal for those who leave on a voluntary basis, to oppose any attempt at compulsory redundancy, and last but by no means least, a shorter working week. (Applause) I am glad I struck a chord there as well.

We must learn from each other's experiences and we must work together to resist the redundancies and the job cuts that managements are introducing, not as ways of improving the quality of service-- far from it; but as a symbol of their own personal toughness and pursuit of profit at any cost.

Well, toughness has its place, but so does compassion, so does quality of service, so do the members of our unions who are responsible for the high standards of British and American telecommunications businesses and the high profits they earn.

And there's a third area that I want to mention, where we can only gain by working more closely together, and that is trade union recognition and trade union rights. Trade unions in Britain have fewer rights today than trade unionists throughout the rest of Western Europe. The United Kingdom was the only country opposing European social charter, the only country that refused to sign that social charter.

It is considered by many European unions not to go far enough, but at least it gives basic rights of representation. We have had twelve years of hostile, anti-trade union legislation since we have had a Conservative government in power. It has undermined the right to strike, the right to organize and the right to represent our members. And I can well understand your support for the bill, the H.R.5 bill, to ban striker replacements, because we are fighting exactly the same fight in the U.K. and we have a Labor Government or Labor Party, should it return to power, pledged to return to us the power to strike without fear of dismissal. (Applause)

And twelve years in which we have seen a tougher, a more aggressive management emerge, in which we have seen our collective agreements undermined through the refusal of recognition in subsidiaries of British Telecom and in new telecommunications businesses.

I am sure that is something familiar to you.

We have seen the introduction of personal contracts over the heads of trade unions and trade union members. We have seen potentially anti-union initiatives, like total quality management, and more aggressive approaches to negotiations.

President Bahr talked about corporate greed, and he certainly struck a chord with me, because just before I left, in the middle of our current pay negotiations, BT was currently offering 6.1 percent to the workers. What do you think the managing director this year decided to award himself? A 43 percent increase. And such was the outcry, which I had warned him about privately, that he said, "Well, the bonus that he achieved, his performance bonus, he was going to donate that to charity."

Perhaps he missed the point, really, that when you are on these kind of wages, to imply to workers that they are only worth 6.1 percent, and somehow management's own wages are worth a 43 percent increase, I think indicates the kind of double standard and the false values they have.

We have had ten years of high unemployment and recession, and I know the impression sometimes given by Margaret Thatcher over here is that she has created an economic miracle. You should not be fooled by that. We are suffering from a really bad recession at the moment, and we are still suffering very severe effects of inflation and high unemployment.

We have seen job security wither away and trade union membership decline in many of our industries overall, from 13 million to 8.3 million. These are not problems that are exclusive to Britain or the United States or to any particular country. They are universal problems for the trade union movement, problems that we can and must resolve and that we can and will resolve by working together in unity as we in the trade union movement have always done.

I think Rita Biondo, and I don't know whether I have her name quite right, put it correctly when she said democracy means the right to rebel or dissent and the right to defend yourselves. Today's communications enable us to join hands across the oceans to exchange information and experiences, that strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity.

I have enjoyed your Convention. I have looked through your agenda and have recognized that many of the major issues you are dealing with are exactly the same issues that we have to deal with.

I related to the message from your President, Morton Bahr, when he said that we need to impact on corporation decisions, about community power, when he talked about the mobilization of members. One thing I have realized, actually by looking through the *CWA News* over a period of time, is that the CWA certainly means what it says when it mobilizes, that you recruit on a wide basis. In fact, I have to say that I figured out that if anybody can communicate, then they join the CWA. (Applause)

Conventions and conferences enable us to recharge our mental batteries. I am not sure about the physical ones, after watching your dance last night. But, as Morton said, we need to be inspired. We need passion. And I would like to add something that you have displayed this afternoon, compassion for those in our societies and around the world who need our help and care.

I wish you well in your mission. CWA-- Wall to Wall. I like the slogan. I am wearing the badge, and I am going to carry it back with me. (Applause)

And, you know, your mission is our mission. It is the mission of all trade unions around the world, and some of the old slogans are still as true today as they were yesterday. We have got to

educate, agitate and organize, and that way we really will make it wall to wall. (Applause)

I know that our friendship will continue to grow over the years to come. I look forward to that. I look forward to the rest of your Convention. I wish you well, and I paraphrase Tom Paine once again: The world is our country, and our religion is to do good.

Thank you for your time. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: This is another product of one of our retirees, who used his craft skills in hand carving American woodbirds, and this is one that is a blue winged teal hen. I hope, Tony, this will remind you of us and your visit here. (Presentation - Applause)

BROTHER YOUNG: Jim, I shall treasure that. I must say I wasn't quite sure whether it was a joke, really, but we traveled 11 hours on an airplane, my wife and children, who I hope are somewhere out there. We landed at the airport, only to find that the weather in San Francisco was exactly the same as in England. (Laughter)

So, believe me, the duck will remind me.

It is well insulated, and you need to be in San Francisco.

Look after yourselves. Take care. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I told you he is an up and coming worldwide trade union leader in communications, and we look forward in working closer with him on the problems in the industry.

Let me thank the Escort Committee.

. . .As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the Delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

George Alcott, President, Local 1301;

Barbara Davis, Executive vice President, Local 2110;

Sara J. Smith, President, Local 3108;

Larry Cave, President, Local 4900;

Judy Evans, President, Local 6260;

Mary Taylor, 1st Vice President, Local 7200;

Frank Tanner, Jr., Vice President, Local 9410;

John Lloyd, President, Local 13101;

James Grottola, President, Local 14156.

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is now time for our traditional Memorial Service.

. . . The lights were dimmed and "Taps" was sounded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Assembled here in San Francisco for the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America, it is fitting that we pause and remember those who are no longer with us. We acknowledge the endless debt we owe the men and women who unselfishly devoted their lives to the building of our union, as we set aside all else to honor our colleagues who during the past year have been called to a higher purpose.

Let us now join in specifically remembering 11 members of the CWA family who have passed from us.

VICE PRESIDENT PETE CATUCCI: JOSEPH WILLIAM (BILL) BICKERS - Bill Bickers devoted his far too short time on Earth to the betterment of the men and women of CWA and the labor movement. At age 21, in 1966, he became a vice president of CWA Local 2323, and he

went to serve as president. For the next quarter of a century, Bill proved his leadership abilities in times of tranquility, as well as in times of crisis, with clear thinking, compassion and understanding. He stood out, both as a local officer and a CWA staff member. He left a lasting legacy for our members in northern Virginia, Charleston, W.Va., and Washington, D.C.

We will remember Bill Bickers with fond hearts forever.

VICE PRESIDENT WALT MAULIS: NORMA BOZEMAN - Norma Bozeman was a true pioneer, reaching out to offer the umbrella of trade unionism to her co-workers in the early 1940s in Montgomery, Alabama. During her many years of dedication to the members of CWA, she never veered from that course. Norma Bozeman trained and educated CWA members, stewards and local officers in many locations throughout the United States before becoming the union's Utah state director in 1956, and later the Utah-Idaho director in 1971.

Active in Democratic politics, she was appointed to serve on the Governor's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women in 1968. We will always be grateful for her guidance and devotion.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: JOHN C. CARROLL - By his actions and dedication over a 50-year CWA career, John Carroll epitomized what effective union leadership is all about. He was a true giant who brought compassion and wisdom to every job he tackled, from shop steward to executive vice president.

John Carroll served as co-chair of CWA's national bargaining committee with AT&T and the Bell System in 1977, 1980 and 1983. In 1986, he was the union's chief negotiator in contract talks with AT&T and bargaining coordinator in the 1986 talks with the regional Bell operating companies. No one contributed more than John to building the foundation of contractual benefits that our members in telecommunications enjoy today.

The CWA Executive Board, upon learning of his decision to retire in 1988, commended him for his "dedication and distinction" in carrying out his collective bargaining responsibilities. John Carroll was truly an inspiration to his colleagues on the Executive Board, on the union staff and among the members, all of whom will cherish his memory for an eternity.

In Joe Clarkin, we lost a friend, a loyal staff person, and a dedicated member of the CWA family. We will miss him.

PRESIDENT BAHR: GUSTAVE C. (GUS) CRAMER - Gus Cramer truly devoted his life to the service of the members of CWA, holding various top appointed and elected positions in the CWA headquarters operations including assistant to the vice president, in St. Louis, Missouri, Gus Cramer answered a call to come to Washington, D.C., in 1958.

He served both the late Ray Hackney and Joseph A. Beirne as an assistant before his election as executive vice president in 1969. As an executive vice president, Gus Cramer headed up the Executive Board's Ways and Means Committee, and he played a leading role in helping stabilize CWA's finances through the dues restructure program adopted at the union's 1979 convention. Gus was a tireless soldier and union builder, and we will forever honor his memory.

VICE PRESIDENT HARRY IBSEN: EDWARD J. CRUICE - Edward Cruice's commitment to the union spanned more than three decades. A one-time installer with Western Electric, Ed Cruice joined the union staff in 1953 as a CWA representative in Detroit, Michigan. He transferred in 1961 to Seattle, Washington, where he served as an area director for Washington and Idaho. Later he served as area director for California and Nevada. Ed Cruice retired as the assistant to the vice president of District 9 in 1984 after years of devoted service. Ed Cruice -- his smile, his good humor and his absolute dedication to the labor movement -- will be missed by all of us in the CWA family.

VICE PRESIDENT T.O. PARSONS: MARY A. DEES - Mary Dees served as a beacon of inspiration to many during her more than three decades of devoted service to the union and the

members. From her days as a local officer in Tulsa, Oklahoma, her decade as a union organizer, her work as a staff person in CWA's District 6 headquarters office in St. Louis, Missouri, to her years as a CWA representative in Tulsa, Mary Dees never stopped trying to make things better for those around her.

Upon her retirement in 1976, former member of the U.S. House of Representatives James R. Jones commended her for "what she has so unselfishly done for others." For Mary's unselfish devotion to CWA, we are eternally grateful.

VICE PRESIDENT DINA BEAUMONT: WILLIAM CLAUDE DEMERS - The example of Bill Demer's devotion to unionism, his tireless efforts to make our members' lives a little better, inspired many of our present younger leaders in Southern California to take up the union's cause as their calling. In this way, his legacy lives on and flourishes. Bill served as vice president of CWA District 11, encompassing Southern California, from 1980 to 1986, when the district was merged back into the present District 9.

He first came to CWA in 1947 as an installer for Southern Bell in Little Rock, Arkansas. Transferring to Los Angeles ten years later, he served as vice president and then president of Local 9513 in Redondo Beach, and then as assistant to the district vice president. As early as 1957, Bill worked as temporary organizer in the Little Rock area, and later he was instrumental in shaping the merger with CWA of the 12,000-member Federation of Women Telephone Workers of Southern California.

In remembering Bill Demers, we honor the memory of a true union builder.

VICE PRESIDENT BOB JOHNSON: EVELYN MURIEL EDWARDS - Muriel Edwards' devotion and dedication on behalf of the men and women of the CWA will always stand as a monument. For twenty years on the union staff in Chicago, and for a score of years as a local officer and leader, Muriel Edwards helped negotiate, interpret and explain CWA contracts. She taught schools for stewards and local officers. She always put forth that extra effort, the kind that makes all those around her want to do their best too.

Her retirement as a CWA representative in 1973 brought a virtual outpouring of goodwill from those whom she had touched during her union career. Those of us privileged to know Muriel will always remember her.

VICE PRESIDENT GENE RUSSO: DAVID C. H. FINN, JR. - Dave Finn's contributions to the members of CWA will be long remembered. Starting in 1940 in his native city of New Orleans, Louisiana, shortly after being hired as a lineman with Southern Bell, Dave saw the need for a strong union and began doing his part. He rose through the ranks, becoming a CWA representative with an assignment in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1955, and later leading members in Miami and Orlando, Florida, where he retired in 1984.

Dave Finn believed that workers need a strong union, and he acted on that belief through his unwavering devotion. We will never forget Dave Finn's contributions to building our nation.

VICE PRESIDENT HARRY IBSEN: AVELINO B. MONTES - Avelino B. Montes was a man familiar with struggle, from his birth in Metcalf, Arizona, through his rise as a union leader and CWA vice president for the area covered by California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington and Hawaii.

Monty's early life took him from Arizona to Wayne, Michigan, where he went to work for Michigan Bell in 1945. Soon afterward, he became a steward, executive board member and president of Local 4017.

He joined the CWA staff as a representative in 1963, assigned to Northern California. Monty went on to serve as assistant to the vice president of District 9 in 1970, and then as the elected vice president between 1976 and 1983, when he chose to retire.

Avelino Montes set standards that we all aspire to reach; he will have a place in our hearts for an eternity.

VICE PRESIDENT GENE RUSSO: W. E. BILL BUTTRAM - Bill Buttram devoted his life from the very founding days of CWA, to improving the lives of our members in the southern United States.

He went to work for Southern Bell in 1936, and soon became active in the efforts to create a union for Telephone workers.

After serving many years as a Local officer in the old Southern Federation of Telephone Workers, Bill became CWA's South Carolina director in 1951, and later served as the union's Tennessee director from 1971 until his retirement in August, 1978.

Bill was Assistant Vice President of CWA's former District 10, now part of CWA District 3. His passing on June 22 grieves us all and his extended family. We will forever be grateful for the contribution of this CWA pioneer.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let us now pause to remember those CWA Local Officers who have passed from our midst since our last convention.

NAME	LOCAL	TITLE
Jim Gallagher	1039	President
Belinda Smith Griffin	3250	Vice President
Mary Bolin	3504	Secretary -Treasurer
Ronnie Holloman	6174	President
Richard (Toby) Tarver	6229	President
Patsy A. Maier	9509	Vice President
Paul Norton	9575	Vice President

For all those who have passed from us during the year past, we now offer our solemn prayers of love. We shall never forget their loyalty, their courage, their ideals. Each created a priceless legacy that will forever bring us closer together, a legacy of devotion to CWA and to the men and women whom we represent.

They have provided us with examples that light the path toward human dignity. We pledge to follow their examples and to carry on the high standards that they exemplified. We call upon all members of the Communications Workers of America to symbolically join us, in heart and mind, as we pay homage to Joseph William Bickers, Norman Bozeman, John C. Carroll, Joseph Clarkin, Gus Cramer, Edward Cruice, Mary A. Dees, William C. Demers, Muriel Edwards, David Finn, Avelino Montes, Bill Buttram, the members, the stewards, the Local officers, the staff and all the elected leaders who have departed from us.

May they rest in peace. May they rest in the Lord.

. . . The following remarks were presented to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings:

DELEGATE MADELYNN WILSON (Local 7818): I would like to dedicate my first Convention to Richard "Speedy" Gunsaulis.

Speedy was a steward and a chief steward of Information Billing Services in Spokane. He served CWA to the fullest and was always there for CWA.

Speedy is not known to everyone, but he is known to everyone in CWA Local 7818 Spokane. We miss him. We loved him, and will always remember him. . . .

We stand in recess for 30 minutes.

. . . Thirty minute recess . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the Delegates take their seats, please?

The Convention will be in order.

While the Locals who expect to receive COPE awards begin to form to my right, I want to introduce to you Danny Beagle, the Public Relations Director of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

We Do The Work is the only national public television series about the issues facing working people. The show is trying to put the public back into Public TV. The program is now aired on nearly twenty Public TV stations across the country. We all know that Labor's voice is not heard nearly enough in the national media. The people at "We Do The Work" are trying to change that.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you Danny Beagle, the Public Relations Director for the ILWU and a member of the Board. (Applause)

BROTHER DANNY BEAGLE (Public Relations Director, International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union): Thank you.

I know how busy you are. I know you are trying to get out of here. I will try to be as brief as I can.

First of all, as a representative of the International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union, which is San Francisco's homegrown international union, which two years ago affiliated with the AFL-CIO, I want to first of all welcome you to this city and also say goodbye, I guess.

This is a great labor history town. It is a great labor town. We are proud we had something to do with it, and we are proud you are here and hope you enjoy it.

If you have a moment while you are here, if you can grab a streetcar to the other end of Market, down by the waterfront, you will find at the corner of Mission and Stewart a mural we put up a couple of years ago in commemoration of the 1934 general strike, which, from our point of view, is really the beginning of the West Coast Labor Movement.

It is a beautiful work, done by some local Chicano artist and was part of our 50th anniversary celebration.

So, if you have some time to do it before you get out of here, you will enjoy it.

Let me tell you for a moment about "We Do The Work." "We Do The Work's" inspiration was a study that some years back the Machinists did, and I believe some other international unions participated, where members monitored the networks and came to the rather unsurprising conclusion that working people got a pretty raw deal on public and commercial TV, that they were portrayed as bigots, idiots, racists, and in that manner.

We felt rather strongly out here that we could do something about it, and with the help of the Longshoremen's Union, the Teamsters and the sponsorship of the State Federation of Labor under Jack Henning and the Local Labor Councils, we put together a show called "California Working." We started out pretty funky on a local PBS station, and we learned how to do it, and we learned how to use cameras and put together a show that was on the air for about two years.

When we started that, among the first people we turned to for support was the CWA, and from the very beginning we have had the support of your folks out here, Vice President Ibsen, Ken Majors, and recently International Vice President Nichols.

We are extremely proud of your support.

I became aware only this afternoon sitting here of how proud we really should be to be in the company of other people that you support and other projects. We take that support extremely seriously, and we look forward to working with you in the future to put the images out of what Unions are and what working people are out in the front of the American public.

We started out on three PBS stations in Northern California. Today we are on the air in Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco. We changed our name from "California Working," obviously, to "We Do The Work." We are on the air in about twenty cities across the country, ranging from the big ones I mentioned, to a few smaller towns, like Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Fort Wayne, Indiana, Buffalo, New York, Nashville, Tennessee.

We are in the process now of signing up new stations. Honolulu looks pretty good. Minneapolis looks pretty good. We are breaking our necks trying to get on the Chicago station.

PBS stations can be extraordinarily arrogant. I am sorry, they tell us, but we don't do Labor. If you get a nickel of your money from Labor Unions, we can't put you on, because you are a special interest.

We contend with this every day, and I believe by the quality of what we are doing, by the balance of what we are doing, we are gradually breaking down that barrier.

We are on the air, as I said, in about twenty cities, and we are particularly anxious to talk to CWA folks and say, "Look, we are on the air in Fort Wayne. What do you want to do? Do you have projects that ought to be on the air? Should we be putting out stuff on the work you do with the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, or whatever?"

The one thing we have done with CWA that we are very proud of is that in our Labor Day show about a year ago, which covered the difficulties faced by working families these days, we drew particular attention to your negotiated agreement having to do with child care, family leave, and so on, as a way in which trade unions and the collective bargaining processes advanced those issues.

So, I am up here basically to thank you for your support, to say that we want to work with you harder and more. We want this kind of stuff on the air. We want you guys on the air. We are going to be trying to reach you in the future in the areas where we are on the air, to say, "Let's work together. Let's put you guys on the air."

Naturally, the proof of the TV is in the pudding, so I am going to take a moment of your time to show you a short clip, kind of some of "We Do The Work's" great hits over the last year or two, to give you a sense of what we do and what we are able to do.

So, if you will start that clip, we are ready to roll.

. . . The videotape depicting a sampling of the presentations of the TV show "We Do The Work" was played for the Delegates . . .

BROTHER BEAGLE For those of you who watch PBS regularly, you will know that at the end of each program it says, "This program was brought to you by AT&T" or whoever. We don't have those kinds of corporate sponsors. Our show is put on by people like yourselves, like unions all over the country, by a couple of foundations that have been a help to us; a number of unions who have been among us prominently such as IBEW, SEIU, who come forward and help us.

Television unfortunately eats money. We put out a lean, mean show on a very lean budget, and we are needful continuously of your support, not only in terms of cash but in terms of your input. In terms of the programming you want to see on the air, on the issues you face, we are right there. We need to hear from you about how we are going to do this and how we are going to get on the air in your hometown; how we are going to put the pressure on the PBS station, because a number of legislators from Dallas, Texas can make a difference, or Chicago.

We are around. We are in San Francisco, we are in Berkeley; you can call us at 549-0775. Call us and let us know how we can reach out to the stations in your area.

What we ask local unions to do by way of support, particularly in towns where we are on the air is by joining. We do the work. For \$50 a month you will get a tape every month, and you will get a newsletter from us. You get in touch with us and you will have the satisfaction of knowing

that you are putting solid working-class programming on the air for the first time in this country.

Thank you very much for your time, for your attention and for your support. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I think we can all agree that so many of the issues we have spoken about this week would serve the public interests if we were able to get them on the PBS stations around the country.

And so in connection with this subject, the Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

DELEGATE STEVE G. TISZA (Local 4250): Point of order.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Put on microphone No. 5, please.

DELEGATE TISZA: Yes, President Bahr. Where is the Constitutions Committee?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Constitutions Committee has finished its work and its been discharged.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE TISZA: I'd like to make a motion then.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are out of order at the moment.

DELEGATE TISZA: Can I go to the other mike?

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are interrupting the order of business right now.

DELEGATE TISZA: I'd like to challenge the Chair then.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Chair has been challenged. All those in favor sustaining the decision of the Chair that the motion is out of order indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The Chair has been sustained.

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thanks again, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Delegate Kathy Kinchius.

DELEGATE KATHY KINCHIUS (Local 9415): If the delegates will please turn to page 8 of the Resolutions Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution No. 53A-91-8, "Supporting Labor Television Programming."

SUPPORTING LABOR TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

We Do The Work is a television series on the lives, issues and history of working people.

The show seeks to inform, enlighten and entertain public television audiences on the issues, perspectives and culture in the American workplace. The series includes hard-hitting, balanced reporting on critical workplace issues, profiles of people in unusual jobs in work sites the public often doesn't get to see; humorous commentary on work life, history segments that show how current labor dilemmas and triumphs have been molded by the past, and feature segments on theater, music and art which reflect working culture.

The goal of *We Do The Work* is to examine how working people are affected by current policy issues and to inject our point of view into areas where that perspective has not been thoroughly explored.

In addition to issue-oriented segments, worker profiles, home videos, and commentaries help explore the richness and diversity of working culture in this country which is so often ignored by the mainstream media. In fact, there is no other program like this! *We Do The Work* is offered to the more than 300 PBS affiliates, yet only seventeen PBS stations choose to air the show.

RESOLVED: That CWA urge all Locals to endorse *We Do The Work* by lobbying their local

PBS affiliates to air the program if they don't already do so, and to make it available to the public at a reasonable hour. Of the 17 stations carrying *We Do The Work* many have chosen to air the program at times that are inconvenient to working people. In Los Angeles in May the program aired at 9:00 a.m. on Mother's Day; the month before, at 12:30 in the morning, in Washington, D.C., the show airs on Fridays at 2:00 p.m.

RESOLVED: That CWA urge all Locals to support the series *We Do The Work* by becoming season subscribers at a cost of fifty dollars a month. Each program, quality television using union talent, is extremely expensive to get on the air. As season subscribers, the Local will receive a copy of that month's show and know that it is doing its part to help bring the union message to the public.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-8, "Supporting Labor Television Programming."

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor. On mike 3, Delegate Moore.

DELEGATE JOHN MOORE (Local 9410): Brothers and Sisters, we do the work. We pay the taxes. We fight the wars.

Yet the commercial media never tells our story. The Labor Editor is a thing of the past. The only commercial TV coverage we receive is less than positive and usually involves strike activity. Mostly we are not mentioned at all.

For instance, earlier this month, in fact two weeks ago today, the San Francisco Chronicle and KPIX Channel 5 ran stories about VDT safety at Pac-Bell and its negotiations with Cal-OSHA on the issue. I don't need to tell you that CWA District 9 is actively involved in this issue and, yes, we gave interviews to the Chronicle and film footage to KPIX.

Not only did neither media use our quotes or materials, they referred to this great union, the Communications Workers of America, as a union representing Pac-Bell workers.

Now, we all know that the bosses own the media. They buy the advertising and they influence the coverage. But we would expect a fairer shake from public broadcasting stations. After all, the airways belong to the public. But even here the greedy tentacles of industry determine what is shown on public broadcasting.

Last year, the MacNeil-Leher News Hour commissioned an independent producer to do an in-depth story on VDT safety in the San Francisco Bay area. We were, of course, delighted. Our story would finally be told in depth.

Our D.A. operators in San Francisco were particularly excited in that many of them were to be featured on this story. The story took six weeks to prepare and when the air date finally arrived and our members gathered around their television sets, the report was not aired. When we questioned why MacNeil-Leher News Hour didn't air the story after it had been approved by their executive producer, we were told that the story was pulled due to corporate sponsor pressure.

It is probably no news to many of you that AT&T is the major sponsor of MacNeil-Leher News Hour. Do you have any doubt who pulled that story?

Another way we can help *We do the Work* is by suggesting story ideas to the producers. Here in San Francisco "We do the Work" is aired once a month in prime time immediately following the "Nightly Business Report." We recognize that that in itself is a victory but how about a "Nightly Labor Report"? Or a "Labor Week in Review"? After all, there are more of us than there are of them.

Let's use our power and make sure our story is heard. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 3, Delegate Harmon.

DELEGATE JANET A. HARMON (Local 9503): President Bahr, Members of the Executive Board, Fellow Delegates: "We Do The Work" is one of the few, if not the only, labor oriented union-friendly program on television. Segments of this program tell people why labor unions were started: to combat business and management's exploitation, mistreatment and general disregard for the working men, women and children of this country. It shows why there is a need today, more than ever before, for the existence of labor unions to protect and serve working people.

We Do The Work is a tool we can use to get the union message out to all the uneducated, unorganized in the world, not just the United States and Canada.

We need to support labor television programming. The corporate network sponsors have canceled and will cancel pro-labor programs.

We Do The Work gives you a return for your investment. You receive copies of the labor stories told on the program every month.

I urge you to please support labor programming on television. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 1, Delegate Ybarra.

DELEGATE ERNEST YBARRA, JR. (Local 6222): I call for the question. I move the question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It has been seconded.

All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. Debate is closed.

. . . The following remarks regarding Resolution 53A-91-8 were presented to the reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

DELEGATE ANGIE BURGESS (Local 9410): Sisters and Brothers: I rise to support Resolution 534-91-8. We truly do the work that keeps this country working, not only for us and our families, but also the corporate heads of industry that sit in boardrooms and decide which company they will buyout and reduce jobs.

These are the very same companies that our labor have made productive. Our labor has provided the hard earned money that has gone into the savings and loans, that the bosses have squandered to enjoy the decadent life style that they believe is their due. The working class of this country is what makes possible all advances in social changes. They certainly don't come by way of the corporate robber barons.

We do the work is our story, the true story, and not the fairy tale given to us by multinational corporations in the media. We must, in addition to doing the work, work to get our story out to our members and millions of unorganized workers of this generation and future generations of workers. The need to pressure our local stations in addition to PBS stations to air the true story of labor during prime time so workers and their children may hear our story and renew our pride as the people who keep this country "working," with our work.

Sisters and Brothers, I urge you to not only support Resolution 53A-91-8, but in addition to your local subscribing as a member, support with your commitment of time, and money to being an individual member and supporter of "We Do the Work." Let's get our story to the public. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before you is 53A-91-8. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

It now gives me pleasure to introduce Executive Vice President Barbara Easterling for the Annual CWA Cope Awards part of the program. Barbara. (Applause)

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT EASTERLING: Thank you, President Bahr.

Before we begin to distribute the awards, I would like to take just a moment to acknowledge an individual who works very closely with you. I know when you call our office about a question on your COPE quota, or a check that you have, you generally do not even talk to the staff, Loretta or to me. Most often you talk to Loretta's secretary. And I would like to acknowledge the work she does. Laura Gray. (Applause)

That is often the case, you know. My secretary handles the Pediatric AIDS Foundation quotas and checks as well. She was here earlier and left. And I know those of you who talked to Kathy appreciate the work she does as well, and I will let her know that.

Who do you think gave \$95 million to the 1990 Congressional campaigns? It wasn't us. In fact, it was fewer than 9,000 individuals, many of them from the same family.

Listen to this: 180,000 people gave over \$200.00 but of that number 3,300 contributed \$60 million in amounts totaling more than \$10,000 per donor and another 5200 contributed \$35 million in amounts between \$5,000 and \$10,000 each. And Congress wants to eliminate union PACs such as CWA-COPE which averages \$2.00 per member and allow large individual contributions to continue.

Well, I don't know of anyone in this union that can sit down and write a check for \$10,000. But I hope all of you will join us in working to prevent legislation that would allow the rich to control Congress.

And it is the Locals that we honored in the District meetings, over the last few days, as well as those we honor today, that have helped us to elect the friends of working people, those Senators and Representatives that will deliver legislation to protect America's workers, their jobs, their benefits and their families, as well as our retirees who have also formed the Retired Members Clubs CWA-COPE PAC and are a major partner in our political/legislative activities.

Well all is not gloom and doom. I'm happy to inform you that the black cloud hanging over CWA-COPE fundraising in 1988 and 1989 finally lifted in 1990. You raised a grand total of \$1,247,792 last year. We almost made that \$1,250,000 mark. (Applause)

District 3 raised over 200 percent of its quota, (applause) but I have to tell you, District 6 is knocking at the door (applause and cheers) with over 170 percent of its quota in 1990. District 2 came in at third place over 130 percent, (applause) followed closely by District 7 with 129.5 percent. (Applause) District 4 was in fifth place with 123 percent. (Applause) District 13 came next with 98 percent followed by District 9 with 96 percent. District 1 finished last with only 52 percent, but this reflects an increase for them of over 1.14% over the previous year. (Applause)

The newest members of our CWA-COPE family, the Printing, Publishing, Media Workers Sector Locals, are steadily increasing their 100 percent performance. In 1988, only 28 of those Locals were 100 percent. In 1989, they increased to 56 Locals. Last year, they jumped to 75, 100 percent Locals. I feel confident they will really surge forward in 1991 though.

Another significant part of our COPE program is the contribution, as I indicated, being made by our CWA retirees.

Although their PAC is only one year old, 25 retired members clubs which affiliated with the Retired Members' Council made their COPE quota of \$1.00 per member.

With a starting point of over \$7,500 in their PAC, they tell me they hope to double that by the next Convention. (Applause)

Although 1990 was our best year of the past three, we still stand at only 6 percent of our members on payroll deduction for CWA-COPE. We must work on that and improve our record for 1991. Getting our members to sign up on payroll deduction requires only one skill-- asking them one-on-one. When people are asked, we find out they will give. Let's use our mobilization skills and do just that.

I want to congratulate all the Locals and staff who received awards in their District meetings. Without your support and hard work, we wouldn't have as successful a CWA-COPE Program as we have today.

In addition to a number of special District and Local awards, we will present awards to those Locals that reached or exceeded 100 percent of their CWA-COPE quota for thirty (30) or more consecutive years in 1990.

Our two most successful fundraising programs are still the prestigious CWA-COPE QUORUM and the Platinum Quorum. As of June 1, we had 2,602 CWA-COPE QUORUM and 1,727 Platinum Quorum members. I urge all of you who are not members to join one of these clubs today.

The list of Locals that achieved 100 percent of their CWA-COPE quota in 1990 was distributed this morning.

At this time, I ask that the 100 Percent List, as amended, be incorporated in the official convention proceedings.

**CWA-COPE PROGRAM
100% LOCALS**

LOCAL	PRESIDENT	LOCAL	PRESIDENT
1007	Josephine Dentino	2277	William E. Gillispie
1020	Dennis Cassidy	2300	Blondell Stewart-Ware
1021	Wilbur Ralston	2323	Kenneth A. Rucker
1022	Lynn Buckley	2336	Joanne C. Bell
1060	Walter J. Serafin	2370	Steve M. Tatro
1061	Bruce G. Fabian	2381	Emma R. Henson
1068	Patricia Kent	2382	Marjorie N. Baney
1082	Don Rice	2384	John M. Paolino
1101	Ed Dempsey	2385	Keith F. Livermore
1107	Anthony Caprara	2390	W. F. Sheridan
1114	Joe Lattimore	3060	E. P. Hubbard, Jr.
1115	Earl A. Frampton	3061	George H. Tolley
1116	James J. Devine	3101	Michael R. Amos
1118	James O'Hare	3102	Sylvia A. Lopez
1122	Donald J. Loretto	3103	Lynn West
1127	John E. Lyford	3104	Donald A. LaRotonda
1129	Steven M. Miller	3105	Robert Ryan
1172	Richard Champlin	3106	John Bryan
1200	Beata Makuch	3107	Gregory D. Jordan
1280	Dan Jakiela, Sr.	3108	Linda B. Crawford
1281	Louis Sarno	3109	Michael A. Sakalarios
1282	Walter O. Lee	3110	T. R. Emery
1301	George Alcott	3111	Michael Tartaglio
1370	George E. Neault	3112	C. E. Ryan
2001	Stephen T. Moss	3113	John Schaich
2002	Gary F. Hatfield	3114	Gloria J. Lutz
2003	Mark S. Smith	3115	Hollis Burdette
2004	Sue Merrill	3120	Eva A. Morris
2006	Charlie Jones	3122	Betty Diamond
2007	Richard D. Mabrey	3151	Debra T. Reynolds
2008	Terry Duty	3171	Jean Howard Watson
2009	Gregory A. Pelfrey	3172	Roger Francisco
2010	Jerry Brown	3174	Danny Ryals
2011	Linda Aman	3176	Jake Cason
2066	Patricia L. Carrigan	3177	Theresa Flinn
2100	Gail Hall	3179	John M. Hodgden, Sr.
2101	Charles D. Bates, Jr.	3201	Roger L. Todd
2104	Donald A. Rameika	3203	Robbie Casteel
2105	James E. Farris	3204	W. E. Conine
2106	Ralph E. Jenkins	3205	Sherri Dee
2107	Michael Bello	3207	Judith R. Dennis
2108	Kathleen Mazzi	3209	Danny O. Harvey
2109	Joseph E. Fink, Jr.	3212	L. N. Wofford
2110	Maevon C. Garrett	3215	Elder James
2150	Jerome U. Klimm, Jr.	3217	Diann J. Hartley
2185	Rick P. Collins	3218	Harry McFarland
2202	Michael D. Upton	3220	Tom Ravita
2203	Shelton G. Wine	3250	C. H. Grizzle, Jr.
2204	Willie R. Stout	3263	Joe E. Finn
2207	James W. Hilleary	3271	Jerry L. Brown
2252	Karl R. Busl	3272	George R. Hill
2276	Johnny Bailey	3275	Pete Moran

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
3295	Kenneth L. McCloud
3301	John Coffman
3304	Ben Henson
3305	David C. Perkins
3309	Donnie R. Lancaster
3310	Booker T. Lester, Jr.
3312	Larry T. Devine
3313	Harold T. McGeorge
3314	Herman R. Clayton
3317	Daniel H. Forsyth
3321	Ted Bilbrey
3371	Larry Peterman
3402	David M. Orr, Sr.
3403	Walter J. Bagot
3404	Steve Gremillion
3406	Norry Williams
3407	Ronnie J. Breaux
3410	Michael J. Fahrenholt
3411	Thomas J. Koenig
3412	Louis Lirette
3414	Barbara J. Cook
3450	Roy E. Jones
3451	John C. Chaler
3490	A. L. Stafford
3504	Gerry Gentry
3505	Charles E. Bingham
3509	Kay Miller
3510	E. D. Chisolm
3511	Dearld Dear
3513	James D. Whittington
3514	Larry Dearing
3516	Carl Madden
3517	Mary C. Hudson
3518	Oscar Denton
3519	Eric D. Cox
3550	Charles Hammes
3601	Lee Roy Bates
3602	Ronnie Braxton
3603	Gary Comer
3605	Sharon Isenhour
3607	H. F. O'Brien
3608	George Sumpster
3609	Frank W. Wishart
3610	Gary E. Ballentine
3611	Wallace Weaver
3613	Don Harris
3615	Shirley J. Moore
3616	Ann D. Wagoner
3618	Preston White
3650	R. Rodney Bartlett
3672	Lorraine Cook
3673	Charles T. Cathey
3676	Edward Holmes
3681	Jasper J. Gurganus
3682	Alton Hanford
3684	Warren Livingston

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
3685	R. H. Harris
3702	Joe K. Thomas
3704	Jerry D. Keene
3706	Shirley Y. Brazell
3708	D. A. Poston
3710	Larry Suttles
3716	Ann W. Cothran
3719	Linda C. Houck
3802	James M. Ledford
3803	M. E. Kirkland, Jr.
3804	James W. McKee
3805	Jack E. Hays
3806	H. W. Stames
3808	Beverly A. Hicks
3850	N. Gayla Poindexter
3871	Darrell W. Freeman
3901	H. T. Carter
3902	Robert H. Brady
3903	Larry Orr
3904	R. Terry Young
3905	Byron Carter
3906	J. M. Hughes
3907	Gloria J. Williams
3908	Chele H. Ward, Jr.
3909	Joe W. Watts
3910	Rickey Holmes
3911	Edward R. Simsalek
3912	Barney P. Thompson
3950	A. Gwen Jones
3966	Rudy Washington
3971	William Folmar
3972	Frank Woodham
3974	Dale Hollingsworth
3976	Harold Stogsdill
3990	K. C. Wray
4008	E. John Myers
4009	Dominic Guadagni
4010	Theresa A. Ryan
4011	E. Dana Christner
4013	Kristie Darling
4015	Thomas C. McGee
4017	Gary Odom
4018	James D. Ruddock
4021	Karl E. Jackson
4022	Henry D. Otis
4023	Charles Hill
4024	John J. Larson
4025	Joyce Zorza
4031	Richard J. Schnyders
4032	Gary E. Finch
4033	Steve Ferguson
4035	Larry Ocobock
4037	Janet R. Imhoff
4038	Gregory Faust
4039	Teri Pluta
4040	Paul Eddy

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
4041	Jack L. Swaim
4070	Gregory J. Gutowski
4100	Frank Scola
4101	Richard C. Miller
4102	Larry J. Booher
4103	Richard A. Short
4104	Francis Sievert
4105	Raymond R. Love
4106	William H. Weston
4107	James R. Charbonneau
4108	Bill Bain
4109	Judy Aeschliman
4202	Addie La Bella
4203	Jean E. Stockton
4208	Gayle Gray
4209	Eleanor J. O'Neill
4212	Evelyn Ross
4213	Frances Sparcello
4214	Phyllis Haines
4217	Terry Dill
4270	Jake Median
4273	Sam Chaney
4300	Richard D. Ramm
4302	Sal LaCause
4303	Phil Evans
4310	Linda Hinton
4311	Diane Delaberta
4315	Karen Cousino
4318	Frank J. Bernert
4319	Ronald D. Honse
4320	Bud McNichols
4321	Ed Kenily
4322	Jerry W. Schaeff
4323	John E. McCord
4325	Jeff Uhl
4326	Gerald L. Powell
4340	Ed Phillips
4352	Tom Powell
4353	Rodney L. Miller
4354	LaWanda Martin
4371	Steve L. Adams
4372	Robert A. Coriell
4373	James Whitehair
4375	Ralph Davis
4377	Dave Roether
4378	Dale Sommer
4379	Mike Reyome
4380	Sam J. Sullenberger
4385	Larue Amelung
4400	William M. Timmerman
4401	Linda McPherson
4471	Denny Young
4472	Valerie Mangin
4473	Johnnie B. Kidd
4474	Vaughn L. Black
4475	Gerald Calvert

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
4478	Joseph B. Smith
4479	Robert R. Wright, Jr.
4480	William E. Rathgaber
4482	Randall Wesson
4486	Jerry Long
4488	Roger Brooks
4510	Carolyn Powell
4511	Randell L. Rogers
4522	Connie Harse
4530	Diane Masters
4546	Robin Schenault
4600	Ann Crump
4603	George R. Walls
4611	Michael W. Webster
4620	Richard J. Everard
4621	Marilyn J. Peterson
4622	Mary K. Nelson
4623	William Rabbitt
4630	Ava McLucas
4631	Albert J. Anderson
4640	James Clark
4641	Gene McKahan
4642	Gary Grassel
4645	Larry Meierotto
4646	James Leam
4650	Douglas Moen
4670	Ambrose Gaul
4671	Michael Oliver
4672	Gary Ackerman
4674	Carla Radtke
4675	Dick Wilke
4690	L. L. Shepler
4695	Michael G. Karpowicz
4700	Patrick Gorman
4702	Robert E. Smith
4703	Doug Hall
4711	Ronnie Lane
4714	Bea Sigler
4770	Larry Martin
4773	Edward Lowdenslager
4780	Roland Michael
4782	Ann Bohlander
4790	Robert G. Richhart
4795	Cecilia K. Jones
4800	Mary Worth
4802	Carrol Hostetler
4818	Susan Baxter-Fleming
6007	Elvin C. Crites, Jr.
6009	Jerry Butler
6012	Dean Franklin
6014	Charles R. Fine
6015	Bill Torbett, Jr.
6016	Charlene Chappelle
6050	Ralph L. Jeffrey
6101	Joe Spindler
6113	David A. Rawson

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
6118	Maxine Golightly
6127	George Anderson
6128	Bill Utterback
6132	Richard Arriola
6137	Walter Nobles, Jr.
6139	Arthur L. Sontag
6143	Gloria Parra
6150	Gary D. Patton
6171	Richard Kneupper
6181	Britt Curtice
6200	Jimmy Cook
6201	Carla Owen
6202	Jackie D. Wilson
6203	Dirk Parks
6206	R. J. Hosch
6210	Mark Ewig
6214	Glynne R. Stanley
6215	J. D. Williams
6217	J. C. Hill
6218	Jimmy L. Powers
6222	Burgess J. Etzel
6225	Joe P. Marshall
6228	Ronnie Gray
6229	Richard R. Tarver
6290	R. H. Linnell
6301	David Crawley
6310	Dan McGowen
6311	Mark K. Van Dolah
6312	Glenn R. Augustine
6313	Daryl Bailey
6314	Virgil J. Koechner
6316	Jim H. May, Jr.
6320	James Tucker
6321	Alice Perez
6325	Edward Pinkelman
6326	Francis Russell
6327	Roberta Browne
6333	James W. Cockburn
6372	Henry E. Duckworth
6373	Carl W. Kimble
6374	Steven R. Jones
6375	Margaret Calvin
6390	Tom L. Mitchell
6391	K. W. Flanagan
6395	David A. Ducey
6402	Billy Wildoner, Jr.
6406	Yvonne Shoff
6407	Janet C. Gardner
6411	Mary W. Nave
6412	Gary Fry
6450	Elizabeth L. Eft
6474	Richard R. Stogsdill
6500	Gilda Grant
6502	Gary D. Gray
6503	Robert O. Saunders
6505	M. D. Patton

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
6507	Alma Diemer
6508	James Conner
6573	Richard Garrius
6733	Samuel Barela, Jr.
7001	Jeanne Tufts
7009	Chris Roberts
7011	Frank Granger
7032	L. D. Shelton
7037	Stephen T. Israel
7050	Kenneth Barner
7055	L. Sandoval, Chair
7070	Lorenzo A. Moya
7072	Stella Madrid
7090	Terry Sivilie
7096	H. M. Heaps
7101	Gene Porter
7102	Midge Slater
7103	Randy Richards
7106	Leonard L. Rotschafer
7108	Miriam Tyson
7109	Gayle Tellin
7110	Francis Giunta II
7115	Carl E. Valentine
7117	Erma J. Wiszmann
7118	Mike J. Hogan
7150	Jack Boyer, Jr.
7171	Dean Scheideman
7172	Carol L. Herndon
7173	John Halder
7175	Sheryl Bennett
7176	Andy Ertz
7177	Larry Fitchner
7181	Nancy Moser
7182	Betty J. Hayes
7200	Richard O. Johnson
7202	C. J. Hanson
7203	Pat J. Hitchcock
7204	Jim M. Bregel
7205	Douglas J. Ardoff
7212	Dave J. Clement
7213	Sandra Venaro
7214	Tom Anesi
7219	Jerry A. Johnson
7270	Robert Horvath
7272	Patrick Doyle
7290	R. A. Lee
7295	Ronald L. Hegberg
7301	Stephanie J. Reidy
7303	James Robillard
7304	Larry Ellingson
7400	Rick Sorensen
7401	Neal E. Kelley
7470	Robert Biel
7471	Charles Clark
7476	David L. Classen
7500	Dave Clauson

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
7504	Bill Pierce
7505	Judi Green
7506	Larry Peterson
7601	Mike Rea
7610	Victor N. Nelson
7621	Lynn L. Muehlfeit
7630	Dave Knapp
7640	Marylyn Howard
7670	Chris Cleary
7702	William Donlon, Sr.
7704	Randy D. Warner
7705	Lee B. Linford
7716	Larry P. McCormick
7717	Eldon E. Hesselius
7743	Duane Watford
7750	Martin R. Byrnes
7755	Harvey Hoffman, Chmn.
7775	Quency Moye
7790	Charles L. Mitchell
7795	Jesse Buckman
7800	Ruth Bjornson-Gomez
7803	Ken Horn
7805	Bob Iverson
7810	Bill Jenkins
7815	Rod Carter
7816	Jerry Noy
7818	Madelynn C. Wilson
7904	Linda Wisner
7906	Joe McMahon
7908	Larry Hurst
7955	Bob Proffitt, Chair
7970	Alvin L. Still
9000	Janice Wood
9400	Tony Bixler
9402	Thomas R. Runnion
9403	Richard M. Herrero
9404	Bernard Chiaravalle
9407	Rick Becker
9408	Nadine Cox
9409	Val Afanasiev
9410	Marie C. Malliett
9412	H. C. Cotner
9414	Donald Brooks
9415	Kathleen Kinchius
9416	Lane Colvin
9417	Barbara J. Spradlin
9418	Joan McCurdy
9423	Nancy Biagini
9426	Dianne Dion
9430	Charles J. Dunn
9431	Cliff Bryant
9432	Walter Borrer
9470	Jack L. Montserrat
9503	Janet Harmon
9505	Mark Akiaten
9510	Greg Summerell

LOCAL	PRESIDENT
9511	Ron Smith
9550	Linda D. Porter
9573	Michael Norberg
9575	Jerry Foy
9576	Jerry Teixeira
9583	Charles Farncomb
9587	Robert Duggan
9588	John S. Strickland
13000	Robert J. Powell
13500	James N. Byrne
13550	Lois J. Grimes
13570	Duane Hunt
13571	Richard Evanoski
13572	Ray Kissinger, Jr.
13573	Robert Kreger
13574	Ray Stevenson
13577	Michael G. MacMacKin
13585	Joseph Hock
13591	Daniel E. Swickline
13595	Edward J. Burke
14108	Louis Hankin
14141	Joseph Marino
14200	Robert Petersen, Jr.
14201	Charles Wert
14301	Robert H. Tew
14309	Wimbley Waters, Jr.
14310	Paul T. Williams
14328	Joseph R. Primeaux
14329	L. Feltus Dupuy
14336	Joseph P. Carroll
14345	Ronald D. Padgett
14347	Donald E. Lane
14406	Linda A. Morris
14410	Richard C. Fridley
14413	Patricia Kirkland
14423	Jacqueline R. Mueller
14427	Warren C. Friest
14434	William Earl
14436	Kenneth R. Board
14438	Eugene S. Griechen
14439	Wallace G. Meehan
14440	Trina J. Marquis
14441	Thomas J. Brown
14442	Ralph W. Bennett
14443	Peter Joseph Maher
14445	Ruth A. Kochmar
14446	David M. Shroyer
14447	Barry M. Baumert
14449	Richard Middleton
14502	Carl L. Mueller
14504	John Henry Decker
14509	Kenneth LeRoy Smith
14510	Robert D. Dennis
14516	John R. Sneddon
14518	Jack L. Collins
14522	Michael P. Darling

LOCAL	PRESIDENT	LOCAL	PRESIDENT
14527	James Edward Duitch	14719	Alvin W. Kroemer
14528	Trudi Richardson	14736	Philip C. Sweeney
14532	John J. Mitchel	14747	Glenn Anderson
14536	Ronald M. Moran	14752	John C. Mullin
14537	Dennis P. Riley	14753	James R. Iles
14547	Paul Roders	14757	Patricia K. Dodd
14549	Ronald J. Schell	14758	Ronald D. Barry
14550	Henry Brockman	14762	Donald McGuire, Jr.
14551	John T. Craig	14799	Robert Aulerich
14552	Lester Dean Strege	14800	Robert M. Super
14601	Jack L. Worth	14804	Fred J. Harris
14609	James H. White	14815	David R. Hurst
14611	Florence J. Lawson	14823	James H. Loy, Jr.
14629	Suzye Gardner	14824	Frank Johns
14641	Robert Young	14830	Ronald G. Miller
14704	Harvey Hoffman, Chair	14831	John J. Gallagher
14705	Ruth Stevens	14837	Paul Basso
14716	Emil Nick Stackis	14908	George Davila

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT EASTERLING: Congratulations to the officers and members of the 100 percent Locals for an outstanding performance.

Before I announce the winners of this year's Convention Awards, I want to ask all the winners to gather for a photo session just off the stage, to my left, when these proceedings are over.

The first award is presented to the Local that contributed the most CWA-COPE dollars last year. We are happy to present this Special Local Award to Local 3204, which contributed \$39,264.85. (Applause) The president of Local 3204, William E. Conine. Congratulations, Bill. (Presentation - applause)

The next award goes to the Local that contributed the highest percentage of its CWA-COPE quota in 1990. We are delighted to present this award to Local 1301, which raised 4651 percent of its quota. The President of Local 1301 is George Alcott. Congratulations to George and to the members of Local 1301. (Presentation - applause)

The next award is the District Sweepstakes Award which is presented to the District that raised the highest percentage of its quota by the end of calendar year 1990. The winner of 1990's Sweepstakes Award is, District 3. (Applause and cheers) District 3 raised 214 percent of its quota in 1990. (Applause) Congratulations to Vice President Gene Russo and the District 3 Staff and Locals.

We will now present a Special Gold Mercury Plaque to those Locals that achieved thirty or more consecutive years of 100 percent participation in CWA-COPE.

We have only one Local that has achieved 100 percent participation in CWA-COPE for thirty consecutive years. That Local is 6325 and the President is Edward Pinkleman. (Presentation - applause)

Those Locals with thirty-one consecutive years are: 3716, Ann W. Cothran (Presentation - applause); 4311, Diane Delaberta (Presentation - applause); 4641, Gene McKahan (Presentation - applause); 6128, Bill Utterback. (Presentation - applause)

Those Locals with thirty-two consecutive years are: 4270, Jake Medlan (Presentation - applause); 6200, Jimmy Cook (Presentation - applause).

Those Locals with thirty-three consecutive years: 4372, Robert A. Coriell (Presentation - applause); 4711, Ronnie Lane (Presentation - applause); 6321, Alice Perez. But accepting the award is the Staff Representative, Sandy Cox. (Presentation - applause)

Local 6390, Tom L. Mitchell (Presentation - applause)

We have one Local that has achieved 100 percent participation in CWA-COPE for thirty-four consecutive years. That is Local 6326, and the President is Francis Russell. (Presentation - applause)

We have two Locals that have the outstanding record of achieving 100 percent for 35 consecutive years. They are:

Local 6313, Daryl Bailey.

Local 7621, Lynn L. Muehlfeit. (Presentation - Applause)

The next award is presented to the Local that achieved the highest percentage of membership participation in the CWA-COPE PCC checkoff program in 1990. This special Local Checkoff Achievement Award is presented at this Convention to Local 3613, which achieved 100 percent of membership participation in the 1990 CWA-COPE PCC Checkoff Program. Congratulations to the President, Don Harris, and the other officers and members of Local 3613. Accepting on behalf of the Local is Neddie Walreihen. (Presentation - Applause)

The next award goes to the Local that had the largest number of members signed up on the CWA COPE Checkoff in 1990. We are happy to present this award to Local 1101 again this year, which had 3,672 members signed up on checkoff last year.

Accepting the award is Bob Barbarelli. The President is Ed Dempsey. We want to thank him and the other officers. (Presentation - Award)

We will now present the Distinguished President's Award for outstanding achievement in raising voluntary, or "free", dollars. That award goes to the Local that met its quota with the highest percentage of voluntary dollars in 1990.

It is a pleasure to present this President's Award to Local 1301, which raised 4,651 percent of its quota in 1990 voluntarily. Congratulations to President George Alcott. (Presentation - Applause)

The next Distinguished President's Award is presented to the Local that met its quota with the most voluntary dollars in 1990. This President's Award goes to Local 1101, which raised \$36,494.22, all voluntary dollars. That is Ed Dempsey. Receiving the award is Bob Barbarelli. (Presentation - Applause)

Because of the phenomenal success of our CWA-COPE QUORUM program, we will now present two CWA-COPE QUORUM Achievement Awards for 1990.

The first award goes to the Local that had the most members in the CWA-COPE QUORUM in 1990.

It is a pleasure to present this award to Local 3204 with 88 members. Will the President of Local 3204, William E. Conine, please come up and accept this special award. Congratulations. (Presentation - Applause)

The second QUORUM award is presented to the District that had the most members in CWA-COPE QUORUM in 1990. We are proud to present this award to District 3, with 942 members. Will Vice President Gene Russo please come forward and accept this award? (Presentation - Applause)

We will now present two Special District Annual Achievement Awards for calendar year 1990.

The first of these awards is presented to the District that has achieved the highest percentage of membership participation in the CWA-COPE PCC checkoff program in 1990.

We are delighted to present this award to District 6, which had 11 percent of its membership on checkoff at the end of calendar year 1990. Will Tommy Parsons, the Vice President, come forward and pick up the award. (Presentation - Applause)

The second Annual Achievement Award goes to the District that raised the most CWA-COPE dollars in calendar year 1990, and we are proud to present that award to District 3, Gene Russo. (Applause)

District 3 raised a grand total of \$331,780.00. (Applause)

We will now present our two 1990 Platinum Quorum Awards, and the first Platinum Quorum Award goes to the local that had the most Platinum Quorum members in 1990. We are pleased to present the PQ Award to Local 1301, which had the greatest amount of members in 1990. That's George Alcott. Please come and pick that up. (Presentation - Applause)

The second Platinum Quorum Award is presented to the district that had the most PQ members in 1990. We are proud to present this Platinum Quorum Award to District 3, with 386 members in 1990.

Vice President Gene Russo accepts the award. Congratulations, Gene. But then we say that again and again and again. District 3 does a great job. (Presentation - Applause)

It now gives me a great deal of pleasure to present the Special State Awards. These awards go to the states in which all locals are 100 percent in CWA-COPE.

They are: Maryland; Grace Leonard is the staff person, and accepting the award is Vice President Pete Catucci. (Presentation - Applause)

West Virginia; the staff person is Gary McCallister. (Presentation - Applause)

Alabama; Nola Vaughn and Dennis Dearing, and accepting the award is Jack Baccari. (Presentation - Applause)

Louisiana; Noah Savant. (Presentation - Applause)

Mississippi; George Powell, and accepting the award is Nettie Walraven. (Presentation - Applause)

South Carolina; Alan Keith is the staff person accepting the award. (Presentation - Applause)

Indiana; Michael Joyce and Sharon Craig, and accepting the award is Mike Joyce. (Presentation - Applause)

Wisconsin; Joseph Andrietsch and Keith Dooley, the staff people, and accepting the award is Joseph Andrietsch. (Presentation - Applause)

Arkansas; Clinton Boling, and accepting the award is Jennings Wooldridge. (Presentation - Applause)

Oklahoma; Edith Jones and John Marshall are the staff, and accepting the award is Edith Jones. (Presentation - Applause)

Nebraska; Marian Moffitt is the staff person, and accepting the award is Tom Burns. (Presentation - Applause)

New Mexico; Larry Sandoval is the staff person accepting the awards. (Presentation - Applause)

North Dakota; Annie Hill is the staff person, and accepting the award is Tom Burns. (Presentation - Applause)

Utah; Bill Frazee is the staff person accepting the award. (Presentation - Applause)

Now in 1985 we established the Maxine Lee Award in honor of Maxine Lee, who is now retired. She was an Administrative Assistant in District 6. Maxine was a true pioneer in CWA-COPE fundraising.

Our annual CWA-COPE Awards Program states that the Maxine Lee Award will be presented

to the individual or individuals with a record of Pioneer efforts in CWA-COPE fundraising and political action. Past recipients of this Award include Maxine Lee herself, George Werner, Mike Lindner, Gene Russo and Jim Gordon.

In scouting for a recipient for this award in 1990, one name kept cropping up again and again. In fact, a certain vice president constantly recommended this person to receive the award.

I now ask that Vice President Tommy Parsons, in District 6, join me in present the Maxine Lee Award at this Convention to James W. Holbrook. (Applause)

Jim is the Executive Vice President of Local 6215 in Dallas, Texas. (Presentation - prolonged applause)

Congratulations, Jim. (Presentation - Applause)

Now if we could all follow Jim's example and get busy and sign up new members in the two Quorums, as well as others on payroll deduction. After all, CWA-COPE comes first. Without it, we'd lose our clout in the Halls of Congress and the state capitals.

In conclusion, I would like to include in the record the CWA Retiree Club Gold Scrolls, the list that was distributed to the tables today.

CWA RETIREE CLUB GOLD SCROLLS

1. Local 1150 Retiree Club

Ann H. Walden

2. Local 2101 Retiree Club

Bill Ridgeley

3. Local 3106 Retiree Club

Annie Stark

4. Local 3310 Retiree Club

Lucy Vaughn

5. Local 3805 Retiree Club

Glen Keck

6. Local 4216 Retiree Club

Jean Guyon

7. Local 4300 Retiree Club

Leo Stanton

8. Local 4340 Retiree Club

Ted Karabinus

9. Local 4322 Retiree Club

Jean Knight

10. Local 6132 Retiree Club

Paul Gray

11. Local 6143 Retiree Club

Joe E. Winters

12. Local 7102 Retiree Club

John Woolway

13. Local 9402 Retiree Club

Lou Fazio

14. Local 9408 Retiree Club

Glen Demars

15. Local 9510 Retiree Club

Ron Renish

16. Local 9586 Retiree Club

F. Lou Escue

17. Birmingham, AL, Retiree Club

D. E. Kines

18. Daly City, CA, Retiree Club 94

Ed Long

19. Denver, CO, Retiree Club

Ethel Hynes

20. Forget-Me-Not Retiree Club

Lorraine Miller

21. Greater St. Louis, MO, Retiree Club

Bud Brinkman

22. Local 6325 Retiree Club

Bertha Van Sittert

23. Syracuse, NY, Retiree Club

David C.Henes

24. Treasure Coast, FL, Retiree Club

Louise Yung

25. Western New York Retiree Club

Rita Biondo

Thank you so much, and I hope that all of you will be award winners next year.

Thank you, Morty. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you all.

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Bob Parks.

DELEGATE PARKS: If the delegates will please turn to page 12 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution 53A-91-12, entitled "Support for the Men and Women Serving in the Armed Forces".

SUPPORT FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES

The Congress of the United States authorized the President to use whatever means were necessary to enforce United Nations Resolution No. 678 to end Iraq's illegal and brutal occupation of Kuwait.

On January 16, 1991, the armed forces of the United States, in concert with an allied multi-national force, did commence an action to end Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. That operation was successfully concluded through the solidarity of the coalition forces.

Hundreds of thousands of our brave and dedicated men and women in the armed forces and reserves carried out their military obligations and are all deserving of our thanks and support.

Throughout recent history our veterans have come home to find few jobs and limited social programs available to them. They have come home to an insensitive government who failed to aid them in their attempts to recapture a normal life.

RESOLVED: That CWA urges the Congress, who were willing to send thousands of our U.S. citizens to fight in the Persian Gulf and other foreign conflicts, to also be willing to stand with those men and women who so bravely sacrificed so much for their country. This means making a total commitment to fully fund public services and social programs. We insist that Congress commit the same amount of resources to federal, state and local government social spending and jobs as they have committed over the past several years to the military.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-12, "Support for the Men and Women Serving in the Armed Forces".

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. Is there a second.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

Microphone no. 3, Delegate Calise.

DELEGATE SUSAN CALISE (Local 1180): Sisters and Brothers: I rise in support of this resolution.

Following the mobilization of many of our union brothers and sisters in Desert Shield and then in Desert Storm, many CWA locals across the country rose to the challenge of providing support to the families of our members who were serving in the Gulf. We wrote letters, sent packages and counseled their families.

Nearly all our troops have now returned and we are all thankful for that. However, there remains much to be done here at home.

Our government spent more money each day of the war than any of our major cities receive in federal funds each year. Over the years, in Korea, Vietnam, and now in the Gulf, our sons and daughters, husbands and wives, have put it all on the line for our government. It is time now, for each and every one of us to demand that our elected representatives in Congress stand in support of all our veterans and to fully fund public services, education and fair housing programs for all and to further demand that benefits provided by the Veterans Administration be raised to a level consistent with the cost of living.

In New York City our "Welcome Home" celebration, funded totally by private contributions, has a surplus of \$1 million, which is to be used to fund a "living memorial" which will assist all veterans with housing, jobs and social services.

The Local 1180 support committee intends to keep a keen eye on the use of this money.

We all owe our veterans more than just unfulfilled promises. They paid their dues. We demand fair benefits.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 4, Delegate Mann.

DELEGATE DAVID MANN (Local 4501): I rise to oppose this resolution. It's difficult to speak against a resolution which purportedly seeks social support for the working class men and women who are ordered to fight. A resolution which purportedly seeks more spending on public services and social programs.

Nobody can oppose these things. However, if we read the resolution we see that its real intent is to justify and affirm the Gulf War itself. That is, to affirm that the war was principally about the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

I don't believe that the liberation of Kuwait-- the oil principality carved out of Iraq by British imperialism, a kingdom with no democratic rights, especially for women and for labor-- I don't believe that this was the real goal of the U.S. war effort. Rather, it was about the crude projection of U.S. military power in the world. The imposition of the so-called "New World Order".

And, if we familiarize ourselves with the recent history of U.S. military intervention, say in Korea, Philippines, Panama, Grenada and throughout Central and South America and so forth, we will get an idea of what the reality of this new world order is.

Always the installation and maintenance of anti-democratic, anti-labor regimes, willing to capitulate to U.S. corporate interests. Labor has no interest in supporting this new world order. Now we are supposed to be feeling good about ourselves, a new feeling of national pride for our accomplishments in the Gulf, and I think the resolution reflects these sentiments.

We have been told that we have defeated the world's fourth largest army; we have stopped a brutal dictatorship.

Let's be real. Iraq is a small, poor country with a GNP the size of Kentucky, a non-nuclear power whose military hardware is ten to fifteen years behind the Pentagon's, exhausted by eight years of war with Iran.

They had a one thousand to one inferiority in air power. The results were predictable: over 100,00 Iraqis killed as against 188 of the allied troops killed. And now many thousands more are dying of disease because of the destruction of water and sewer systems.

As for Saddam Hussein, we've used his dictatorship as a pretext to massacre the Iraqi people, many of whom have been fighting against his regime for many years, while our government was supporting that regime. (Applause)

Brothers and sisters, count me out of the ticker-tape parades. We hear that no one wanted war, but now we're supposed to be in a state of "national euphoria" because of our "stunning victory" and Wall Street went ape.

Brothers and sisters, we have heard some words about international labor solidarity here at this Convention, from the Chinese delegation in particular and from others. Well, I'm for genuine and consistent internationalism.

As Tom Paine said, "The world is my nation," and as a great working-class theorist said over 100 years ago, Karl Marx, said, "The working class of the world has no nation," and, "In war, the main enemy is at home." And this is profoundly true in my opinion.

If the working class has no nation, then we have no reason to rejoice in the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of workers in the "enemy" country, and the great truth for the working people of Iraq, of the U.S., of Saudi Arabia, Israel and of every class dominated nation in the world, the main enemy is at home, and do not follow your own ruling class in war. This is genuine

labor internationalism, and if we had this we'd have no more war.

Brothers and sisters, I call on you to vote no on this resolution, because if you want peace and social spending, the road to this end does not run through Baghdad. It is not part of a new world order.

This resolution utilizes the pro-war rhetorical device, a trick, support our troops. In reality it supports the unbridled militarism and adventurism of the U.S. corporate class. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 1, Delegate Cheliotas.

DELEGATE ARTHUR CHELIOTES (Local 1180): I rise to offer an amendment.

At the end of the resolution add the following:

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that whereas HR1367, the Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991, we remove the current discrimination against discharged military personnel who are now only granted 13 weeks of benefits. A shameful situation facing jobless servicemen and women, many of them veterans of the Persian Gulf.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CWA calls upon Congress to enact HR1367, the Unemployment Compensation Reform Act of 1991 to provide extended benefits for long-term jobless workers and to reform the unemployment insurance system so that it will be a more effective counter measure during the current recession. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been seconded. You may speak on it, Arthur.

DELEGATE CHELIOTES: Certainly this Gulf War has demonstrated that we do have a country that is prepared to put the lives and bodies of our young working men and women in the front, and to do so for an agenda perhaps of which we do not all support.

When we were engaged in this battle, there were reports that in Congress there had been attempts put forth by this administration to cut veterans' benefits while at the same time send these soldiers over to fight that war.

The fact remains that we must hold them up to their hypocrisy. We must hold them up to those people who put their lives on the line.

Compensation when they return. Compensation when they can't find work, in a society that has let them down.

And certainly unemployment insurance is a basic element of that. We cannot allow this administration to send our troops out and expect them, when they get home, not to receive a benefit that we have enjoyed since 1935.

The way unemployment insurance works now, someone returning from Kuwait will only receive 13 weeks of unemployment insurance when they are discharged.

Most workers will only receive 26. Back in 1975, 1977 we were all getting 65 weeks.

There is a reserve fund that has adequate money in it to pay out unemployment compensation. Our servicemen, along with all the working people in this country, are entitled to it.

We believe that this resolution warrants your support on this amendment, and brings those veterans into the picture as part of what we all are-- the working people of this country, working wall to wall to make this country work, while those at the top often forget who we are and what we stand for.

I urge support of this amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment at microphone no. 3, Delegate Unger.

DELEGATE LAURA UNGER (Local 1150): Supporting Brother Cheliot's amendment reaps a double benefit. It rectifies an unjust situation for veterans by extending them benefits from a ridiculously short 13 weeks, and also aids all of our laid-off members.

I was laid off in the early 1970s. Although I didn't use it all, unemployment benefits were available for 65 weeks.

Now we are faced with a situation in this country where millions of unemployed aren't even counted in the statistics because they are considered permanent unemployed.

Men and women from the military return to parades and unemployment lines and only a few months later to hopelessness.

According to a study commissioned by the CWA about the AT&T layoffs, about 40 percent of our laid off members will still be unemployed in two years, and that's with the skilled workforce, getting classes in resume-writing and interviewing skills and other benefits that many other workers do not have.

Support this amendment calling for support of legislation to extend unemployment benefit and streamlining the unemployed insurance system. For our veterans and all of us, this should be a legislative priority at CWA. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 1, Delegate Schellin.

DELEGATE MARC A. SCHELLIN (Local 2336): Move the question.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: A motion has been made to close debate. It's been seconded. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

The vote that we will take now is on the amendment. All those in favor of the amendment indicate by raising your hand. Down hands opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

On the resolution as amended on microphone No. 3. Delegate Spears.

DELEGATE DOLORES SPEARS (Local 9505): To President Bahr, Executive Board, Staff, my esteemed Delegates and guests: I rise in support of Resolution 53A -91-12 "Support for the Men and Women Serving in the Armed Forces."

The Vietnam war was an unpopular one, and so were the veterans returning home. Those veterans were doing their job, whether they wanted to be there or not. My oldest brother, while serving in the military, returned home in a box. Some never returned home dead or alive. Those that were blessed enough to come home alive, found no support in their own country.

I was happy to see veterans returning home from Operation Desert Storm safely and with honor. God answered my prayers, my baby brother, Sergeant Anthony Douglas, and brought him home safely. Our veterans did their job as ordered during this war. Let us urge Congress not to forget the veterans of the past, and to do right by the veterans of the present. I urge the delegates to support this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 4, Delegate St. John.

DELEGATE SHARRON A. ST. JOHN (Local 4630): While it indeed pains me to appear to be at odds with the majority of my Brothers and Sisters on this issue, I too feel that Desert Shield became "Desert Slaughter" and this resolution does indeed glorify war, and I can't help but feel this is wrong. I urge you from the bottom of my heart and with deepest regret to vote no on this resolution.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Anderson.

DELEGATE M.L. ANDERSON (Local 9421): Fellow Delegates, Brothers and Sisters, members on the platform and guests of this 53rd Annual Convention, I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-12, as amended.

We do need and insist that Congress commit the same amount of resources from the federal, state and local governments to help and aid our brothers and sisters in the armed forces.

I am concerned about Mr. Cheney's cuts in military facilities. That bothers me immensely. It is having an adverse effect on our lives and communities. People are losing jobs. People are losing homes, losing families to the left and to the right.

I urge your untiring support for the resolution as amended, 53A-91-12. Thank you.

Wall to Wall. Wall to Wall. Wall to Wall. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Johnson.

DELEGATE DICK JOHNSON (Local 7200): I move the previous question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. Debate is closed.

In front of us is 53A-91-12, as amended. All those in support indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

I think, in taking into consideration the sentiments that were expressed at the "Against" microphone, that I would hope that there is no one in this auditorium that looked at the resolution as glorifying war. Among the 188 who were killed was the son of one of our members, Captain Charles Cooper, who is the son of a member of ours in the Chicago Typographical Union in Chicago.

I think we have to take this resolution for what it was, to bring justice and honor to those who serve and nothing more than that. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Kathy Kinchius.

DELEGATE KINCHIUS: If the Delegates will please turn to Page 15 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution 53A-91-15, entitled "Opposition to Limiting Terms of Office."

OPPOSITION TO LIMITING TERMS OF OFFICE

CWA joins with the AFL-CIO in opposing constitutional amendments that would limit the terms of federal and/or state legislators.

Such proposals strike at the heart of representative government and the essence of a democratic society by denying citizens the right to vote freely for the candidate of their choice.

Last November, Colorado, Oklahoma and California restricted their legislators to a maximum of six to twelve years in office. Yet, in the 12 years prior to these actions, three quarters of the state senators in Oklahoma and Colorado and two-thirds in California were newly elected. Turnover in the lower houses of the same three states was 89 percent or higher. During the same dozen years, more than half the Members of Congress were newly elected. The people already have the right to limit the terms of elected officials by denying them re-election, and they are exercising this right every time they go to the polls.

Denying voters the right to re-elect worthy public servants deprives the nation and the states of valuable expertise, experience and effective leadership.

Such actions also discriminate most seriously against those who are willing to pursue public service careers without benefit of outside income and outside careers.

RESOLVED: That CWA Locals will actively support labor's efforts in opposition to the limitation of congressional and state legislative terms.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-15, "Opposition to Limiting Terms of Office."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Cawdrey.

DELEGATE RON CAWDREY (Local 9400): Mr. President, fellow Delegates, on May 21, 1991 I became a casualty of term limits. I was not allowed to run for reelection on the Redondo Beach City Council because the City Charter only allows residents to serve two terms during your lifetime.

I have served my two terms. There is no doubt in my mind, though, that my election to the Redondo Beach City Council was mainly due to the efforts of the trade union movement and, more specifically, to CWA.

Of course, being a COPE-endorsed candidate did not hurt, either.

My reelection in 1987 was once again due to the help of CWA. But, regardless of my record, regardless of how I represented my constituents, I still could not file for reelection.

I know I handled the problems well. I know I performed all the duties of that city council. Hell, I was trained by CWA. (Applause)

Like all apprenticeships, it takes time to learn the job. Does it make sense for us to learn a job and, when we get to be really productive, we quit? Isn't one of our arguments with the company that we want a raise for our members because they are more productive today than they were last year?

Brothers and sisters, term limits are not in our best interests. If you do the job right, reelection will come.

During my tenure on the City Council, three were not reelected. One more survived her reelection by only five votes. The people who vote-- I am not talking about the people who are eligible to vote or who are registered; I am talking about the people who actually do vote-- they are the ones who control the legislative bodies across this nation.

It is necessary that we do what we can to educate our members, our families and our neighbors, and everyone we come in contact with. Study the issues. Study the candidates. And then vote. You get what you elect.

But term limits restrict the candidate we may want to work for. Good candidates who support our philosophy-- that is what we need-- good candidates, not limited candidates.

I urge you to oppose term limits, state, county and federal, and support this resolution. I further urge you to get involved in the political action process and get involved in your community. Remember, we are the community-minded union. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Jeffrey.

DELEGATE RALPH JEFFREY (Local 6050): I rise in support of 53A-91-15, opposing a limit of terms of office.

Oklahoma was one of the states that just recently passed this legislation. The only way you get your legislators out of office is to vote them out if they do not do the job you want them to do.

It seems to me that maybe we ought to have legislation where, if you don't vote in twelve elections in one year, you ought to be deported or not allowed to vote in the country again (laughter), instead of limiting the terms.

If someone is performing for you, you keep them in until they quit performing for you, no matter what their age.

The possibility that we ought to limit the terms of CEOs-- I know of one that shouldn't have been in more than 12 seconds. (Applause)

And most of you that know me know that I always try to relate to something. W. C. Fields is one of my favorite comedians. He was once looked at, and had someone say, "Boy, W. C., you certainly are getting old and looking bad." And W.C. Fields turned to the person that said that and said, "Well, they got my brother up the other day, and he was dead for ten years, and he looks better than you do." (Laughter)

I also relate this to horseracing-- which is something I have been doing since the first of the year more than I have in my life, since I am going to be laid off in September, trying to hit the longshot or the Pick 6. You look at the racing form, and you go on the horse that is doing the job for you, and you keep betting on that horse until it loses. And if those of you who followed the Triple Crown and didn't bet on Hanzel, remember that you lost.

I urge you to support this legislation. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: There are no further speakers wishing to speak on this resolution before us, 53A-91-15. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

Would the Appeals Committee come to the platform, please?

. . . Cry of "Personal Privilege" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I have a Delegate at the Privilege mike who was complaining about the slowness of business. Now, I don't think any of us wants to put a limit on how many people are going to speak on resolutions. I don't know how we speed it up, because you control it pretty much down there, once an issue hits the floor.

. . . Cries of "No, no" and boos . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: So we are following the order of business. The Appeals Committee is next, and we will move it along.

DELEGATE JOAN HARTSFIELD (Local 1080): I would like to say that it seems to me we have had two half days, and the real important business of the Convention is appeals, and we have saved it to ten after five. (Applause)

Excuse me one minute. Let me finish my statement. My statement is that, you know, I have come to ten Conventions, and I believe in the action of the floor. However, it seems to me we could delegate our time a little bit better by not giving ourselves off in the morning and making the morning where we start. Then, if we are done, we can go and play. That is the way I look at it. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: That sounds pretty good, but these people were working into late yesterday to deal with the appeals that you have in front of you today. So, I think you ought to recognize the kind of job they do, and we will move this as quickly as we can. Everyone will be heard.

Let me introduce the members of the Appeals Committee.

. . .As each member of the Committee was introduced, as follows, the Delegation responded with a single clap of recognition: . . .

JoAnn Diana, President, Local 1023
Walter Cleveland, Jr., Executive Vice President, Local 3263
Gilda Grant, President, Local 6500
Carroll Herndon, President, Local 7172
Salvatore LaCause, Jr., President, Local 4302, Chair.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE SALVATORE LaCAUSE (Local 4302, Chair, Appeals Committee): Thank you, Mr. President.

The Appeals Committee convened on June 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 at the San Francisco Hilton Hotel, and on June 24, 25, and 26th at the Civic Auditorium for the purpose of reviewing and disposing of appeals referred to it in accordance with the CWA Constitution and appeals procedures of the Union as established by prior Conventions and the Executive Board.

The Committee was available on June 22 and 23 between the hours of two and six p.m. Outside of those hours, including three evenings well past midnight, the committee was available by appointment.

The Appeals Committee heard from more than 40 Delegates and members and reviewed dozens of files. We would like to thank one and all for the cooperation and assistance in our deliberations.

Appeal No. 1 has been withdrawn.

Committee member Gilda Grant will read Appeal No. 2.

DELEGATE GILDA GRANT (Local 6500):

APPEAL #2

John Pinnel, a member of Local 13000 appealed the decision of the CWA Executive Board upholding the Local 13000 Trial Court.

On June 3, 1989 Mr. Pinnel by his own admission worked overtime while on vacation. According to the evidence presented, this action was a direct violation of Local 13000 Unit's Bylaws and Rules. Mr. Pinnel claimed that the Local Bylaws and Rules were contrary to the contract with his employer. All evidence presented was to the contrary.

After careful consideration the Committee finds no evidence to substantiate the appeal.

The committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. On the motion. No Delegates desiring to be heard, all those in favor of the Committee recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

If I might just say, there is a delegate at mike 1 who would like to move that all of the committee's recommendations be read at one time, and handled as one. We have ruled--

. . . Cries of "No" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: We have ruled that this would be inappropriate as there are 16 different issues. (Applause)

She has withdrawn her motion. Thank you.

The chair of the committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee member Walter Cleveland will read Appeal No. 3.

DELEGATE WALTER CLEVELAND (Local 3263):

APPEAL #3

On February 20, 1991, Steve G. Tisza of Local 4250 appealed the CWA Executive Board decision to deny his appeal of December 3, 1990, because of its initial untimeliness.

On September 10, 1990, Steve Tisza, Vice President of CWA Local 4250, filed a complaint against CWA Vice President James E. Irvine alleging that he improperly conducted ratification of the April 16, 1990 tentative agreement modifying the collective bargaining agreement. This complaint was filed approximately 145 days after Mr. Tisza became aware of the vote in a letter from Vice President Irvine dated May 18, 1990. The CWA Constitution's Internal Appeals Procedures state that all complaints must be "submitted within 60 days of the time the complainant became aware of the alleged violation. The Executive Board denied the complaint as untimely.

The evidence in the file shows that the complaint was filed untimely, therefore the Committee recommends the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

On mike 4, Delegate Tisza.

DELEGATE STEVE TISZA (Local 4250): Thank you. The International Union has refused to release a local-by-local breakdown of the CWA/AT&T bargaining unit ever since divestiture. At just about every annual AT&T bargaining unit meeting since divestiture, my local President, Tony Laudani, has asked for a local-by-local breakdown which shows how many AT&T members are in each CWA local that represents the AT&T unit. At various meetings, Tony has publicly requested this information from John Agee, Jim Irvine, Jim Booe and even Morty Bahr. All promised to provide a copy; however, to date, none have kept their promise.

Later, toward the end of the meeting, a local president from Florida made a motion that each local representing the AT&T unit provide their ratification totals to the body. Irvine ruled the motion out of order. He said he had been advised by CWA legal counsel not to discuss the ratification vote until the NLRB made a decision on the charges filed by the members of the Chicago local.

The NLRB in Washington, D.C. rendered their decision on the charge filed by 357 members of Local 4250 on or about August 10, 1990. Subsequent to this decision, on or about September 10, 1990, I filed my charge against Irvine. I believe President Bahr's decision that my charges are untimely is wrong and should be overruled.

In May 1990, all 500 CWA locals representing the AT&T bargaining unit were directed to conduct a secret ballot ratification on the CWA/IBEW/ AT&T negotiated special pension offer and "certain other matters." The ratification vote was announced as accepted and no results were released by Irvine's office. It was only after several written requests from Tony Laudani, Local 4250 President, and many phone calls from other local presidents that Irvine reluctantly released any numbers on the vote.

According to Irvine, only 287 of the 500 CWA locals reported their local vote results to his office. Does this mean 40 percent of the locals representing the CWA/AT&T unit denied their AT&T members an opportunity to vote? If yes, is this what we mean when we say, "We are a

democratic union"? If no, why weren't the totals from 40 percent of the locals included?

If we can believe Irvine, only two locals requested a local-by-local tally. Again, according to Irvine, several locals requested their totals not be made public.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE TISZA: This is nothing but a cop out. Every delegate in this auditorium should vote to support this motion and demand a local-by-local tally.

Even in Chicago's political elections where dead people have been known to vote, the very next day the election results are printed in the local newspapers. The results are listed precinct-by-precinct, all 2,912 of them.

Delegates, do not follow the dictates of an autocratic leadership that refuses to provide basic information, information that is essential to your basic rights in a democracy, a leadership that has taken the position that "We have always done it this way and no one has ever challenged it, so we must be right."

Well, the challenge is in your hands. You have an opportunity to change the status quo. A "yes" vote will confirm that we are a democratic union.

Thank you for your support. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Mike 5, Delegate Klimm.

DELEGATE JERRY KLIMM (Local 2150): Thank you, Morty. I have two questions. The first one, the brother alluded that he went to the NLRB and filed charges. How did the board rule?

The second question is, before you answer that first one, was this taken before the judicial system; in other words, the court? And if so, how did they rule?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The board ruled that there was no violation of any law or the CWA Constitution in that you cannot compel locals or local memberships to vote. It was confirmed that the number of locals that voted that reported tallies was the accurate tally, and that indeed the SPO pension offer had been appropriately ratified.

I don't know if it went to any further body. I am told that in addition, a lawsuit was filed in court that was dismissed.

DELEGATE KLIMM: Thank you, Morty.

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates are here to speak. You have before you the committee's recommendation on Appeal 3. All in favor signify by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

Well, it is close. There are some people who did not vote. Put your hands down.

Settle down.

All those in favor of the committee's recommendation raise your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

The committee's recommendation is adopted.

VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Challenge.

PRESIDENT BAHR: There has been a challenge to the Chair. May I have two people-- we have two telephone observers here. We have two platform observers. Hold your hands up until they concur and then put them down.

All in favor of the committee's recommendation indicate by raising your hands.

Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

We are unanimous. The committee's recommendation is supported. (Applause)

The Chair of the committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee member JoAnn Diana will read Appeal No. 4.

DELEGATE JO ANN DIANA (Local 1023):

APPEAL #4

On June 20, 1991, Peggy Adams of Local 3104 appealed the decision of the CWA Executive Board concerning the election of officers in Local 3104.

Ms. Adams raised several questions concerning the conduct of the election of officers, which include the following:

- (1) Changes in the vote totals after a recount was conducted.
- (2) The ability to have an observer at the drawing for position on the ballot.
- (3) Discrepancies in the count of ballots printed.
- (4) The security of ballots after the count.

The Committee carefully looked at all of these allegations and found that the recount which was conducted was proper; there was no evidence that any candidate was denied the right to observe the drawing for ballot position; discrepancies in the number of ballots printed were directly attributable to the printer and had no bearing on the outcome; and the ballots, while not kept in ideal conditions, were properly secured and protected.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal of Peggy Adams be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It is seconded from the floor.

No one desires to speak. All those in favor of the committee's recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee member Carroll Herndon will read Appeal No. 5.

DELEGATE CARROLL HERNDON (Local 7172):

APPEAL #5

On March 8, 1991, CWA Local 6215 Members Forsythe and Powell appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision of February 22, 1991, denying their appeal. The appeal involves jurisdiction of the Ennis O.S.P.S. unit. This new unit was created with members from Local 6201 (Fort Worth) and the Local 6215 (Dallas). Jurisdiction could not be agreed on, so an election was ordered by Vice President T.O. Parsons of some 95 members. The two Locals agreed between themselves to the conditions under which the election was jointly conducted. Local 6201 received the highest number of votes. Local 6215 has requested that the election be reversed and jurisdiction be granted to Local 6215 or another election be held.

The appeal is based on three points: One, a belief that the members were deprived of a secret ballot; two, questions concerning eligibility of one individual to vote; and three, claims that two individuals had no opportunity

to vote. With respect to the question of a secret ballot, even though the physical

arrangements of the voting room may not have been ideal, there was sufficient room for a member to move away from the observers present in the room and to vote without their choice being known.

While there was campaigning by both sides, there was no evidence of threats or other forms of intimidation. To the claim that two members, Diedra Bullard and Dayna Phillips were denied the opportunity to vote, the polling place was open for four days enabling both Bullard and Phillips ample opportunity to vote. To the claim that Mary Clegg was not eligible to vote because she had signed as a member of Local 6201 rather than 6215, it was agreed by all that Mrs. Clegg was a dues paying member in good standing and was a member of the Ennis work unit.

After a careful review of the entire record in these proceedings, the Appeals Committee recommends that the Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal of Members Forsythe and Powell be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It is seconded from the floor.

On mike 3, Delegate Owen.

DELEGATE CARL OWEN (Local 6201): Thank you. We have placed before each of you today a summary of a very thorough investigation of the jurisdiction election between Local 6201 in Fort Worth and Local 6215 in Dallas. The Fort Worth Local 6201 literature is the one with the union bug on it. (Applause and cheers)

Two former members of the Dallas Local 6215 challenged the election based on three issues: Number one, members voting were deprived of a secret ballot causing intimidation. Per the CWA investigator's report, he went to Ennis, Texas, to investigate the site of the election. He stated, "Based on the room and the size of the table, I believe it is a reasonable conclusion to find that a secret ballot could have been cast.

Number two, a number of dues-paying members were denied the opportunity to vote. Per the CWA investigator, he found that only two of the three names given to him did not vote, but after investigation he stated that these two members were at work at least one of the four days the election was held and, for whatever reason, chose not to vote. He also stated his findings that everyone had reasonable opportunity to vote.

Number three: It was stated that individuals were allowed to vote who were not eligible by being a dues-paying member in good standing. Per the CWA investigator, he narrowed this challenge to actually one individual in question. In his findings, no one disagrees that the individual signed the card on a timely basis. The question was which local she had signed with.

Based on his understanding of the Constitution and the law, if this individual had been denied the right to vote in this election, her rights under the Constitution would have been violated. The Fort Worth Local 6201 has, and had at that time, jurisdiction in Ennis, Texas for the NDS group located there. We also service south of Ennis in Corsicana and northwest of Ennis in Wax and Midlothian.

To the delegates of this national convention I ask for you to uphold the decision of Vice President Tommy Parsons, President Bahr, the Executive Board, and now the Appeals Committee. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I have received a request to recognize a non-delegate to speak on this. By virtue of the great number of people on both sides of this question, I see no reason to deviate from our normal policy. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes on mike 4 Delegate Holbrook.

DELEGATE JAMES HOLBROOK (Local 6215): I urge you to vote against the recommendation of the Appeals Committee, but first let me answer the situation about the bug that she brought up. That union bug is a legitimate bug, recognized by the union-- all the unions in the Label and Printing Trades. It is the bug of the ladies that work for our local and work for

their local. The lady that works for their local is President of the local. It was authorized by Brother Jim Booe to be passed around here, so that ought to satisfy you on that.

The OSP unit at Ennis, Texas is comprised of former members of both Local 6201 and 6215. The presidents of both locals agreed to an election to establish jurisdiction. Here are some of the facts that surround this case:

The district vice president did not conduct the election as required by the Constitution. From his letter to the former president of Local 6201, he states, "We will assign a staff that is not directly associated with the two locals to conduct the election when the Ennis office is fully populated."

The members at Ennis, Texas were not given the advantage of any representative of the district at this election. Proper voting procedures were not provided to carry out the democratic process for members of either local. The election was held in a small room with bystanders close by. Ballots had to be filled out in the open.

Several refused to vote due to uncomfortable circumstances. CWA members located in Ennis, Texas, have requested a new election.

The members have asked by petition for an opportunity to vote privately and fairly. Local 6201 Fort Worth and Local 6215 Dallas officers and stewards have and will continue to enjoy good working relationships. This is not a battle between locals, but an attempt to uphold the democratic process of this union.

There was no deliberate intent to deny anyone a secret ballot. However, it did happen. I am asking on behalf of the operators in Ennis, Texas, that you vote against the Appeal Committee's recommendation.

I urge your consideration of a fair, legal right to privacy. Vote "no" on the Appeal Committee's recommendation. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 5, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MICHAEL FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): Good afternoon. Mr. President, does the Constitution state in Article 13, Section 4, subparagraph a(1), and I will quote, "Upon agreement of the locals an election shall be conducted in accordance with rules and procedures adopted by the Executive Board and shall be conducted under the supervision of the district vice president. . .?"

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike, I guess if you just read it, that is what it says. (Laughter and applause)

You are entitled to another statement. (Laughter and applause)

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: Mr. President, may I have my second question?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes, go ahead.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: And that wasn't it. (Laughter)

Was this particular election conducted in accordance with the CWA Constitution?

PRESIDENT BAHR: I am advised that the two committees requested that the staff not be involved and that that was agreed to by both local unions.

On Mike 3, Delegate Massengale.

ALTERNATE KAY MASSENDALE (Local 6201): Mr. President and all delegates of CWA. My name is Kay Massengale, Chair of the Elections Committee for Local 6201 in Fort Worth, Texas. Being one of the two election committee chairs involved in this election, I can tell you in total sincerity that this election was put together and conducted in total fairness.

Prior to my knowledge of this election, the two local presidents discussed the type of election desired. Local 6201's president wanted a mail-out election, but Dallas Local 6215's president advised he wanted an on-site election because his members were more accustomed to this type. Being that he had the majority of CWA members involved, we agreed to an on-site election. Notices were posted and distributed to all operators giving the exact dates and times of voting.

One item mentioned in the challenge was intimidation and/or coercion by my local, 6201. I was the only member present representing Local 6201 during the entire four days of voting, and because of my position I remained totally neutral. However, Local 6215 sent several of its officers, stewards and/or committee members and also provided refreshments for all operators on all four days.

Another item mentioned in this challenge was the lack of a secret ballot. We held our election in a large conference room. The two committee chairs sat on one end of the room and handed out the ballots to the members after checking their membership status. The ballot box was placed at the opposite end of the room. There was plenty of room for anyone to be able to vote in private.

Another item mentioned in the challenge was that two members were not allowed to vote because they were loaned to another location. The Chair of Local 6215 Dallas had checked the working schedule with management and found that these four days spread over two succeeding weeks would accommodate the schedules of all members.

Through the investigation after the challenge was filed, it was found that both of the two who claimed they did not get to vote did, in fact, work in the Ennis office at least one of the four voting days.

The last item mentioned in the challenge was that one member was allowed to vote, but signed as a member of Local 6201 instead of 6215 after returning from an acting management job. Regardless of which local she signed up with, she was still entitled to vote and did appear on the membership list as a member in good standing.

Delegates, I urge you to sustain the report of the Appeals Committee and support Local 6201. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 4, Delegate Magee.

DELEGATE CARROL MAGEE (Local 6215): President Bahr and members of the delegation, I would like to read a statement by Terry Powell, whom you have just denied the privilege of speaking to this great convention.

"Thank you for letting me speak to you at this great convention." (Laughter) That's what she said. (Laughter)

"I am speaking on behalf of the Ennis, Texas membership in reference to the Ennis OPS affiliate election.

"No provisions were made for a secret ballot. The majority of my co-workers have signed a petition for a new election because they feel they had no input in the election planning, nor any input in the method of voting.

"I accepted the results of the election until I received complaints from membership in the Ennis office. As a job steward representing these members, myself, along with fellow job steward Ken Forsythe, filed an appeal without the knowledge or assistance of the locals involved.

"I am asking that my brothers and sisters deny the Appeals Committee recommendation. Thank you."

And I also might mention that both Terry Powell and Ken Forsythe are here at their own expense on behalf of their appeal. (Applause)

In closing, let me suggest that Page 9 of the Constitution, which has been quoted, reads, "it shall be done," making it no question as to whether or not the districts should have supervised this election. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 1, Delegate Schnickels.

DELEGATE DAWN SCHNICKELS (Local 7200): I move the previous question. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

Debate is closed.

In front of you is Appeal No. 5. All those in favor of the committee recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

The committee's recommendation is defeated. (Applause)

Now we are in no man's land at the moment because it is going to require a motion to either grant jurisdiction to the other local or to provide for another election.

On mike 1, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: I would like to make a motion to sustain the appeal of Terry Powell and Ken Forsythe and order a new election to be held by secret ballot, supervised by the District 6 Vice President, as it should have been to begin with. (Applause and cheers)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: I think it is self-explanatory.

PRESIDENT BAHR: I agree.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: This is still America, and this is still CWA. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On mike 3, Delegate Laurent.

DELEGATE TERRY LAURENT: If you just set up the election, there is nothing I can say, but I was going to vote for the motion, Morty. (Laughter)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Tiny, would you give your local number please. (Laughter)

DELEGATE LAURENT: Well, since I was invited out here as a national union family, what Local am I from? CWA Local 3411 in the great State of Louisiana in District 3. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

The Chair of the committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE:

APPEAL #6

On June 21, 1991, the Local 9509 Election Committee appealed the June 20, 1991 decision of the CWA Executive Board concerning the November 1990 election of Local 9509 Officers.

Based on an appeal filed by member Judith Beal, President Bahr and the CWA Executive Board ordered that 27 ballots, not previously counted, should have been counted in the election for Local 9509 President. These ballots lacked a signature on the return envelope. The requirement of a signature had been established by the Local 9509 Election Committee for the

purpose of verifying identity if called into question. The requirement of a signature was listed on the return envelope in 3 separate locations.

Although the Department of Labor generally indicates that ballots should be counted, the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act does not specifically prohibit the requirement of a signature. The Appeals Committee is persuaded that the Local 9509 Election Committee had established reasonable guidelines in accordance with the LMRDA, CWA Constitution and the Local 9509 Bylaws, that were well publicized.

After careful consideration the Appeals Committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be overturned and the appeal of the Local 9509 Election Committee be upheld.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made and seconded. On mike 3, Delegate Rogers.

DELEGATE LOUISE E. ROGERS (Local 9509): On behalf of myself, the majority of the members in our local and especially the Local Election Committee, I would like to thank the Appeals Committee for their hard work, through investigation and decision to support the Local Election Committee.

The outcome of the appeal will impact many of you. The Appeals Committee affirmed that the Election Committee of the Local has the right and responsibility to establish reasonable election rules that are consistent with the law, the CWA Constitution and Local Bylaws.

And once the election rules are established and applied consistently to all voters, the rules are still valid even when those elected win by a narrow margin.

In 1984 our election of local officers was challenged after approximately 100 ballots were determined to be fraudulent. Members whom the record showed had voted, claimed they did not vote. Fraud was proven when signatures from affidavits were matched against the signatures on the return ballot envelope, and the signatures did not match. A new election was held in 1985. The Local Election Committee wanted to avoid the problems of 1984. They wanted to guarantee the members a fair election in 1990. To meet this commitment, the Local Election Committee followed the rules of the LMRDA, the CWA Constitution and the Local Bylaws.

To insure that every member had the opportunity to vote, the ballots were mailed to their homes. The voting instructions were clearly printed in the back of the members return envelope. The member needed to mark their ballot, put their ballot in the secret envelope, place the secret envelope into the return envelope, and sign the return envelope. The voter was instructed three times on the back of the envelope that they must sign the return envelope.

Yes, there was a mailing label just to the left of the signature area. The Local Election Committee pre-affixed the member's name and address in the back of the member's return envelopes, because the member's signature is not always legible. The printed label was used to verify the member's name and status against the H-166.

Many locals currently require a signature on the return envelope. If the envelope is not signed, the ballot is void, spoiled, not counted. Since coming to the Convention, I have been told that in those elections conducted by the American Arbitration Association, a signature is required. In the staff union elections, a signature is required.

When we vote in federal, state and local elections we must sign the election roster before we are given a ballot. The law says every member must have a reasonable opportunity, without interference, to vote for a candidate of his/her choice. Our members were given that opportunity.

Yes, the Department of Labor has investigated our election process. The DOL wanted us to count the 27 ballots. We said no. The DOL wanted us to voluntarily conduct a new election. And again we have said no.

Despite what many of us have been led to believe, the Department of Labor does not have final say. We can say no to the DOL. We can fight back. We are preparing to fight the DOL in court. We are fighting for our election committee's right to set and enforce rules that meet the requirements of the law, the CWA Constitution and our Local Bylaws. Please uphold our appeal.

Please support your own Local Elections Committee. Please support the Committee's decision. Please vote "Yes" so that we can continue telling the DOL, "No." Thank you.
(Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Tokumaru.

DELEGATE JAN H. TOKUMARU (Local 9509): Sisters and Brothers, I rise in opposition to this Appeals Committee recommendation to overturn the CWA Executive Board's decision ordering that 27 ballots not previously counted should have been counted in the election for Local 9509. I ask that the CWA E Board decision be supported.

The issue of ballots and counting of votes has implications about the way that we practice democracy in our union. I am not asking you to do this for my individual interests. This is an issue that would not change or affect myself either way.

Indeed, there are election rules; however, I believe the intent of these rules is, as it should be, for the protection of our members.

I am asking you to uphold our members' right to vote and be given the opportunity in good faith to be counted in the democratic process of our election.

I believe the 27 members whose ballots were returned took the initiative to participate with that understanding. No one knows how those ballots were marked. But there has been no question of the legitimacy of their membership status, because each envelope included the printed return label with the name, address, as well as social security number.

The only objection was to the method used in identifying the valid number of ballots.

I believe application of the election rules was inconsistent in that the signed ballot envelopes were not verified for signatures.

While election rules must be followed, the Department of Labor, the constitution and bylaws provide for interpretation. There is no question about the honesty or integrity of individual members of the Election Committee.

This position is not against the designated authority of our Election Committee, nor does it negate local autonomy.

In affirmation of our members to vote, I urge you to vote "No" on this recommendation. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Hicks.

DELEGATE BEVERLY A. HICKS (Local 3808): President Bahr, is the Labor Department investigating this election?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes, as you heard Louise Rogers state in her remarks, the Department of Labor has tried to get the Local to agree to a consent agreement where they would either count or have a new election. The Local does have the right, as she stated, to permit that matter to go into court. The DOL cannot enforce it. The DOL must go into Federal Court to enforce its recommendation. And that is the status of the case at this time.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE HICKS: That is all. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Bennett.

DELEGATE BENNETT: There is a speaker before me.

DELEGATE ANN PRINCIOTTA (Local 1023): I think there is an error. I called second, Morty.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Ann Princiotta. Do you have Ann? A quick switch. Delegate Princiotta. Thank you.

DELEGATE PRINCIOTTA: Thank you.

DELEGATE PRINCIOTTA: I rise in support of this decision of the Appeals Committee.

The rules to conduct the election of officers have been in place since 1984 in this local. In the 1990 election the rules were very clearly published and clearly understood by 1184 members who followed the rules. Only 27 did not follow the rules.

Furthermore, the fact that the Department of Labor indicates the ballots should be counted does not necessarily mean we must automatically comply. The Local has a right to refuse an appeal. The Labor Management Reporting Act does not prohibit the requirement of signatures. Voting in U.S. elections requires signing for a ballot before casting your vote. No one objects to it there. We threw the Department of Labor out of this convention today. We can run our own affairs without them. (Applause)

I urge you to uphold the decision of the Appeals Committee to sustain the appeals of Local 9509 Election Committee and overturn the CWA Executive Board's decision. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Gillis.

DELEGATE SAMUEL GILLIS (Local 9509): I rise to speak to you, Brothers and Sisters, to vote against this appeal. I do so because the issue at hand is not about signatures or anything at all. It is the denial of members of the right to participate in the election process.

During the election, when the ballots were counted, the ballots were not checked for authenticity. And the E Board decision, the only thing that it does is get rid of the propensity of the Election Committees to selectively enforce Local election rules.

The E Board's decision does not affect the outcome of the election in any manner that is detrimental to the election process. The decision does not threaten our Locals' autonomy. The only thing that it does is it negates the theory that any thing is legal until proven illegal.

The signing of the ballot is not necessarily a safeguard unless and until it is used as such. In the case in this instance, the ballots that were counted were not checked for signatures to prove authenticity.

I say this and I urge that each of you vote against the recommendation of the Appeals Committee, because if you uphold the Appeals Committee recommendation you will deny dues-paying members their right to vote in a legal election. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Forster.

DELEGATE GAIL FORSTER (Local 9400): I move the previous question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It has been seconded. It is not debatable.

All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. Debate is closed.

In front of us is Appeal Number 6. All those in support of the Committee's recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Opposed by a like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

No further action is required as we did on the previous one.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee member Gilda Grant will read Appeal No. 7.

DELEGATE GILDA GRANT (Local 6500):

APPEAL #7

Jon Peterson, Chief Steward of Local 4250, has appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievance KS0023.

The grievance involved two issues: First, an unsatisfactory job appraisal and second, management's directive to use a sign-out board. The Appeals Committee found that in the first instance, the Company had acknowledged its error and offered to destroy the appraisal. In the second instance, the Committee found that the grievant's claim of unfair and unequal treatment in requiring the use of a sign-out board was not substantiated since, by the appellant's own admission, he was never required to sign-out, thus it was not enforced.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor.

The Delegate at Microphone No. 4, pick up the microphone and call in please.

On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Peterson.

DELEGATE JON M. PETERSON (Local 4250): My first question is: Have the time limits for arbitration on this appeal been protected?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The answer is, yes.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE PETERSON: Thank you. No question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 3, Delegate Nancy Servis.

DELEGATE NANCY SERVIS (Local 4603): Thank you, President Bahr.

President Bahr, Brothers and Sisters: I rise in support of the Appeals Committee decision. As a member in District 4, I have had occasion to appeal grievances to arbitration. Some have been approved and some have not.

Those requested that have been denied have always come with a complete and reasonable explanation.

In District 4, decisions to arbitrate or not to arbitrate are not made by the flip of a coin. They are submitted to Mike Hanley, Assistant to Vice President Bob Johnson, who goes over them thoroughly. They are then looked at by Kevin Conley, District 4 Legal Counsel.

The merits, facts and all additional information, including rules on similar cases are discussed and researched before a final decision is made.

If a grievance is denied for arbitration, the Local can submit an appeal to Vice President Johnson and the process begins again.

I can personally attest to the fact that the process works and works well. As a part of District meetings, we are given reports on grievances appealed for arbitration and the number of

requests each local submits.

Local 4250 has had many more requests for arbitration approved than denied. In fact, 4250 has had more requests granted than most states submit.

District 4 attempts to arbitrate cases on merits, cases that will aid the Union in the future. We all lose when bad cases are lost because they will be cited by the company again and again.

Arbitrating for the sake of arbitrating is sometimes used as a way of passing a difficult situation or a hard decision off on the National.

Arbitration requests should not be taken lightly and are not taken lightly in District 4. We should keep in mind that when we go to arbitration we bring a grievance with merit, not just to add another step to the grievance procedure.

If we do our job properly and get all the facts, figures and pertinent information, we will win either in the lower steps of the grievance or with an approved arbitration.

But first, we, as officers and stewards, must do our jobs and believe that the District and Staff and Legal Counsel are doing theirs. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Peterson.

DELEGATE JON M. PETERSON (Local 4250): Thank you, President Bahr and Fellow Delegates. I rise in support of my appeal. As I talk, I wish you would consider I also have appeal 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. And for clarification, I would like you to understand that we do not file frivolous grievances. The grievances that we file have merit. And you all know AT&T. If they did not, they surely would not be meeting with us.

The processing of grievances is the guts of all unions. Without a viable, accountable grievance procedure, no union can serve its members or protect its members.

I received my grievance handling and steward's training from my Local President Tony Laudani. Tony received his grievance handling and steward's training while working in the mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, his old home town, and the scene of the famous "Bread and Roses strike."

During yesterday's video presentation, we saw artist Ralph Fasanella's painting of the "Bread and Roses strike." That painting shows the mills and the very buildings where Tony worked and received his union training. Ralph Fasanella's painting depicts the strike and struggle of the "Bread and Roses" strikers which included Tony's family, mother, father, brothers.

At all costs, we must protect the integrity of the grievance procedure. The company QWL committees will not do it. The Common Interest Forums will not do it. And from personal knowledge and experience, the appointed AT&T grievance coordinator will not do it.

Who can do it? Who always does it? The Local President, that is who.

I want to thank you for your attention and for your consideration. Remember, without grievances we really do not have a union. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 7, Delegate Gordon. (Laughter)

I am sorry. They marked it. They have a big "7" up here. It must be the seventh speaker. Microphone No. 5. I am getting a little groggy. Delegate Gordon.

DELEGATE EARL GORDON (Local 6215): My question is: Is this the Local that scabbed in 1983?

. . . Cries of "Oh" and "Damn right it is" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: I do not know that this is germane to the debate, and I do not think it is the kind of unit that we are trying to--

DELEGATE GORDON: It is a question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Well, you are pin pointing it and my understanding is, yes, that the Local Officers did urge the members to go back to work before the strike was over.

. . . Boos and cries of "Oh" . . .

DELEGATE GORDON: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: There are no further--

DELEGATE STEVE G. TISZA (Local 4250): Point of order.

PRESIDENT BAHR: State your point of order.

DELEGATE TISZA: What is your proof of that bullshit?

PRESIDENT BAHR: (Applause) That conduct is unrequired here. I think it is a matter of record, what was on the Local tapes.

DELEGATE TISZA: What was on the tapes?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Urging, stating that the strike was over, when it was not.

DELEGATE TISZA: That's a goddamn lie.

PRESIDENT BAHR: And we have the tape here.

DELEGATE TISZA: Play it so this body can hear it.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Your point of order has been recognized.

DELEGATE TISZA: Play the tape. What are you afraid of? Play the tape so we can hear what it says.

PRESIDENT BAHR: We are not going to play the tape here.

DELEGATE TISZA: Chickenshit.

PRESIDENT BAHR: There are no further Delegates desiring to speak on the appeal. You have before you Appeal No. 7. all those in favor of the Committee's recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. The Committee's recommendation is upheld. (Applause)

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee Member Walter Cleveland will read Appeal No. 8.

DELEGATE WALTER CLEVELAND, JR. (Local 3263):

APPEAL #8

Michael Nahorniak of Local 4250 appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievance KS0068.

The grievance involves a member who was required to take a test for a position he held more than five years ago. Unfortunately, the AT&T contract does not restrict the use of testing. The Appeals Committee is convinced that the Union could not prevail.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been seconded. There is no one at a microphone. All those in favor of the Committee recommendation indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is adopted.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee member JoAnn Diana will read appeal No. 9.

DELEGATE DIANA:

APPEAL #9

Jon Peterson, Chief Steward of Local 4250, has appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievance KS0086.

The case involved a dispute over bargaining unit versus management work. No evidence was presented to convince the Appeals Committee that the Union would be able to sustain the burden of proof in this case. The Committee concurs with the conclusion reached by legal counsel, the District Staff, the District Vice President, President Bahr and the CWA Executive Board.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded from the floor. There is no one desiring to be heard. All those in favor of the committee recommendation on Appeal No. 9 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

Chair of the Committee.

DELEGATE LaCAUSE: Committee member Carroll Herndon will read appeal No. 10.

DELEGATE HERNDON:

APPEAL #10

Jon Peterson, Chief Steward of Local 4250, has appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievance KS0113, KS0114 and KS0115.

The cases involved a dispute over a bargaining unit versus management work. No convincing evidence was presented to the Appeals Committee that the Union would be able to sustain the burden of proof in these cases. This same conclusion was reached throughout the steps of the Union's appeals procedure and by legal counsel.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Peterson.

DELEGATE JON PETERSON (Local 4250): Thank you, President Bahr. For the record, I would like to clarify the situation. I received notice from Vice President Bob Johnson back in February 28, 1991, in correspondence to me concerning his grievance. I replied to him in the following manner: "Denial of Arbitration for alleged grievances.

"I have received a letter of February 28, 1991, denying the grievances I have filed against the AT&T Company for using contract workers and retired management employees to perform the work of engineering associates.

You stated that the charges I have filed against the company in these three grievances are, in your own words, 'alleged.'

"I hope and pray you will soon be in a position to see the Typographical Workers, Clerks and Engineers alike that have been or are going to be laid off that their grievances are not real, just alleged. You tell them you in CWA refuse to use their union dues to process their grievances through arbitration.

"When all the employees of AT&T and the Bell System were hired, they were told and led to believe their job was for life, that the Bell System and AT&T was a job for steady lifetime employment, that the company has expressed and implied this until recent years.

"The issue is: the company is stealing our jobs and giving the work to retirees, also contract workers, and now you, a Union leader, take the company's position that the work in question is supervisory work. Now you have made the company's case and support their case. You have made this decision without talking to anybody in the Local, none of the members, the Grievant, or anybody in the officer corps. You do not even have the decency to make a phone call during your investigation.

Finally, you take the position of being the arbitrator and stating that the Union cannot prove the company has contracted out the work, other than appearing in front of the Appeals Committee yet to hear from anybody in the CWA District Office, except for the alleged grievance coordinator."

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is no other Delegate desiring to speak. All those in favor of the committee recommendation indicate by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Let me just make one observation, because I believe Jon Peterson tries to do a good job. When we say "alleged" or "allegations," we are talking about a lack of supporting data, and I say this about any grievance, in an effort to be helpful. You can't win a grievance in arbitration without supporting data to prove our allegations, to prove our charges. I think this is what we are talking about, not people's intent or desire.

We all want to do the best job for our members, but the evidence isn't there. And the lawyers take a look at it and the evidence still isn't there. That is what we have to deal with, not everybody's good intentions.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE LaCAUSE: Committee member Gilda Grant will read Appeal 11.

DELEGATE GRANT:

APPEAL #11

Jon Peterson, Chief Steward of Local 4250, appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievances KS0128 and KS1005.

The grievances allege that supervisors were performing bargaining unit work. The appellant did not provide and the file did not contain any information which would convince the Committee that the Union would be able to succeed in these cases.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been duly seconded. There are no Delegates desiring to speak. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation on Appeal 11 indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

The Committee.

DELEGATE LaCAUSE: Committee member Walter Cleveland will read Appeal No. 12.

DELEGATE CLEVELAND:

APPEAL #12

William Halloran of Local 4250 appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate Grievances KS0133, KS1007 and KS0132.

Grievance KS0133 involved a question of bargaining unit work being performed by management. After reviewing the file, the Committee could find no proof to substantiate such a claim to an arbitrator.

Grievance KS1007 involves--

PRESIDENT BAHR: Can I interrupt the Committee? Brother Peterson is on the Privilege mike, requesting to withdraw Appeal No. 12, so we need not take any further action on it.

Is that correct? Would you turn the mike on the Privilege Mike, please?

DELEGATE PETERSON (Local 4250): President Bahr and Delegates, I hereby wish to withdraw Appeal 10 and Appeal 11. After the question was asked before, I feel this body could not make an impartial decision without hearing all our story--

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me get something clarified. We already acted on 10 and 11. As I look at 12, it was not appealed by you. It was appealed by William Halloran, so I don't think you can withdraw it.

DELEGATE PETERSON: I did not say 12.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Appeals 10 and 11 were already disposed of.

DELEGATE PETERSON: I would not withdraw Mr. Halloran's grievance.

PRESIDENT BAHR: We already acted.

DELEGATE PETERSON: Is that the one you are on now?

PRESIDENT BAHR: We are on 12 now.

DELEGATE PETERSON: Okay.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Go ahead.

DELEGATE CLEVELAND: Grievance KS1007 involves the layoff of Member Halloran. Even though any layoff is unjust, the Committee did not find that the layoff violated the contract, ERISA or Title VII provision.

Grievance KS1032 involves Member Halloran being denied a position as a Composite Master Toolmaker. The committee could not find any information in the file to support Mr. Halloran's claim that the grievance could go to arbitration.

The Appeals committee recommends that the Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made and seconded. Brother Peterson, Microphone No. 4.

DELEGATE PETERSON: President Bahr, fellow Delegates, I wish to appeal the Appeal Committee's decision for Mr. Halloran. Mr. Halloran was terminated by AT&T on November 8, 1989. He was an engineering associate and worked in the Chicago Office at One South Wacker Drive. Mr. Halloran has tried repeatedly to get employed by the company, and they keep closing the door on him. In fact, recently I just processed another grievance for him, and the company has informed him that he had no recall rights.

The job title we have is being eliminated by the company, and even though he is better qualified as a technician, they won't let him come back, so he is out with 21 years of service.

I think this is atrocious. There has to be something we can do for these people.

When he left the office, he and fourteen other people did, and I wrote a statement that I will read, as follows, that came out of our executive board, that has to do with the employees that we have who are veterans. It goes back to November 12, 1990.

"For the past five years, Local 4250 has been in a constant struggle with the AT&T Company, attempting to save our jobs, only to have the grievance coordinator from District 4, the National Labor Relations Board, run interference for AT&T.

As with all trusts, it can lead to betrayal. These At&T employee veterans had ten to twenty-one years of seniority with AT&T. Now, these employee veterans feel betrayed by the company, AT&T, their union and their government."

Right now the AT&T is currently stalking its new prey. The next victims will be the Korean War veterans and World War II veterans. Those scheduled layoffs start on August 9, 1991, and will probably culminate about this time next year.

Thank you for your consideration. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 5, Delegate Gonzalez.

DELEGATE GEORGE GONZALEZ (Local 3150): Would it be possible for the future on these appeals to have more information written down than what is written down? (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: You know, some of these appeals might have had a different outcome if we had had more information. (Laughter and applause)

But, we will in fact try and do two things. One, give you more information in the future, and next year's Convention have the appeals committee report earlier in the day. (Applause)

So, the answer is yes, we will try. And you are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE GONZALEZ: Okay. That is all.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 3, Delegate Phillips.

DELEGATE EDWIN PHILLIPS (Local 4340): I have had many arbitration cases flow through District 4, in the contractors and public sector as well as AT&T. I have always been treated fairly. I have gotten complete responses and cases that needed to be arbitrated were arbitrated. I personally feel it looks like an attack on District 4 and our Vice President Bob Johnson, and I really resent it. I would ask that everybody from District 4 please stand up and support Bob Johnson. Thank you.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: There are no other Delegates calling in to speak. All those in favor of the committee recommendation on Appeal No. 12 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted. The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE LaCAUSE: JoAnn Diana will read Appeal No. 13.

DELEGATE DIANA:

APPEAL #13

Members Angela Pettyjohn and Virginia Mott have appealed the June 20, 1991 decision of the CWA Executive Board concerning the election of officers in Unit 224 of Local 13000.

Three issues have been raised in this election by Ms. Pettyjohn and Ms. Mott:

First, that five (5) members were ineligible to vote. The Appeals Committee's review find that in fact all five (5) members in question had fully paid their fines approximately four (4) months prior to the election.

Second, the appellants claim that the collection of ballots by one of the candidates affected the outcome. The Committee found that ballots were voluntarily given to the candidate after being marked and sealed. There were no claims from any members that their ballots were not actually turned in and counted.

Finally, there was a claim of impropriety in the voter count. The Committee found that all votes cast were by members of Unit 224 and the total results were accurately recorded.

The Appeals Committee recommends that the CWA Executive Board's decision be upheld and the appeal be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor. There are no speakers. All those in favor of the committee report on Appeal No. 13 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. it is adopted.

The Chair of the Committee.

DELEGATE LaCAUSE:

APPEAL #14

Although the present appeal of Michael Drake raises a timeliness issue regarding CWA's Internal Appeals Procedures, some background information is helpful. In 1989, Mr. Drake filed an internal union complaint against the President of Local 9510 over the nonpayment of lost-time wages. His complaint was denied by the Local membership on December 5, 1989, and his subsequent appeals to the District 9 Vice President and President Bahr were denied.

On March 30, 1990, the CWA Executive Board denied Mr. Drake's appeal. Mr. Drake did not appeal that decision to the June 1990 CWA Convention, but instead on December 28, 1990 chose to file his appeal to the 1991 CWA Convention.

Secretary-Treasurer Booe declined to accept Mr. Drake's December 28, 1990 appeal on the basis that an appeal from the decision of the CWA Executive Board must be made to the Convention immediately following the decision. In response to Mr. Drake's complaint over Mr. Booe's decision, President Bahr represented the issue to the CWA Executive Board for an interpretation of the Internal Appeals Procedures. The Board interpreted the procedures (which have been in effect since 1978) and concluded that a decision of the Board must be appealed to the Convention immediately following that decision. Consistent with that interpretation, the Executive Board clarified the language of the Appeals Procedures by inserting the word "next" to the word "Convention" in Section 1.C.12 and 11.C.8 of the Internal Appeals Procedures.

In reviewing this appeal the Appeals Committee was influenced by four factors. First, the CWA Internal Appeals Procedures were established by the Executive Board pursuant to its authority under Article IX, Section 7, of the CWA Constitution which states:

"The Executive Board of the Union shall establish reasonable appeal procedures within the structure of the Union to review complaints of members which allege violation of the Constitution, Local Bylaws or the rights and privileges of members."

The authority of the Executive Board under the Constitution to establish and interpret the Internal Appeals Procedure is clear. There is no evidence that any appellant has even chosen to bypass the next Convention in favor of choosing some future Convention to present his or her appeal.

Second, if the decisions of the Board were not required to be dealt with at the next Convention, the Committee believes that there is a real danger of reviving unresolved appeals, election disputes, jurisdictional disputes or complaints against the Union or its officers which could remain open with the possibility of appeal for an indefinite period of time. For example, if this appeal was upheld, then conceivably any past appeals that did not go to the Convention

could now go to any future Convention.

Third, it seems clear from Article VII, Section 1(b) that the Executive Board acts within its authority "between Conventions." Thus, an appeal from its decision must be made to the immediately following Convention.

Finally, the Appeals Committee agrees that the intent of those responsible for drafting the Internal Appeals procedure was clear. Justice is better served when decisions and appeals are handled promptly. It only stands to reason that the intent of the Internal Appeals Procedures was that the final step of an appeal must be heard at the soonest scheduled Convention following the Board's decision.

The Appeals Committee concurs with the Executive Board's interpretation of its Internal Appeals Procedure and therefore recommends that the appeal of Michael Drake be denied.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Princiotta.

DELEGATE ANN PRINCIOTTA (Local 1023): I rise to support the decision of the Committee that the appeal be denied. When we have debated the issue of yearly conventions, one of the reasons put forth to have yearly conventions is so that appeals could be heard on a timely and expeditious manner. Brother Drake had that opportunity in 1990 and apparently chose to waive his option. Suppose he had chosen to waive his option in 1991, but then decided to exercise it at the 1992 Convention.

If we were to allow this open-ended option, it leaves the door open for any member to appeal to the convention which they feel is politically advantageous to them.

It has always been clear what the language of the constitution meant. Therefore, I urge you to support the decision of the Executive Board and the Appeals Committee and deny Brother Drake's appeal.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Delegate at Microphone No. 4, Delegate Crowell.

DELEGATE MARK CROWELL (Local 9586): Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, I rise to speak on behalf of Mike Drake and his appeal. I feel the most effective way is by paraphrasing a letter from Mike Drake to our National Executive Board. It reads as follows:

"June 1, 1991.

"Lady and Gentlemen,

"I quote from a letter dated May 28, 1974, written by a man I greatly admired:

"I doubt if any one can remember any problem or issue which tore us down the middle and created destructive factions or caucuses that were lasting. One of the reasons for this powerful unit is the kind of people who make up our union. Jealousy, power struggles or internal jockeying for power have never been the hallmark of our people. Instead, as I have said before, we have been known for our ability to settle our differences in open debate and then get on with the business of building our union. This has been one of the most satisfying and rewarding things for me to observe. I sincerely hope and pray that we will maintain these characteristics and that those who come after us continue this great tradition as long as there is a need for the Communications Workers of America."

That was written by Joseph Anthony Beirne, announcing that he would not be a Delegate for reelection as President of the CWA at the 1974 CWA Convention.

All I ask is that the people who have the responsibility and the authority to make sure each local live up to the democratic ideals and principles CWA professes to have, do so.

The people I refer to are you, the Executive Board members. All you have to say is knock it off.

Drake was elected. His wages would have been paid per the Local's bylaws. We cannot condone the dictatorial behavior of a local president not complying with the wishes of the electorate. The appeal is filed in a timely manner, and changing the rules would have been an ex post facto modification, and that is baloney. Who is kidding whom here? If we rule in favor of Mr. Drake's appeal, it won't make one bit of difference in past appeals. There is no crowd of people waiting to file appeals that might be two, four, seven or more years old. It will only make a difference from this period on, since the modification was made after Drake's appeal.

You can say all these things by simply upholding my appeal. If not, then it gives every appearance that the behavior above is condoned at the highest level. I find it hard to believe that this is the kind of stuff we must dwell on while the buzzards pick us apart. To make someone go through the paces over an issue like this defies a rule of reason. Won't you be reasonable?

Respectfully submitted, Mike Drake.

Fellow delegates, I urge you to support Mr. Drake's appeal. However, before you decide, consider this. When God wrote the Ten Commandments, were they retroactive? We cannot allow our International Executive Board to change the rules and apply them retroactively, thus denying Mr. Drake's constitutional right of appeal. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 5, Delegate Schaeff.

DELEGATE JERRY SCHAEFF (Local 4322): I'm from Dayton, Ohio, what used to be the home of NCR.

One question. If this appeal is upheld or if we overturn the Committee, will it mean that members who have been found guilty in any local trial for any reason, at any time, there being an appeal process, they will be given an opportunity to appeal at some convention, whenever?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes.

DELEGATE SCHAEFF: Thank you. No further questions.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone 3, Delegate Mitchell.

DELEGATE PERTIE MITCHELL (Local 6320): President Bahr, Delegates of the 53rd Annual CWA Convention. I rise in favor of the decision of the Appeals Committee. I'm a longtime union officer. I know of no appeal that bypassed the next convention in favor of choosing a future convention.

I feel if Mr. Drake wanted to appeal, he should have done so at the first available opportunity, the Convention of 1990.

I urge you to support the Appeals Committee and deny Mr. Drake's appeal. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 1, Delegate Johnson.

DELEGATE R.O. JOHNSON (Local 7200): I move the previous question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It's not debatable. All those in favor raise their hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

We have before us the Committee recommendation Appeal No. 14. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

The Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee Member Gilda Grant will read Appeal No. 15.

DELEGATE GILDA GRANT:

APPEAL #15

Alvin "Butch" Still, President of Local 7970, appealed the Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate grievances 02-000655 and 02-000656.

After careful review of the file, the Appeals Committee finds the decision of President Bahr and Vice President Maulis to deny the appeal of Butch Still proper, because contract language does not support his claim. The collective bargaining agreement and Article 3 (3) appear to specifically preserve as a management function the right to "move an operation or facility." Pursuant to this provision, the grievances would not be subject to arbitration.

Therefore, the Appeals Committee recommends the decision of the CWA Executive Board be upheld and that the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Is there a second.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. There are no speakers. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation in Appeal No. 15 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR LaCAUSE: Committee Member JoAnn Diana will read Appeal No. 16.

DELEGATE JOANN DIANA:

APPEAL #16

Nanci Arambula has appealed the June 20, 1991 decision of the CWA Executive Board to deny her appeal concerning the election of Vice President in CWA Local 9505. The appellant raises first the timeliness of the initial challenge. The facts relevant to the timeliness question are as follows:

Local 9505 conducted its election for the office of First Vice President, Second Vice President and Third Vice President in October, 1990. On October 31, 1990, the Local Election Committee counted the ballots and determined that a run-off election for the Third Vice President position must be held.

The run-off election was completed and tentatively certified on November 30, 1990. A challenge to this election was filed by Lupe Garcia by a letter dated December 5, 1990, and was presented to the Local Election Committee on December 6, 1990. Ms. Arambula claims that the December 5th challenge was not timely since it was not filed within ten days of the tentative certification of the results of the first election. The CWA Executive Board ruled that since the challenge was filed within ten days of the run-off election, it was timely.

Ms. Arambula also appealed the Board's decision on the merits of the case. The Local's Bylaws provide that the three Vice President positions will be filled by the three candidates receiving the highest majority vote. It was determined that all candidates received a majority vote in the first election. Therefore, in accordance with the Local Bylaws, the three candidates receiving the highest number of votes should have been declared as First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents in order of the votes each individual received.

As Lupe Garcia received the third highest majority, she should have been declared elected as the Third Vice President. Thus, the run-off election for Third Vice President should not have been held and the results of the run-off election were therefore void.

The Appeals Committee recommends the decision of the CWA Executive Board be upheld and the appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It's been seconded.

On microphone No. 4, Delegate Arambula.

DELEGATE NANCI ARAMBULA (Local 9505): Thank you. President Bahr, Delegates and Guests, Brothers and Sisters.

I rise before you last, and hopefully not least, to ask for your support to vote against the recommendation of the Appeals Committee.

My story is this. I was one of the five candidates in the October 1990 election for the office of Vice President. The results of that election were that I fell in fourth place. Being that there were only three seats, I accepted that I had lost.

I was then told by the Election Committee that a run-off was required, as all five candidates received the required majority, and that our Local's past practice has been run-offs.

No candidate objected. It was explained that the fifth person is eliminated and that the four remaining will participate in this run-off.

This was also concurred with by the professional election company hired to tabulate those results.

In December, the fourth candidate and then incumbent Vice President filed a challenge to the election results of the October election. The Election Committee denied her appeal based on its timeliness. It was well after the 30 days from that October date.

The appeal then went to the Local Executive Board. A sub-committee was appointed and an investigation began. It was found that there were many irregularities in the election of 1990. The appeal was denied.

The appeal then moved forward to the District 9 Vice President, who upheld the appeal on the basis of timeliness. He states that tentative certifications of the first election, the October election, were not sent to the International for the office of Vice President.

The investigation of our Local sub-committee found that the certifications were given to the acting Secretary-Treasurer, who committed to type and send them forward.

The acting Secretary-Treasurer, when questioned, said he made the unilateral decision not to send the results for the office of Vice President.

The handwritten certifications have since disappeared. However, the challenger did present xeroxed copies of those handwritten certifications in the original appeal.

Our Local bylaws state that nominees in the officer's elections receiving the majority of votes cast shall be declared elected. This was the basis for the run-off election, as all five candidates received a majority vote.

The CWA Constitution Article XV, Section 4, states, "The election committee shall tally the ballots in all elections and notify the membership of its tentative certification of the results. Absent a challenge to the election, the tentative certification shall become final ten days thereafter."

Our Election Committee did this. The membership was notified on our Local recorder on October 31, 1990 of the results, and the need for a run-off election. Copies of the tabulations were distributed to those who requested it, as well as printed in our newsletter.

I do not find specific language in our Constitution that states certifications must be received by the International. Being that that language is absent, our Election Committee did file tentative

certifications on October 31, 1991, handwritten certifications, which have disappeared.

I must make you aware of the fact that the challenge of the run-off election resigned from the Union two days after the decision was rendered--

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have one minute.

DELEGATE ARAMBULA: --in her favor. The Executive Board of our International called the original appeal timely. I challenge that it is not. I believe in fairness, and I believe unions are founded on fairness.

I am asking you to practice fairness now. I ask that you overturn the denial of my appeal. I did all that I was asked to do and I followed all the rules, as I naively believe them to be correct as explained to me.

And I won. I won the right to the seat of the Third Vice President.

Be fair. Allow me to keep it. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 5, Delegate Evans.

DELEGATE LESLIE E. EVANS (Local 2108): My first question would be, Morty, how many other cases were there where more than the top three candidates got a majority of the vote in his Local?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me refer that to the Committee. I don't know.

Repeat your question, please.

DELEGATE EVANS: The speaker stated that there were prior elections where more than the top three candidates received a majority. Do we know when or how many examples of that?

CHAIR LaCAUSE: No. The file didn't really show that, but the speaker, when she was relating to what they have done before during an interview, plus the information in our file, said that they had been interpreting the by-laws wrong for 14 years. That's all we had on the file.

How many times or what elections, we don't know.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE EVANS: Okay. My second question would be, any appeal that reads, ". . . provided the three Vice President positions will be filled by the three candidates receiving the highest majority vote. . .", is that actually what the bylaws read, that it's a majority vote or the highest majority vote?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Committee?

CHAIR LaCAUSE: As far as we know by the file, it was the highest majority.

DELEGATE EVANS: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are welcome.

On microphone no. 4, Delegate Akiaten.

DELEGATE MARK AKIATEN (Local 9505): Union, family, and damn proud of it.

President Bahr, Officers, Delegates and Guests, Brothers and Sisters: I rise in support of Vice President Nanci Arambula and ask that this decision of the CWA International Executive Board be overturned and the appeal be upheld.

All elections have been conducted in the same way for the last 12 years, since 1979. Being that this is the first appeal out of my Local that I know of, I thought an appeal would be done like a grievance, you know, documentation is requested, past practices are sought, interviews are

conducted, so on and so forth.

To my surprise, it's not. In fact, looking from the outside, it's a very cold and insensitive manner.

It puzzles me on how decisions can be made without interviewing the parties involved.

There is an old saying, "A picture is worth a thousand words." But in this appeal here, how can you get a picture when you are dealing with an empty camera?

My Local had a run-off for the Vice Presidency. At that time, October 31st, the Election Committee certified that election. The tentative certification was given to the acting Secretary-Treasurer, who safeguards our records.

Under Article XV, Section 4(a), it states: "The election committee shall tally the ballots in all elections and notify the membership of its tentative certification of the results."

The Election Committee complied with this. It goes on to say:

"Absent a challenge to the election, the tentative certification shall become final ten days thereafter."

Either I can't read, or I'm going blind, but where does it read that the International certifies the election?

If there is another interpretation of this, I am unaware of it.

In the first election, none of the candidates objected to a run-off, and no appeal was made within the ten days. Here are the facts.

There was a tentative certification by the Election Committee on October 31. The candidate involved did not object to the run-off. The membership was notified of the run-off on October 31. There were no challenges ten days after the tentative certification of October 31. The Local Executive Board upheld the Election Committee and confirmed Nanci Arambula as Vice President, as well as the membership.

Nanci Arambula defeated Lupe Garcia in the run-off. Lupe Garcia, who initiated this appeal, resigned from the Union and the company in March of 1991. And those are the facts.

I ask that you, the delegates of this Convention, overturn the CWA Executive Board's decision by voting no and allowing Nanci Arambula to continue as Vice President. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 5, Delegate Walker.

DELEGATE KENN WALKER (Local 9505): Mr. President, what would have happened if CWA Local 9505 had overturned the Local Election Committee's ruling on Lupe Garcia's appeal, and no further appeals were offered on that decision?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Then the decision of the Local membership would have stood.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE WALKER: My understanding that the only person, the only group that can make a decision would be the International Executive Board.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Only if there were continued appeals, but the last decision stands, unless further appeals. Thank you.

DELEGATE WALKER: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone no. 5, Delegate Kinloch.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That is what we just heard, yes.

DELEGATE KINLOCH: Then the remedy of this issue then is to reinstate her to the office of Vice President or to run another election?

PRESIDENT BAHR: You obviously could not reinstate her. I don't need to wait for the Parliamentarian on that one.

DELEGATE KINLOCH: All right. (Laughter)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates?

On microphone No. 5, Delegate Marler.

DELEGATE EUGENE E. MARLER (Local 3907): Mr. President, my question is, there seems to be a dispute about the facts; how did the Committee come to their conclusions? How did they--

PRESIDENT BAHR: I will refer that question to the Committee.

CHAIR LACAUSE: Okay. As Morty said earlier, the files are very thick, and this is a particular one that is very difficult.

The brother said, how would we know if we didn't interview people? We did, in fact, interview the delegate.

She told us that she, the young lady, Nanci Arambula, that she had, in fact, agreed originally that she would lose the first election. According to her, the Election Committee said no, no. No, she didn't lose the election. There was going to be a run-off.

In conversation with Nanci Arambula, and looking through the file, it became apparent to us that the problem, with admission from her, was that they had misinterpreted their own by-laws, and the brother said 12 years, and I can't debate that. The file indicates 14 years. He had misinterpreted them internally and had come up with a percentage for the top three people inaccurately.

The officers decided to maintain Lupe Garcia into the position. Then she quit, resigned, whatever.

The file does not indicate to us how Nanci acquired the Vice President's spot at this time, but that through their own by-laws and their own admission in the file, along with the Vice President's report and Executive Board report, there should be another election.

And if there is any question I missed her, I apologize. This thing is very, very complicated. The bottom line is, according to their own admission, through the interview and their own by-laws, they had misrepresented the 14 years and got a clarification and now agree the by-laws were correct. They interpreted them wrong, and that is where we are at now.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE MARLER: My second question is, how did the Committee ascertain that Lupe Garcia was, in fact, timely?

CHAIR LACAUSE: We really didn't have any proof at all, of certification at all, on the first one in the file.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Schellin.

DELEGATE MARC A. SCHELLIN (Local 2336): I move the question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion has been made to close debate. All those in favor. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

In front of us is Appeal No. 16. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation

indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

For the purpose of the record, let me indicate to you that in Appeal No. 1, Local 13552 has withdrawn its appeal.

The work of the Appeals Committee is now completed. (Applause)

I think we have truly witnessed democracy in action. We have seen checks and balances really work. It proves that no matter what level of the union you may be at, other people may have different views and the decisions may change.

I think we have to be quite proud of this process. (Applause)

As I suggested to you earlier, in 1992 the Appeals Committee will report at an earlier hour so that we are not pressed for time. (Applause)

Now please join me in thanking the Appeals Committee for the tremendous job they did, and I discharge them with the thanks of the Convention.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded and cheered . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Now, while the Resolutions Committee comes back to the platform-- the only official work we have before us are four more resolutions-- let me extend a personal privilege on the microphone to someone who has served this union for a very long time.

The Chair recognizes Bill Sullivan, 1126, at microphone No. 2.

DELEGATE WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN (Local 1126): Mr. President, Morty, District 1 Vice President Jan Pierce, Delegates and Officers to the 53rd Annual Convention, San Francisco, California:

I thank you for the opportunity to say goodbye.

We are the foundation of this union. Collectively, we form this union. It belongs to us. It is ours, the membership, the officers, and locals, and the International.

Joseph A. Beirne, the found of CWA, had the foresight to envision strong local unions with the International having the expertise to negotiate contracts, to handle grievances, to arbitrate, and provide those services that the small local unions could not be able to provide.

Glenn Watts, alias Clark Kent, carried out those traditions with strong, silent leadership. This brings back long and fond memories. As Chairman of the New York Plant Upstate/Downstate Bargaining Committee, Glenn merged two contracts that made our bargaining stronger.

Morty Bahr, our President, has been there in the most difficult, trying times for the union. The eighties and nineties have seen the most anti-labor organizing ever witnessed. From the top of our government to the corporate boardrooms in America, union bashing is a favorite sport.

We must remain strong and our union, under Morty's leadership, will debate the issues and will listen and carry out these assignments that are mandated by this Convention and the Conventions before us.

This is our union. It belongs to us, all of us. Protect it and nourish it.

Goodbye and God bless you. Thank you.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: We will miss you, Bill.

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Delegate J. C. Smith.

DELEGATE J.C. SMITH (Local 3218): If the delegates will please turn to page 11 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read Resolution No. 53A-91-11, entitled "Locals Funding Convention."

LOCALS FUNDING CONVENTION

Since 1978, Districts 1 and 2 have each hosted the annual convention one time. Districts 3, 4 and 13 have each hosted the annual convention two times, including the Special Convention, and District 3 is scheduled to host again in 1992. District 9 has hosted the annual convention six times and is scheduled for a seventh in 1993.

The International Union's choice of the annual convention site should not cause a repeated undue financial burden on the Locals. However, the Locals in the District hosting the annual convention currently bear all of the Host Committee expenses.

RESOLVED: Effective with the 1992 Annual Convention, costs of traditional Host Committee activities shall be shared by all Locals in the International Union through allocation from the International Convention budget. The amount of the allocation will be determined by mutual agreement between the Host Committee and the Office of the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union at least 60 days prior to convention.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-11, "Local Funding Convention".

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

DELEGATE JOSE A. DORADO (Local 3107): As the Host Local for the 1992 54th Annual Convention, needless to say, I support this resolution with a passion. (Laughter)

But not because we are the Host next year, but because it is only just and fair that the cost of any annual convention attended by all districts be shared by all districts.

We as a union support many causes and issues, and rightly so. Let's support each other, no matter what district is chosen to host the Annual Convention.

Host Wall To Wall. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 5, Delegate Becker.

DELEGATE TOM BECKER (Local 7800): Morty, I'm a little bit unclear on the language in the Resolved. Will the monies for the Host Committee activities come directly from the locals nationwide or from the existing International Convention budget?

PRESIDENT BAHR: From the budget.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE BECKER: What would be the approximate cost to the International budget?

PRESIDENT BAHR: Secretary-Treasurer Booe.

SECRETARY-TREASURER BOOE: Just judging from what I was told by the Host Committee here, the reception the other night cost \$22,000, and we expect that the dance broke even. So I would expect it would be in the \$20,000 to \$25,000 range.

DELEGATE BECKER: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 3, Delegate Dion.

DELEGATE DIANNE DION (Local 9426): President Bahr and Delegates: It is a privilege having the Convention in District 9, but it is expensive. These expenses, which include the cost for the reception and the Host gift, are paid with money that is assessed from the locals of the

district on a per capita basis.

In 11 years, District 9 has been your host six times, and the Convention will once more come to us in 1993, which is tentatively scheduled in Las Vegas, Nevada.

You can imagine the burden these assessments place on the locals of our district in drafting a resolution to solve this problem. Many avenues were explored for distributing expenses equitably.

I thank the Resolutions Committee and the Office of the Secretary-Treasurer for their help in writing this proposal. Please vote in support of Resolution No. 53A-91-11. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 1, Delegate Schultz.

DELEGATE JIM SCHULTZ (Local 9408): I call for the question. (Applause)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion has been made to close debate. It has been seconded from the floor. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Debate is closed.

. . . The following prepared remarks regarding Resolution No 53A-91-11 were presented to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings, as follows:

DELEGATE M. M. SMITH (Local 3204): I am M. M. Smith, Local 3204, Atlanta, Georgia, Chair of the 1992 Host Committee for the 54th Convention in Miami, Florida.

I was privileged to serve as your Host Committee Chair for the 1987 and 1988 Conventions in Miami and New Orleans. I still wake up in a cold sweat recalling the horrors of those bills and not knowing where the money would come from.

The job of hosting a convention requires a significant commitment of time and money and places a tremendous burden on the Locals and the District. The proceeds from the dance do not come close to covering these costs.

Most districts levy an assessment to help offset expenses. Any of you that bought a drink at the dance last night will have some idea of the costs of the reception, because the hotels charge us the same kind of prices.

Due to the limited number of cities able to accommodate our Conventions, some districts will incur more of the cost.

This resolution will ensure that everyone shares in the cost-- wall to wall.

Finally, I have a selfish reason for asking you to support this resolution. Next April we will come together in the sunny South on Miami Beach. I just can't face that stack of bills again without the assurance that I can get into Booe's checkbook. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of Resolution No. 53A-91-11 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

The Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Lois Grimes.

DELEGATE GRIMES: If the Delegates will please turn to Page 14 of the Resolutions Committee Report, I will read the Resolveds of Resolution 53A-91-14, "Statehood for the District of Columbia."

STATEHOOD FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The District of Columbia has well over 600,000 residents, a population greater than or equal to the states of Wyoming, Alaska, Vermont, Delaware and North Dakota. Those five states each have two senators and at least one congressional representative, but D.C. has only one delegate in the House of Representatives who does not have a vote.

The war for American independence was declared and fought for the principle that "taxation without representation" is tyranny.

D.C. residents pay over a billion dollars annually in taxes to the federal treasury-- more total taxes than eight states. The per capita tax paid by D.C. residents is \$500 above the national average and higher than the taxes of residents in 46 states.

Residents of D.C. have fought and died in every war since the Revolutionary War. During the Vietnam War, D.C. had more casualties than ten states and more killed per capita than 47 states. During Operation Desert Storm, D.C. had more reservists called into active duty than 18 states and more troops per capita than 45 states.

Statehood for D.C. does not require a constitutional amendment and ratification by the states. Congress can establish statehood for D.C. by a simple majority vote in both houses of congress, the same process which was used for admission of all the other states into the Union.

RESOLVED: The 53rd Annual CWA Convention encourages a letter-writing campaign by all locals to their senators and congresspersons urging support of H.R. 2482 "The New Columbia Statehood Act of 1991" now pending in Congress; and

RESOLVED: That CWA make D.C. statehood an issue in the upcoming federal elections.

Mr. President, the Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 53A-91-14, "Statehood for the District of Columbia."

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. Seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Stewart-Ware.

DELEGATE BLONDELL STEWART-WARE (Local 2300): Sisters and Brothers, my name is Blondell Stewart-Ware, and I am President of Local 2300, Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, the capital of the free world, where we have taxation without representation, which truly makes us the last colony.

I submitted this resolution for D.C. statehood because there are 115 nations which allow their citizens of the capital city representation in the national legislature. However, in the Year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Ninety-One here in the United States of America, the cradle of democracy, the champion for human rights around the world, denies the citizens of Washington, D. C., our nation's capital, representation and a vote in Congress, a right every other American citizen takes for granted.

The war for independence was declared and our great nation was founded on the principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny." The citizens of our nation's capital have fought and died in every war since the War for Independence. In Vietnam, D.C. had more casualties than ten states and more killed per capita than 47 states. With the advent of Operation Desert Storm, D.C. had more reservists called into active duty than 18 states and more troops per capita than 45 states.

We have paid our dues. (Applause)

And speaking of paying, the citizens who reside in our nation's capital and have no say in how their tax dollars are used pay over \$1 billion a year in federal taxes, which is more taxes than 8 states pay. And the per capita tax paid is \$500 above the national average, making it more than the taxes of residents in 46 states.

Despite paying first class taxes, we are treated as second class citizens. (Applause)

It is unconscionable that the President sent half a million troops, many of whom were from Washington, D.C.--

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE STEWART-WARE: --to liberate Kuwait and defend the super rich sultans of Arabia. Yet, he does not support the liberation and democracy of the citizens in our nation's capital, our own country, who fought in the war.

George Bush lives in D.C., too; but, then, he claims to be a Texan, so he has two senators and a congressman.

Statehood for D.C. has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO and the 1984 National Democratic Convention, held here in San Francisco, as well as the 1988 Democratic Convention, held in Atlanta, Georgia. The last national poll showed 66 percent of Republicans and 71 percent of Democrats in support of statehood.

Brothers and Sisters, as we in the Labor Movement literally are fighting for survival--

. . . At this point in the remarks of Delegate Stewart-Ware time was called and the microphone was shut off. The balance of her prepared remarks were submitted for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

DELEGATE STEWART-WARE: --statehood for D.C. will add two pro labor senators and one or two representatives to help in the fight to protect workers, jobs, benefits and our families, thereby moving us closer to achieving the economic and social justice that we seek.

As we approach the 4th of July, Independence Day, let us not forget that we celebrate only because the American people took a stand against taxation without representation. As we prepare to celebrate Independence Day, keep in mind there is still a colony in our great nation, the land of the free and home of the brave. It is the last colony, our nation's capital, Washington, D.C.

I urge you to support the resolution because taxation without representation is tyranny and contradictory to what America stands for. Thank you. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Butler-Truesdale.

DELEGATE SANDRA BUTLER-TRUESDALE (Local 2336): I want to amend the resolution. On line 20 strike the words "an issue" and insert "priority concern."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the amendment. Is there a second?

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. You may speak on it.

DELEGATE BUTLER-TRUESDALE: Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters, I salute the flag of the United States of America, but I can salute the flag of the United States of America if it had one more star on it for Washington, D.C. (Applause)

This is a priority concern. I am Delegate Sandra Butler-Truesdale, and I rise to represent the last colony.

I am a fourth generation Washingtonian, whose family has remained in Washington, D.C., and I myself, who loves my hometown, have not forsaken it for the suburbs.

I, along with many others, remain to fight for this priority-- freedom and justice in Washington, D.C.

Every year I come to this Convention and minority conference and ask CWA's support for

D.C. statehood. I, a native Washingtonian, have no rights. I pay more taxes per capita than many of you pay in your home state, more than 46 states pay, and taxation without representation is tyranny.

The people that you will hear speak against this bill should be tried and convicted of rape. They come to D.C. daily. They pay no taxes in D.C. They take home large paychecks. They spend little or no money in D.C. Some of them even bring their lunch to keep from sharing their moneys in D.C. When they leave D.C. in the evenings, they leave potholes, litter and do not contribute to the pursestrings or towards taxes for repair or trash collections.

I live on the last plantation. We are enslaved by those who live in the counties and think that they should control the District. It is apartheid. Study it and compare it. Listen carefully to their opposing views. Listen carefully. Today, Brothers and Sisters, I come to you as an elected official of the District of Columbia, with this priority issue, who does not have a voting delegate in Congress. I came to you as an elected official who has two shadow senators, nonvoting, who do not get paid a salary; neither do they have a budget.

I come to you as a citizen of the United States of America who has a nonvoting representative, who receives no salary and has no budget.

Yes, this is a priority concern. It is incredible that citizens have been in D.C. for two hundred years, and this is our bicentennial year, and are not classified as first-class citizens. It is incredible that suburbanites can come to D.C. and be first-class citizens, because they have statehood. It is incredible that they can use commuter taxes as a concern or an issue. It is incredible that Washingtonians are constantly told that now is not the time for integration, not the time for equal jobs, not the time for fair and decent housing, not the time for statehood, but for taxation. It is incredible that when Jesse Jackson decided to run for President, they cried, "Now is not the time." Well, if now is not the time, when the hell is the time?

I have been in Washington, D.C. 51 years, and I have no representation. So tell me, when is it time?

Not only that, but my family has lived in Washington, D.C. for 115 years, some 110 years in the same home, without representation. They tell me now is not the time? They tell my daughter now is not the time. They told my great grandmother, "Now is not the time." They are now going to tell my grandchildren, "Now is not the time."

Tell me then, when is the time for me to have representation? When is it time if this is not the time?

Brothers and Sisters, we had better wake up, because now is the time for D.C. to have statehood. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment, on Microphone No. 4, Delegate Sonnik.

ALTERNATE WILLIAM G. SONNIK III (Local 2105): I deeply resent being characterized a racist or a supporter of apartheid by being against this ill-conceived, untimely and unfair resolution.

To every issue there is an upside and a downside. On the issue of D.C. statehood there is both an upside and a downside.

First the upside. There will be two more Democratic senators and at least one Democratic representative in the Congress. That is it. The only apparent upside I can see.

Now for the downside, or downsides.

We are all familiar with the phenomenon of businesses fleeing to the suburbs when taxes in the urban areas become unbearable. We are assured this will happen if the State of New Columbia comes into existence as a taxing authority. This will hurt our members and the general public.

We have been assured that a commuter tax will not happen. But, as the federal government offices go to suburban Maryland and Virginia and, yes, even to nearby West Virginia, where will the necessary tax revenues come from?

A commuter tax will have to be enacted on the people coming in to the District to work from the Maryland, D.C. and Virginia and West Virginia suburbs. This will hurt our members and the general public.

When Maryland and Virginia then enact their own taxes on D.C. commuters, this will also hurt our members and the general public.

Let us turn back to the upside for just a moment. What kind of Democrats will the newly elected senators and representatives be? Democrats certainly. But the Democratic Party in the District of Columbia ranges from Republicans like Jesse Helms to Ted Kennedy type liberals-- somewhere in between, I am sure. But we are not guaranteed liberal Democratic senators.

The Democratic Party in the District of Columbia is changing, like the Democratic Party everywhere.

The point is that we cannot be sure that we will in fact get labor supporters.

This resolution does something, if passed, that CWA in Convention assembled, has never done before. We will be voting to hurt our own members and members of the general public to no purpose whatever.

Vote "no" on Resolution 53A-91-14, statehood-- the amendment. I am sorry. "Statehood for the District of Columbia." Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is no one else desiring to speak on the amendment so I will put the amendment before you.

DELEGATE SANDRA BUTLER-TRUESDALE: He was not speaking on the amendment. He was speaking on the resolution.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Well, he has already concluded so if he was out of order I apologize.

DELEGATE BUTLER-TRUESDALE: Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On the amendment, on line 20, delete the words "an issue" and substituting "priority concerns." All those in favor of the amendment indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is adopted.

On the motion as amended, on Microphone No. 4, Delegate Agnew.

DELEGATE MICHAEL M. AGNEW (Local 2336): I rise in opposition to this resolution. Brothers and Sisters, the resolution before you is more than a voting rights issue. This issue asks you to support legislation now before Congress that, if passed, would change the shape of our nation's capital forever.

In order for you to vote on this resolution, you need to understand the following. The site of our nation's capital today was, in fact, part of Virginia and Maryland in the late 1700's.

In 1790 Virginia and Maryland ceded their respective properties and the voting rights of those citizens in those respective properties to Congress to form what is the present permanent seat of government. According to the terms of the secession, the District was, "to be forever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and Government of the Union States in full and absolute right and exclusive jurisdiction." Congress moved to its present site in December of 1800 and since that date, for almost 200 years, people have moved freely into and out of the District, knowing full well the restrictions on their voting rights. This I might add has not discouraged the city's growth.

In addition, the present legislation that proponents of statehood have introduced would take the capital, Washington Monument and other national treasures and buildings and create a

separate enclave surrounded by the new State of Columbia. This would be like the state taking away from your hometown, the city square, city hall, post office and court house and creating a new city or county. How would you react or feel about that action? You would be upset and mad as hell and fight back just as we are fighting to preserve our nation's capital as our founding brothers intended it to be.

You must further understand that your nation's capital is a federal city and therefore funded largely with your tax dollars. It's also important to know that D.C.'s largest employer is the federal government, with law firms, lobbyists and associations filling in the majority of other employment. With the passage of statehood legislation, Congress would no longer be required to fund the city, leaving a tremendous income void. D.C. has no industry, crops, manufacturing or shipping to fill that void. Therefore it would have to pass a commuter tax on the hundreds of thousands of people who commute each day to work in the District from Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. While this kind of tax is common in other cities such as New York and Philadelphia, business in the District has already stated in no uncertain terms that if a commuter tax was enacted, they would leave the city for more reasonable accommodations in the surrounding Virginia and Maryland suburbs.

What we would have left, brothers and sisters, is our nation's capital relegated to within its own walls, surrounded by a new state with an area less than 17 square miles, with little or no business and no federal support. In fact the federal government would no longer be obligated to remain in the district. They could be free to move to any area in our country which promised the most favorable environment in which to operate.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Nelson.

DELEGATE GERALD L. NELSON (Local 4100): My question concerns the ethnic racial make-up of the City of D.C. at this point in time. Is it true that D.C. is approximately 80 percent minority and women?

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is somewhere around two-thirds minority, yes.

You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE NELSON: I think my second question has been answered in the debate, but I will ask it anyway. There is a fear about commuter taxes. I wonder if there is any documentation or evidence to substantiate that?

PRESIDENT BAHR: I am sure, as a resident of D.C.-- and I have seen companies threaten, as companies always threaten, against legislation they do not want. Will they carry it out? We don't know. But what they are saying is correct. The threats are there; but the threats are there all the time.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Galery.

DELEGATE AUDRELL E. GALERY (Local 2336): President Bahr, Brothers and Sisters: I rise before you today in favor of this resolution. As a native of Washington, D.C., I am aware that this is a volatile issue with our neighbors, the residents of the states of Maryland and Virginia. I have heard their arguments that when land was given by Maryland and Virginia for the purpose of establishing D.C., that an agreement was reached to take away the right of D.C. residents to vote. Since the residents know that their rights to vote are limited, then they should accept the fact they are not entitled to vote in all areas; there should be no changes; let them move to the suburbs to get the right to vote. In addition, their concern is that they may have to pay commuter taxes, that jobs are leaving D.C. as the result of commuter taxes, that businesses are leaving now because of this and if it's invoked, businesses will escalate their exodus to the suburbs.

Let me address the concerns. As a resident of the nation's capital, I am aware of the exodus of businesses from the city. We do not have a commuter's tax and businesses have been moving for the past twenty years and now parts of the federal government also.

The suburbs have been actively competing for those businesses since the 1968 riots. So it isn't true that the mere thought of D.C. being a state brings thoughts of increased taxes and is therefore harmful. There has been talk of a "commuter tax," but D.C. nor any other state has been unreasonable if it would be harmful to the economy of the area. The Council of Governments was assembled for this purpose. I am not in favor of this tax, this must be the area of compromise. C&P Telephone Company warned the city representatives of the union that it would move its headquarters from the city if its taxes were increased. Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon and City Council recently levied a tax increase against all three utilities, gas, electric, and telephone companies. This occurred in spite of our lobbying efforts in 1991. This particular tax will have a direct effect on telephone company workers.

The argument that D.C. residents do not deserve the right to vote because of any agreement is hogwash, because we are constantly interpreting, and modifying our laws to improve them. Is it not reasonable to do this as well? If we feel that we shouldn't make changes, why is it that we became Americans instead of remaining British subject? We cannot take snapshots of history and apply it selectively to any situation. It is not acceptable.

I agree there are no industries in D.C.; they were forced to move in the early 1900s. However, the federal government and all other businesses that are in D.C. provide goods and services to those who reside in the Metropolitan Area. We are dependent on each other. We must not fight over this issue, but we must join in together to accomplish something that we can all live with. Lastly, the size or area of Washington D.C. surely couldn't be the basis for not making this a state. If this is of concern, we must look at the United States military sending our troops to fight and die for Kuwait--

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE GALERY: --not U.S. territory, but a tiny country that was occupied by Iraq.

I ask that you consider yourself in the same situation as a citizen in the District of Columbia and analyze all the facts, the facts at hand, and I am sure you will vote for this resolution to preserve the rights of all men and women in this great country. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone No. 4, Delegate Pappas.

DELEGATE JAMES G. PAPPAS (Local 2336): Let me say that I am a native Washingtonian and, like most of you, I want the best for the city that I love.

Everything that you have heard here so far is true. Washingtonians do pay taxes. they do die in wars. And they do not have a voting Senator or a Congressman. But there is more to this story than the makers of the motion are telling you.

What they are asking you to do is create a state which will be approximately 67 square miles. Many of you have farms back home bigger than that. (Laughter) But size is not the issue here. The question is what kind of a state would we create and what would be the impact of just such a state?

We would be creating a state which is \$300 million in debt at this very moment, with little chance of ever being solvent, in spite of the fact they receive one-third of their operating budget from your tax dollars.

I raise the issue of debt because in order to survive, New Columbia will have to impose a commuter tax. A commuter tax is an income tax on those who commute from the suburbs to the city to work.

Most of my members commute from the suburbs. Our companies have already said they will move to the suburbs where they can get two to four years' free lease, free parking, better roads, closer to their employees' homes, and more amenities.

Our companies will move our jobs and our members from Washington to the very suburbs in the shadow of the nation's "Right-to-Work-for-Less" Committee headquarters.

This is no idle threat, Brothers and Sisters. As the other side has told you, they are already doing it.

If the issue is no taxation without representation, as they claim, let me ask you this: What is fair or different about a commuter tax when those who pay cannot vote on how that money is collected or spent?

D.C. statehood does not solve your problem of taxation without representation. It merely shifts it.

When our founding fathers agreed to create a neutral territory for the seat of our government, Washington, D.C. was willing to give up having a Senator or Congressman in exchange for enormous advantages of having the power and the money of the Federal Government located there.

If D.C. becomes a state, wouldn't every state have a legitimate claim to their share of the wealth? Why should one state, New Columbia, or Montana, or New York, or any other state have it all? Washington could become a wasteland of potholes and monuments.

Brothers and Sisters, the D.C. residents are right, they do need a voice. They do need to vote. But they need to survive as a community also. There is a legitimate problem, but statehood is not the solution.

Yes, you have heard that D.C. statehood will give us two more Democrats in the Senate, and that is probably true. In D.C. we are Democratic, wall to wall. We have a Democratic city government which does not honor its labor agreements, potholes big enough to be tourist attractions, a school system and public services in shambles, and our crime rate is legendary.

Yes, we have some Democrats for you, Brothers and Sisters.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE PAPPAS: There are honest differences of opinion here, and I respect the opinion of the other side-- some who are my good friends. But I ask you to recognize that this convention is not the proper forum for arguing gun control, abortion, D.C. statehood, or a host of other controversial and emotional issues. (Applause)

Let me give you the good news. New Columbia will be able to vote; but the bad news is there won't be much to vote for. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Schellin.

DELEGATE MARC A. SCHELLIN (Local 2336): I call the question. (Applause and cheers)

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of the motion to close debate indicate by raising their hand. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. The debate is closed.

. . . The following written remarks regarding Resolution No. 53A-91-14 were submitted to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings, as follows:

DELEGATE MARION MCBRIDE (Local 2336): Brother and Sister trade unionists: for 42 years I've lived and been raised in the great city of Washington, D.C. For 23 of those years I have worked and paid taxes there. In those years I've seen many of my friends and relatives lose their lives in police action, the Vietnam War and the Gulf War. These people gave their very best for their country and their hometown, Washington, D.C.

These people, as well as myself, were able to vote for Presidents and in recent years for a Senator and a Congressperson. We voted for a Senator who has no seat; a Senator who can only argue on my behalf in hallways and/or bathrooms. We voted for a Congressperson who cannot speak on the floor for what we, the residents of Washington, the District of Columbia

would want her or him to speak for.

In grade school, we were taught about the marvelous Boston Tea Party, and it was about people who didn't live here taxing the Bostonians without giving them a voice, without representation.

Much the same thing is happening to Washington residents. Other people who have a seated representative in the House and Senate, people who affect change in their state without congressional approval, are telling us we don't need these things.

Knowing what you know about my fellow residents of Washington, D.C. is this great union, who strives and works so hard for equity for all, are you now going to vote to deny my fellow residents the right to representation? I implore you to support us in our struggle for the basic right to representation. Please support this resolution. Thank you.

DELEGATE NADINE COX (Local 9408): President Bahr, Brothers and Sisters, I rise in support of this resolution. I am proud to be a Local Officer in District 9 and also to have the facilities to accommodate our great Conventions and share our hospitality with you. But, as we know, the cost continues to rise. The burden of the expense of these Conventions has always fallen to the Host Locals.

We, as Unionists, have always been proud to be example-setters in being fair and believe in paying our own way. Let us continue this proud tradition by supporting this resolution in fairness to all in our great Union. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: In front of us is Resolution No. 53A-91-14. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by a like sign. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

The Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR HILL: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Delegate John Ebeling.

DELEGATE JOHN J. EBELING (Local 14616): If the Delegates will please turn to page 16 of the Resolutions Committee report, I will read the Resolved of Resolution No. 53A-91-16 entitled "Bargaining Rights for Retirees."

BARGAINING RIGHTS FOR RETIREES

For too long, retired union members have been shortchanged by the companies for whom they have spent their whole lives working. Retirees helped to build these same companies. As a result of their labor, they expected, as a right, to be able to retire with economic security and dignity. But for many, that dream has turned into a nightmare.

One of the reasons, among many, for this situation is the fact that retirees have been denied the opportunity to bargain collectively for their retiree benefits.

In October of 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the Allied Chemical and Alkali Workers in their effort to represent the retirees of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company in enforcing their retirement benefits. That ruling has been applied to all retirees.

As a result, once a worker who has been actively represented by a labor union leaves a company, he or she, in effect, becomes a prisoner of the "charity" of that same company. They lose the muscle and clout that a collectively bargained contract gives them.

No longer do they have a union that can help them weather the economic realities that constantly erode their pensions. No longer do they have the union to stop the companies' attempts to shift the costs of health care onto their already burdened backs.

The only solution to their growing problem is to enact a law that would overturn the Supreme Court decision. Such legislation, H.R. 128, was introduced in the Congress earlier this year by the late Representative Silvio Conte (R-MA).

RESOLVED: That this 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America fully supports Congressional efforts to permit unions to bargain collectively for the retirement benefits of their retired members. Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution No. 53A-91-16, "Bargaining Rights for Retirees."

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. It has been seconded.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Gadzinski.

DELEGATE GLORIA GADZINSKI (Local 1100): Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters: I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-16. How ironic it is, some 28 years ago I became an employee of the New York Telephone Company. My friends and family congratulated me. They said, "The New York Tel cared about their employees." They said that New York Tel had great benefits. They said that New York Tel took good care of their retirees. Wow. How times have changed.

Retirees were the backbone of our Union. They paved the road for the better life for all of us. How will we reward them? Today, as I grow closer and closer to retirement, I feel more and more vulnerable. Today, my fellow workers keep putting off retirement because of the cost shifting language in the NYNEX contract. Today, my fellow workers have come to realize that in a floundering economy it will be difficult making ends meet on the measly pension; and yet, hanging over their heads is the threat of cost shifting.

My fellow Brothers and Sisters, this is immoral. That is why we must not only protect our current employees, but we must protect our retirees as well. We must not allow employers alone to shape and mold the lifestyle of our retirees. Therefore, I urge that at this 53rd Annual Convention we rise to support the Congressional efforts to permit unions to bargain collectively for retirement benefits. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Rita Biondo.

DELEGATE RITA BIONDO (Local 16100): Thank you, Morty. Brothers and Sisters: My name is Rita Biondo, CWA District 1 Executive Board, also Secretary-Treasurer of the CWA Retired Members Council, Local 16100. I stand in support of this resolution 53A-91-16 and bring the support of our CWA Retired Members Council to this resolution.

We, the retired members of this great Union, have helped in the past to fight for and bring about many of the benefits which have been won for all of you. Now, in a way that they rarely did in the past, corporations and the public sector employers have refused to bargain with our Union for our retirees. We are left at the mercy of the employer, public and private, when it comes to increasing our pensions, increasing our benefits and resolving our complaints, especially in the field of health care.

Every day there are many problems retirees are challenged with in getting their health care bills paid. They are being denied benefits they are entitled to because of problems with coding, red tape, inefficiencies, et cetera. The companies should be made to check into these problems and get them resolved, rather than push them aside as if older retirees were senile. We deserve a vision plan.

We believe retirees deserve a yearly cost of living increase so that they can keep up with inflation. Some of our retirees are living on pensions of as little as \$200 a month. They need to be brought up to an amount that is livable. Retirees deserve more payroll deduction options from their pensions, such as the ability to have dues deducted from their pension check for the CWA Retired Members Council or any other check-off dues that they would like.

When we try to present these requests to our bargaining committees, we are told that the company refused to bargain with our Union for retirees. We need legislation to overturn the Supreme Court decision that ruled against the Union in their efforts to represent the retirees in enforcing their retirement benefits. We need to be able to have our Union consult with us, and

then to bargain for retirees. They won these benefits for us. We would like our Union to protect them for us and for you when you retire.

Please support this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone no. 1, Delegate Bahma.

DELEGATE BOB BAHMA (Local 7200): Call the previous question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of the motion to close debate indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. Debate is closed.

We have before us Resolution 16. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed, by like sign. It is adopted.

The chairman of the committee.

CHAIR HILL: The Chair recognizes Delegate J. C. Smith.

DELEGATE SMITH: If the Delegates will please turn to the Supplemental Report of the Resolutions Committee, I will read the Resolved of Resolution 53A -91-19, entitled "Malcolm Baldrige Award."

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

THE MALCOLM BALDRIDGE AWARD

The Malcolm Baldrige Award is one of America's most prestigious awards for outstanding commitment to quality. AT&T, and its Chairman, Robert Allen, have made it clear that winning the Malcolm Baldrige Award is a top priority. The Award criteria are rigorous, with an emphasis on systems for quality improvement and not just quality achievements.

Consideration is given to the following seven categories.

- Leadership - The Senior management's success in creating and sustaining a quality culture.
- Information and Analysis - The effectiveness of the company's collection and analysis of information for quality improvement.
- Planning - The effectiveness of integration of quality requirements into the company's business plans.
- Human Resource Utilization - The success of the company's efforts to utilize the full potential of the work force for quality.
- Quality Assurance - The effectiveness of the company's system for assuring quality control of all operations.
- Quality Assurance Results - The company's results in quality achievement and quality improvement, demonstrated through quantitative measures.
- Customer Satisfaction - The effectiveness of the company's systems to determine customer requirements and demonstrated success in meeting them.

While there are some locations where AT&T seeks to involve the work force in the development of a system that will ensure a quality product or service, we feel that overall, the company fails to meet acceptable standards in all seven categories in the following ways.

- Leadership - The culture created by corporate management has left the employees fearful for their jobs and suspicious of the company's constantly changing plans. The creation of

21 separate business units, each pulling in its own separate way, pits one part of the company against another and highlights the company's commitment to cost reduction over quality service.

- Information and Analysis - While AT&T collects vast amounts of information about the goods and service we produce, they seem to be unable to generate an analysis which gives the individual worker a larger role in the improvement of the quality of the product or service.
- Planning - AT&T's failure in this area has been startling. Quality has taken a backseat to almost every other aspect of corporate planning. Needless centralizations, constant changing of directions, and the continuous restructure of the corporation has worked directly against the development of any system of quality improvement.
- Human Resources Utilization - AT&T appears to have no facility for the proper use of existing human resources. Employees are laid off or forced into retirement and then rehired as subcontractors. Work is constantly "functionalized" and broken into smaller and smaller pieces. Workers are allowed to do only one part of the job even when the company and the customers would be better served with more complete jobs. The AT&T tradition of constant training and employee development appears to have been completely abandoned.
- Quality Assurance and Quality Assurance Results - The measures developed by AT&T to assure quality tend to deal with quantity but fail to address the issues of quality service. The company confuses the number of customer contacts with the quality of each contact. The emphasis in the work place is on quality through greater productivity and management control rather than better service and great worker autonomy.
- Customer Satisfaction - AT&T has long used a system of customer telephone interviews to determine the level of customer satisfaction. While this system continues to generate good data, AT&T appears to use the information for the development of marketing strategies and television commercials, rather than the development of quality service systems. Customer resistance to new systems and discontent with slow turnaround times on trouble reports are addressed with advertising campaigns rather than the focus of customer service improvement plans.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America, as the major representative of the employees of AT&T, takes the position that AT&T is not qualified and does not deserve the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award.

That the delegates of 53rd annual convention, on behalf of over 500,000 CWA members, make the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award Committee aware of AT&T's deplorable attitude toward customer service and their systematic retreat from full employee involvement in the delivery of quality service.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America International Executive Board use whatever means at its disposal to communicate this position to the public.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of 53A-91-19, "The Malcolm Baldrige Award." (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

. . . The motion was duly seconded . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: It is seconded. And on Microphone No. 3, Delegate Walsh.

DELEGATE KIKI WALSH (Local 1023): President Bahr, Sisters and Brothers, I rise to speak on behalf of supporting Resolution 53A-91-19.

AT&T and its chairman Robert Allen have made it perfectly clear that winning the Malcolm Baldrige Award is its top priority.

The award is one of America's most prestigious awards for outstanding commitment to

quality. The criteria are broken into seven categories: Leadership, Information and Analysis, Planning, Human Resources Utilization, Quality Assurance, Quality Assurance Results, and Customer Satisfaction.

How can AT&T have quality in their leadership or human resources utilization when all they have displayed is a total disregard for our Brothers and Sisters, their employees, with massive downsizing, forced retirements and contracting out work. All they have been able to do is instill in our Sister and Brothers fear and suspicion. Needless to say, AT&T's failure in the area of planning has been so startling that it has taken a back seat to quality. Customer satisfaction cannot be attained by virtue of downsizing and lack of planning. I feel that over-all the company fails to meet even acceptable standards in any one of the seven categories.

Yesterday, Brothers and Sisters, I heard that at Merrimack Valley Works in North Andover, Massachusetts there was a mock site visit. Yesterday's visit was a practice drill for the real visit by the award committee to be made in September.

Now, I ask you how many practices should be necessary by a company that claims they are providing quality this or quality that. None.

Incidentally, our Brothers and Sisters of Locals 1365 and 1366 did openly express their concerns with informational picketing regarding contracting out of trade jobs and contracting out of product jobs, much to the company's dismay. Congratulations to you Brothers and Sisters of 1356 and 1366.

So, on behalf of over 500,000 CWA members, I feel it is imperative to make the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award Committee aware that AT&T does not--I repeat DOES NOT--deserve its award.

. . . Applause, cheers, whistles and prolonged chanting of "Wall to Wall" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 5, Delegate Fazio.

DELEGATE JOHN FAZIO (Local 1060): I would like to ask what kind of award would be appropriate for AT&T? (Laughter and applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me perhaps respond in this --

. . . A general commotion ensued . . .

DELEGATE FAZIO: I can't hear you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me perhaps respond in this way, that I couldn't think of anything that could be done to make the award more meaningless than to even consider AT&T for it, much less give it to them. (Applause and cheers)

I take that as your first and second questions.

DELEGATE FAZIO: No. I would like to ask another one. Because I am from the militant Bell Labs Local, would it be appropriate to give AT&T the "Shame On You" award?

Shame on you (Directed at the AT&T observers in the balcony). Shame on you. Shame on you.

. . . The Delegates commenced chanting "Shame on you" . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Serafin.

DELEGATE WALTER SERAFIN (Local 1060): On Monday I screwed up, because I didn't time my speech, but I guarantee you, Morty, that I will be out of here before that red light comes on.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Okay.

DELEGATE SERAFIN: We stand in support of Resolution 53A-91-19, the Malcolm Baldrige Award, and we will do everything in our power to see to it that the Baldrige Award is not received by AT&T. (Applause and cheers)

They will have to buy it to get it.

My thoughts regard a more decisive action which hopefully can be done without an amendment, but done in good conscience.

I would ask of our International to take immediate action by boycotting the Common Interest Forum with AT&T until all of our Brothers and Sisters that are injured as a result of their mobilization activities are made whole and the Jacksonville resolutions are realized with satisfaction to the Union. (Applause)

We are absolutely outraged by the apathy and indifference, the blatant disregard for our contract language, the hostile attitude shown to the officers and stewards of our Local by Bell Labs' management at Murray Hill, New Jersey. Our emotional scars may not heal so quickly, but at least those of us who are suffering as a result of our mobilization activities may be able to rest a little easier knowing our International Union is also outraged and will stand united with us. There is so much more we can do, but we have to do it together.

I truly hope that the logo hanging above the stage is more than just an ornament. Let's get into action and let's get into action now.

Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Upton.

DELEGATE MICHAEL UPTON (Local 2202): Morty, if I just may, before I move the question, I would suggest to our undistinguished visitors in the gallery that there are over two thousand Delegates here today that will tell them hat kind of award they do deserve.

On that note, I move the question. (Applause and cheers and chanting)

PRESIDENT BAHR: From your response, I would take it that you have agreed to close debate. (Laughter) Debate is closed.

. . . The following prepared remarks regarding Resolution 53A-91-19 were submitted to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings, as follows:

DELEGATE JANINE BROWN (Local 3250): I rise in support of Resolution 53A-91-19, the Malcolm Baldrige Award. We must not, we cannot sit by idly and watch AT&T steal the prestigious Malcolm Baldrige Award. This award, given by the National Chamber of Commerce, is coveted by all businesses in America. It symbolizes quality and the ideal "American way of doing business."

AT&T may have "America" in its name but its actions don't. Its continued neglect of its workers and their communities are examples of the worst type of corporate behavior. The continued movement of jobs overseas and across the border robs us of our American way of life.

The elimination of our top paid bargaining unit jobs and continual shifting of work to unorganized subsidiaries robs us of our American way of life. The constant reorganizing and consolidations force our members to become AT&T migrant workers chasing jobs across the country, uprooting their families from communities, parents, grandparents and other family members they love. This is not the American way.

Our country needs good jobs, strong communities and families. We need jobs here not in Singapore or Mexico.

We do not need AT&T and other businesses like them awarded for failing to be socially responsible employers. Cadillac received the award last year. They have a good relationship with the U.A.W. Folks, let me tell you, AT&T ain't no Cadillac.

Support this resolution and do all you can to show American business that unless they act in the "American spirit" of decent jobs here they won't be getting awards in our country.

DELEGATE ANN PRINCIOTTA (Local 1023): I rise to support the resolution. AT&T has various programs to train their managers in employee management, one of which was called Project Miracle. The program was supposed to teach management how to work in cooperation with their workers as a team.

Instead, the result has been managers that have the attitude that they are to do everything they can to bring back the 19th century into the workplace. Their attitude is that we will treat our workers any way we want.

Management holds every one of our members lives and futures hostage with the threat of layoffs hanging over their heads as an axe, never knowing when that axe will be used against them.

The NCR employees may think they are safe because their new owner, AT&T, has promised to lay off AT&T employees. They will soon learn that AT&T does not honor their commitments. As new owners, they will lay off employees and then exploit the remaining workforce more profitably than the old owners.

We cannot allow AT&T to hoodwink the Award Committee and allow this prestigious award to be given to a company that continues to destroy the lives of our members.

Support this resolution. Thank you. . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of Resolution 19, please stand.

. . . The Delegates arose, applauded, chanted "Wall to Wall" and raised their fists in defiance
. . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: The resolution is adopted.

At this time I will discharge the Resolutions Committee with the thanks and appreciation of the Convention. (Applause)

I want to recognize now two points of personal privilege. First, at Microphone No. 2, Delegate Kambeitz, Local 9423.

DELEGATE TERRI KAMBEITZ (Local 9423): The Executive Board has consistently attempted to schedule Conventions on a biennial basis, with, in my opinion, the intent to carry on what should be Convention business, but without Convention action. In other words, with the Board conducting business in between Conventions.

With the failure of those attempts, the Board has since orchestrated with the same motivation shorter duration of Convention.

In addition, this year A.M. Workshops and Seminars were scheduled preempting the regular Convention agenda. It is my feeling that this great Union must get back to business, as our members expect, and in line with Article III of the Constitution, "to unionize, organize, educate, and to do all things necessary and proper to secure for all workers the enjoyment of their natural rights."

To expect us to accomplish this in three days obviously impacts our ability to do so. (Applause and cheers)

If it is necessary to have a five-day Convention, then so be it. (Applause)

. . . The following prepared remarks regarding scheduling of Convention business were presented to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

DELEGATE MADELYNN WILSON (Local 7818): Local 7818 would like to see the schedule of events for the Convention changed to include all the events in sequential order.

We also would like a schedule of events beforehand in a timely manner. As first-time delegates to the Convention, the schedule of events was very confusing and did not include every and all events. Even if you write on it, "Subject to Change." . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 2, Delegate Hart.

DELEGATE KARIN HART (Local 9415): Brothers and Sisters, I know the hour is late. President Bahr, I rise to a point of privilege, to make an appeal to my delegates, on behalf of my TCI Cablevision members here in the Bay Area.

They were saddened by the death of their co-worker, Roy Lackey. In the early hours of Monday, June 17, 1991, Brother Lackey died from a heart attack at the age of 68. Brother Lackey was there at the beginning of the original cable system that was built in Sunnyvale 20 years ago. When the workers organized to form a Union, Roy joined, without hesitation. He participated here in the Bay Area in two CWA strikes against TCI Cablevision for better benefits and working conditions and compensation.

The first strike was in the early '70s, before Local 9455 merged with Local 9415. This merger that happened right after their strike truly made my Local an amalgamated Local of cable TV workers, interconnect workers, Local telephone and long distance, long-line workers.

For the cable TV and networkers, our Local is involved directly in their negotiations and with representatives at the bargaining table, elected directly from their workforce.

It has been the absence of a retirement plan and TCI's blatant attempt to cost shift health care costs that has been the focus of our current ongoing negotiations with this greedy cable television giant, TCI.

Roy's co-workers wanted me to let you know that he was their everyday, visual reminder of why they need a pension plan and retirement plan, as workers in the cable TV industry everywhere do. He has always been a good Union member, taking the time to explain to younger, new workers, perhaps in their first job with the Union, why they needed to have a Union, keep a Union, and be Union.

Brothers and Sisters, my appeal is to you to participate in the type of mutual aid we have told these TCI members here that Unions are all about.

There was no pension plan for Roy to enjoy a normal retirement at 65.

I cannot help but think that he would have retired three long years ago, to spend more time to take care of his wife Trudy, who survives him. She is disabled and can only get around with the use of a walker.

What we are asking you to do is to contribute to our fund for her, to pass the hat. Almost every delegate here has a pension plan, something that's vested.

This morning I learned that TCI had the audacity to retire Brother Lackey's truck number. They could retire his truck number, but they wouldn't give him a pension plan while he lived.

Brothers and Sisters, we'd like to ask you if we could pass the hat for his wife Trudy.
(Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes. The Sergeant-at-Arms will do so.

DELEGATE HART: Thank you, Morty.

PRESIDENT BAHR: I would at this time like to place something in the record and get your support after I read it.

The 1990-91 negotiations with United Tel has been successfully concluded, with the exception of United of New Jersey. The New Jersey contract expired on May 14; the company would not agree to extend the agreement, and has canceled payroll deductions of union dues.

Our members are responding to this the way you would expect. Everyone is paying by cash dues. (Applause)

And one of the major sticking points is the company's attempt to modify the contract, to permit the greater use of contract labor.

So I would hope that with your applause, and as it appears in the Convention record, that these members back home know they had the full support of their Union.

. . . The delegates arose and applauded at length . . .

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much.

Brother Steve Tisza of Local 4250 would like to put a motion before this Convention, to play the tape that was referred to.

I would request your concurrence for the inclusion of a transcript of the tape as part of the record of this Convention so that you will be able to read it and it be a part of the record.

In addition, President Watts has told me since he was President at the time of the incident, that he's available to talk to anyone, because he was part of the discussions that took place with regard to that incident.

I put that proposition before you. (Applause)

Is there support to play it now? (Applause)

Then it will be included in the record. (Applause)

The majority of the Convention, Steve, has agreed to include it, a transcript. It will be included as a transcript in the record where they could read it and it will say whatever it says.

A question has been raised, who invited AT&T upper management, and I have no idea. It certainly wasn't me.

We have an open Convention. We have an open Convention, and people are free to come in and observe. We have students and whoever it is can come in, but we have not invited them.

State your point. Would you put microphone 1 on, please. State your point, Steve.

DELEGATE STEVE G. TISZA (Local 4250): Brother and Sister Delegates. I feel Local 4250 was unfairly indicted by an alleged tape which Jim Irvine ran down, and as far as I'm concerned, it was a set-up job. They had someone go to the mike and purport to have a tape that's eight years old.

Now I was set-up in Jacksonville, Florida the same way. I was the person arrested, the one and only person arrested.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would you state your point, Steve.

DELEGATE TISZA: The point is, it's a set-up job, Morty, and I think that hopefully the Brother and Sister Delegates can take at least one more minute of their time to listen to the tape that you have readily available. We can just put it in in place of the CWA song that's going to be heard, and I please ask the Brother and Sister Delegates to hear it today, because I don't believe it exists.

I think that's a phony tape that he has up there, and to prove it, play it, because I can give it a transcript, I've got a copy of it in my backpack there. I can give that today, but I would like all of you to hear that tape because he does not have a copy of it. (Applause)

So play it. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Hold it. All those who support the playing of the tape as opposed to including it in the record, please raise your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

We will play the tape. (Applause and cheers)

For the timeframe, this tape was taped three days before President Watt's called the termination of the strike.

. . . The following is a verbatim transcript of the tape as played at the Convention . . .

"August 24, 1983, 5:30 p.m. Hearing nothing from national bargaining, and going on information of the local media and of the IBEW, which has been the source of all of our information to date, members of Local 5050 are to return to work starting at midnight, Wednesday, August 24, 1983. If a picket line is in front of our work location, you are to honor that picket line. If not, you ought to go in and work. This is Tony Lagana, President of Local 5050, Communications Workers of America."

PRESIDENT BAHR: I just point out that the picket line should have been ours, not somebody else's.

I think the tape speaks for itself. (Applause)

There is nothing further before this Convention, and we do have a motion to adjourn, which I will call for and then in accordance with our procedure, I would request that just for a couple of minutes you remain in your seats for a few closing remarks.

The Chair recognizes at microphone No. 1, Delegate Jose Dorado, Local 3107.

DELEGATE JOSE A. DORADO (Local 3107): Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, fellow Brothers and Sisters.

As a Host Local for next year's 54th Annual Convention, I have the honor and pleasure to welcome this distinguished Convention to Miami, Florida. Therefore, I feel it would only be proper at this time to say, "Bienvenido todos a la ciudad de Miami," "Welcome all to the City of Miami." (Applause)

It's the home of the CWA Locals 3121, 3122 and 3107, the sports capital of Florida, home of the Dolphins, "Miami Heat" and future home of major league baseball to play with the Giants.

Come and experience and enjoy a melting pot of cultures and customs and our warm, I repeat warm, beautiful beaches, clear, beautiful sunny skies and warm weather. Leave your coats and sweaters behind, but don't forget your wallets. (Applause)

God willing, see you all next year, and I might add that the AT&T individuals in the stands are not invited. (Applause)

I would like to move to adjourn the 1991 CWA 53rd Annual Convention. Thank you. (Applause)

Let me hold off the vote. Would you just remain in your seats for a couple of minutes.

You know, we started this week, and it's been a long week and we all worked hard, but we started by talking about mission and passion.

Our mission is clear. You have demonstrated it over and over this week. CWA "Wall To Wall", "Union Jobs For All". (Applause)

And we have seen the passion building this week to achieve our objectives. We saw the passion you demonstrated in response to many of our speakers; Lu Jinghua and her colleague who served as an interpreter, two of the heroes of Tiananmen Square and a democracy movement in China. They talked about their ongoing struggle to bring democracy of freed trade unions to China.

Cesar Chavez told us about the valiant fight of his union, the members of the United Farm Workers to bring Jobs With Justice to the agricultural fields of America.

And we heard the inspiring remarks of Robert McGlotten, the AFL-CIO Legislative Director, reminded us - go the important link between our political work and the results we can achieve in Congress.

And today, we listened to the heart-rendering work and words of Elizabeth Glaser and CWA's official charity, the Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

We certainly felt the passion of your debate on the important issues before this Convention. You demonstrated your commitment to HR5 and S55 and its importance to all of us.

You told the nation that this legislation is not in our interest bill; it's only of concern to those of us inside the beltway of Washington, D.C.

You gave clear testimony that the replacement of striking union workers by scabs is a deep seated emotional issue; that working families across the nation have an intense and passionate feeling about this bill, and that we believe this issue impacts on the very future of the American Labor Movement.

I hope our actions serve as a warning to the Members of Congress and the Bush Administration that they oppose striker replacement legislation at their own risk. (Applause)

They must not under-estimate the breadth and depth of support for HR5 and S55, or else they will answer to us and the workers of this country in 1992.

You also sent a message that racism and sexism, and as one of our delegates said, all of the other "isms" have no part in our Union or in our country.

I know that all of us look forward to the day when we can finally put these issues behind us, when true and real and honest equality exists in our nation so that we can move on to the common agenda shared by all working families, regardless of sex, race or religion.

We all must work together to hasten that day. We share the passion for union building with our Brothers and Sisters from Sprint, Paradyne and Mercy Hospital.

As we heard, this country does not have a monopoly on freedom. Indeed, the struggle for justice and dignity on the job can be a hard, difficult fight in America, and those who most loudly hail the freedom of union workers in other lands are most frequently the worst enemies of union workers here at the moment.

We must continue to support the efforts of these workers and the others who you have not met, yet who are even today meeting and talking secretly and quietly about the union and their workplaces, despite the threats and intimidation from their employers.

We must draw inspiration from their struggles and rededicate ourselves to membership building in our own Locals.

Finally, throughout our Convention this week, we enjoyed the renewed feeling of trade union solidarity with our brothers and sisters. We experienced the proud traditions of union democracy that is the hallmark of our Union. Now we join together in unity and common purpose at the close of this Convention.

But we will have accomplished nothing this week if we do not direct our sense of mission and passion into action when we return home.

You have a challenge to communicate directly with your congressional senators and senators on HR5 and S55. You have a duty to build a membership in your Locals and organize the unorganized workers in your communities.

Most of all, all of us have a responsibility to inspire a sense of passion about our mission in our stewards, our activist members and our co-workers on the job; the same sense of mission and passion about our work that each of you showed this week during our Convention.

We must transform CWA "Wall To Wall" from rhetoric into results. We must make "Union Jobs For All" a reality for our members and the workers we have not yet organized.

When we return home, we must engage an all-out union mobilization of our membership. We must send a message to our employers that we are resolved, we are committed, and that we will settle for nothing less than CWA "Wall To Wall" union jobs for all.

After my opening remarks on Monday I heard from quite a few of you about the inspirational words on hope that I spoke about, how hope can help us overcome the obstacles and hurdles that we face everyday.

And I'd like to close the Convention on that note.

Hope is a noble word. It soars above the eagles of the world. It reaches out for what we do not have. Hope is a thrilling word. It summons us to achievements undreamed of. It cares not what we were or are, but only what we can be.

Brothers and Sisters, on behalf of the Executive Board and the Staff of this Union, and all of the people who work everyday, our secretaries, so many of whom are behind the scenes that you could not have a Convention like this without their help, I want to thank you for your support over the past year and your commitment to the principles that make CWA such a great Union.

I am proud to be your President, and I rededicate myself to speak out forcefully on your behalf, to take aggressive action on your concerns and your hopes for the future, and to lead this Union to a new era in our history, an era of CWA "Wall To Wall", "Union Jobs For All".

The Convention stands adjourned. (Applause)

. . . The 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America adjourned, sine die, at eight-twenty-five o'clock . . .

. . .The following communications, which had been received by the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America, were presented to the reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

Morton Bahr, President
CWA
1925 K Sreet, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear President Bahr:

On behalf of the 53 affiliates of the Industrial Union Department, may I offer our greetings to you and your colleagues on the occasion of your 53rd Annual Convention.

The CWA is one of the pillars of the IUD, a union which we have always been able to depend on for support and for leadership. We share your involvement in such key issues as the banning of the firing of strikers, and the IUD and the CWA are working hand in hand in building support for the reform of our health care system through such institutions as Jobs with Justice.

The CWA has a proud heritage of action in behalf of labor's most critical goals, a heritage which has been continued under your leadership. We wish you and your fellow delegates a productive convention and continued progress in the period ahead.

s/Howard D. Samuel
President, Industrial Union
Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Bother Bahr:

On behalf of its 33 affiliated international unions representing some 4.5 million federal, postal, and state and local government workers, the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department extends warm fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates assembled in the 53rd Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America.

We salute you and take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the support and helpful role played in PED affairs by your union. Such cooperation is essential to a strong labor movement. It has allowed us to safeguard our successes and will be vital for expanding the protections of collective bargaining to all our brothers and sisters in both the private and public sectors.

Our hearty good wishes for a most successful convention.

Fraternially

s/AI Bilik, President
Public Employee Department
AFL-CIO

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of
America, AFL-CIO
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Sir and Brother:

On behalf of the more than four million members of the fifteen affiliates of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, I send our heartiest greetings and best wishes for a fruitful and rewarding convention.

We are particularly pleased that your convention will address two of the most important issues facing all of us today - health care and striking worker replacement. Certainly there is no greater single goal for the nation than providing quality health care for all of its citizens. And certainly there is no greater single goal for organized labor than providing job protection for our striking workers against those who would permanently replace them with strikebreaking scabs.

On these and many other issues, the Communications Workers of America has consistently demonstrated leadership, support and wisdom that has inspired all labor.

Your hard work and your energies are now of especial importance to all Americans, for this is a time when our common goals are under fierce attack from forces that oppose progress for working men and women.

Sticking together and working together, we will again turn back those who seek to destroy our gains and limit of future.

I wish to convey my personal congratulations to you, President Bahr, to Secretary-Treasurer Booe, to your fellow officers and delegates to the convention, and again extend to you the best wishes of the Building and Construction Trades Department and its entire membership. With kind regards, we are

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/Robert A. Georgine, President
s/Joseph F. Maloney, Secretary-Treasurer
Building and Construction
Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear President Bahr:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that we extend to the officers, delegates and members of the Communications Workers of America our sincere best wishes for a successful convention.

Year after year, the Communications Workers of America set a high standard of excellence in bringing to its members the full benefits of trade unionism.

The Communications Workers have established a sound and progressive record in all areas of the labor movement, and it is one which your membership can be justly proud. We are sure that the delegates to your 53rd Annual Convention will develop programs that will provide a brighter future for all the Brothers and Sisters in your fine organization.

We in the Maritime Trades Department are proud to say that the Communications Workers of America are a member of our family.

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/Michael Sacco, President
s/Jean F. Ingrao, Executive Secretary-Treasurer
Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of
America, AFL-CIO
1925 K Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear President Bahr:

On behalf of the five million workers represented by the Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO, I send our sincere congratulations to you, your fellow officers, and the 3,000 delegates assembled in San Francisco, California.

We believe the Labor Movement stands on the threshold of an exciting era in workers rights....we must constantly be organizing the unorganized, impacting on politics and legislation at every level, educating our members on the issues and building an on-going grassroots network of union "freedom fighters" for the decade of the 1990s. May your delegates not lose sight of the key issues of banning the replacement of strikers and winning the fight for a national health care system for America.

The best wishes of all metal tradesmen and women go to you, your fellow officers and convention delegates for a successful and productive convention.

Fraternally yours,
s/Paul J. Burnsky
President
Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Greetings to President Bahr and Secretary Treasurer James B. Booe:

Warmest greetings from the Union Label and Service Trades Department to the delegates attending the Communications Workers of America Convention. Our Department's theme this year is "Keep America Beautiful —°Union, Buy American," and we are committed to making that message a reality. Our Country's greatest resource is its union work force, and we are proud to salute the working men and women of the Communications Workers of America. There is no challenge we cannot meet when we work together.

Congratulations and have a terrific convention.

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/James E. Hatfield, Pres.

s/Richard J. Perry, Secretary-Treasurer

Union Label & Service

Trades Dept., AFL-CI

Morton Bahr
President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear President Bahr:

On behalf of the 3.5 million working men and women of the Food and Allied Service Trades Department, I send greetings and congratulations to the Communications Workers of America on your 53rd Annual Conven.

I am pleased to see the ongoing efforts of your organization to improve working conditions for your members. It is important that we work together for the health and safety of all working men and women. After all, teamwork is what we are about. Teamwork, unity, solidarity, words to live by.

We must strive to make sure that the workers we represent express their concerns about unsafe working conditions. Sometimes, in rare circumstances, these workers must express these concerns by work stoppages. It is their legal right. Unfortunately, the law does not protect their job. Workers find themselves replaced—. We, as team players, must protect the jobs of these workers. We must ensure that Congress bans the permanent replacement of workers.

While on the subject of safety and health, we must not overlook the issue of a national health care system. Health care costs have always been a major concern of employers as well as workers. Implementing a national health care system would benefit everyone. Working together in solidarity, we must accomplish this and so much more.

We must come together to preserve the dignity, justice and respect that all workers deserve.

Best personal regards, I am

In Solidarity,
s/Robert F. Harbrant, President
Food & Allied Service Trades, AFL-CIO

Morton Bahr, President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Morty:

On behalf of the officers and members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, I offer greetings of solidarity to the 53rd Annual Convention of the CWA.

As an organization of working women and men, we are proud to be part of a labor movement which fights for the banning of striker replacements and winning a national health care system for the country.

We must all join together at this time to insure that important legislation both on civil rights and national health care are passed by the congress.

The CWA has always stood with us in our shared struggle to bring justice to working women —men. On behalf of the officers and members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, I would like to take this opportunity to wish you much success in your endeavors.

Best wishes for a
fruitful convention.

Best personal regards,

In Unity,

s/Joyce D. Miller
National President
Coalition of Labor Union Women

Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of
America, AFL-CIO
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Brother Bahr:

Congratulations on your union's 53rd Annual Convention. It is a pleasure and an honor to bring greetings and pay tribute to you and to every single one of your hard-working delegates.

The Communications Workers of America have a proud tradition as a leading activist union. The theme of your Convention, "CWA in Action," is particularly apt for this year of Labor Solidarity building towards 1992.

CWA has been a loyal supporter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, consistently delivering one of the largest, if not frequently the largest, union delegations in attendance at APRI's Annual National Conferences. Overall, you've been a crucial player in our broad labor movement-black community alliance for social justice in America. Never content to rest on its laurels, your union is always looking forward, in steadfast commitment, to the ideals we share.

Finally, CWA deserves singular commendation as a leader in labor's political, legislative and grassroots organizing arenas.

Wishing you and your union the best in you Convention this year.

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/Nomman Hill, President
APRI

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of
America, AFL-CIO
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Mr. Bahr:

It is my pleasure to extend the best wishes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the officers, members and friends of the Communication Workers of America AFL-CIO, assembled in the 53rd Annual Convention.

Over many years, organized labor and the NMCP have worked together to bring equality and economic justice to our society. May our cooperative endeavors continue, and may they flourish. Solidarity Forever.

Warmest
personal
regards.

Sincerely,

s/Benjamin L. Hooks
Executive Director, CEO
National Association for
Advancement of Colored People

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Mr. Bahr:

Let me convey my best wishes to your 53rd Annual Convention. You can be proud of the achievements attained by your hard work and dedication to improving working conditions for your members. I believe you also can be proud that these achievements are not limited to members of CWA only, but have the potential to affect all workers who are seeking decent pay, employee benefits, and safe working conditions.

Let me also express a special note of thanks for your union's active support of my legislation to lift the current restriction that bars the Bell Operating Companies from manufacturing equipment in the United States. Your efforts and those of the Bell Companies have helped the Committee move this legislation along.

I commend you all and wish you a productive and successful week.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

s/Ernest F. Hollings, Chairman Committee on Commerce,
Science, and Transportation United States Senate

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Mr. Bahr:

I extend my best wishes to you, and the Communications Workers of America officers and members from across the country who are participating in CWA's 53rd Annual Convention.

By working together to improve the situation for CWA families in particular and our great country in general, you are furthering the great American tradition where cooperation leads to mutual benefit.

Congratulations of reaching this milestone in the illustrious history of the CWA. You have my best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely

S/John Bryant
Member of Congress
5th District, Texas
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives

Mr. Morton Bahr
President, CWA
1925 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Morty:

I send my greetings and best wishes to you and to all my friends at the 53rd annual CWA convention in San Francisco.

There is no legislation more important to the future of the American labor movement than H.R. 5, the bill to ban the permanent replacement of strikers. The right to strike is fundamental to collective bargaining; without it, workers have nothing more than collective begging.

Yet today, because of an anomaly in the law, employers who are prohibited from firing an employee for striking find themselves free to permanently replace employees as soon as they exercise their right to strike. The distinction is hard for the striker who loses her job to appreciate.

More and more employees, from Frank Lorenzo at Eastern and Continental Airlines to the Greyhound Corporation and the New York Daily News, are using permanent replacements, not just to win strikes, but to bust unions that have represented their employees for many years.

Every union is in jeopardy if this trend is not stopped. But with your help and hard work, we can deal with this menace and safeguard your rights. Already 208 Representatives have signed on as cosponsors of H.R. 5, and I predict that the House will pass the bill with a healthy margin.

If your great union, and each of you as individuals, continue the good work you have done so far on H.R. 5, we will be able to present the President with a veto-proof majority that may be enough to convince him to do the right thing. Let your Member of Congress and your Senators know how important this issue is to you and your family. Ultimately we will win this fight, because we must and because our cause is just.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

s/William D. Ford
Member of Congress
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear President Bahr:

I would like to extend my warmest greetings to the members of the Communications Workers of America on the occasion of your 53rd Annual Convention.

Your membership is a vital part of one of the most dynamic industries of the 20th century, and you have experienced many changes in this industry during your existence. Often, communications issues become legislative issues, and I have had the pleasure of working with the CWA on a number of occasions.

The future undoubtedly will bring many changes and more opportunities for cooperation, and as we move into an era of increasing competition, I'm looking forward to working with you to ensure that American Communication products and services remain the best there are, in markets at home and abroad.

Again, best wishes for a
successful convention.

Cordially,

s/Bob Wise
Chairman, Democratic Study Group
U.S. House of Representatives

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of
America (CWA)
1925 K Street NW
Washington DC 20006

On behalf of our more than 50,000 membership, warmest congratulations and friendship to you for your 53rd Annual National Convention, and with best wishes for good luck and success of you and your union.

Kang Suk-Joo, President
Korean Federation of
Communications Trade Unions

Mr. Morton Bahr
53rd Annual Convention of the CWA
San Francisco Civic
Auditorium
San Francisco,
California
s/Shimon Zurieli
Secretary General
Naftali Sturm International Affairs . . .

Dear Morton, dear friends:

Annual convention of the Communication Workers of America, we wish you most successful and fruitful discussion and resolutions for the welfare and benefit of the members of your organization.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Shimon Zurieli
Secretary General
Naftali Sturm International Affairs

Mr. Morton Bahr,
President
Communications
Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 2006

Dear
Brother
Morton:

As President of the Chinese Federation of Postal Workers and on behalf of the 25,000 members, officers and staff, I would like to take this opportunity to extend our very best wishes to the Communications Workers of America on the occasion of your National Convention.

As we look back over the past years, we can see a great deal of advancement in the labor movement, but we can also see the many difficult problem areas that still remain. We must continue to present a solid and unified front against the violation of human and trade union rights wherever they occur. We must continue to join together in solidarity until the rights of all workers are not only recognized but are a reality.

Again, our most sincere wishes for a productive and successful National Convention.

Sincerely yours,

s/Chen Chin-cheng, President
Chinese Federation of Postal Workers

Mr. Morton Bahr
53rd Annual
Convention CWA
99 Grove Street
San Francisco Civic Auditorium
San Francisco, CA 94102

Dear Morton, dear friends:

Please accept our warm and best wishes on the occasion of the 53rd Annual Convention of the CommuniWorkers of America. We wish you most successful and fruitful discussions and resolutions for the welfare and benefit of the members of your organization.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

. . . The Savings and Retirement Trust Committee report was distributed to the delegates in written form and submitted to the Reporters for inclusion in these proceedings as follows:

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

SAVINGS AND RETIREMENT TRUST

Dear Delegates:

Our new Plan Administrator, Zenith Administrators, has provided excellent recordkeeping systems for our Savings and Retirement Trust. They are current in the issuance of the participants' statements.

The Trust's audit firm, Deloitte & Touche, has produced certified, unqualified audit reports for the periods ending March, 1988, December, 1988, and December, 1989. They have completed their audit work for the 1990 Plan year and we have reviewed the audit reports for these years.

At the Board of Trustee's meeting in January, we concurred that a number of the participants were concerned with the fluctuations that resulted from a portion of the Trust's assets being invested in the stock market. The majority of Trustees concluded that the participants would prefer stability rather than the risk of remaining in the stock market. Consequently, the 15% of the plan assets that were invested in stocks have been transferred to fixed income securities. The result of this change in policy will be a more steady, positive rate of return in the future without large fluctuations from quarter to quarter.

The Trust currently has assets of approximately \$22,600,000.

As we have reported to you, the previous administrator and recordkeeper for the S&RT failed to keep accurate records of participants' accounts and failed to get statements out on a timely basis. These failures required adjusting participant accounts to delete "earnings" that had erroneously been credited. Significant actual losses were also incurred by the S&RT in the way of expenses to correct the records and overpayments to withdrawing or transferring participants which could not feasibly be recovered. The Trustees hired an experienced Washlaw firm and subsequently, the Trustees appointed an independent fiduciary to investigate these issues. The independent fiduciary brought suit and recovered \$450,000 on behalf of the participants. These funds were allocated to offset the losses which some participants suffered in their accounts.

The Trustees feel positive about the future. Discussions continue with various employers in hopes of bringing the benefits of the Trust to more CWA members....

SPEAKERS' INDEX

AGNEW, Michael M. (Local 2336)
AKIATEN, Mark (Local 9505)
AFANSIEV, Val (Temporary Chair, Local 9409)
ANDERSON, Dan (Local 6143)
ANDERSON, M. L. (Local 9421)
ARAMBULA, Nanci (Local 9505)
ASH, Michael (Chair, Credentials Committee, District 1)
BAHMA, Bob (Local 7200)
BAHR, Morton (Int'l President)
BANKS, Ed (Local 3250)
BARELLA, Samuel (Local 6733), 114 BARTLETT, Jeff G. (Local 6222)
BATES Jr., Charles (Local 2101)
BEAUMONT, Dina (Exec. Asst. to the President), 142 BECKER, Tom (Local 7800)
BIONDO, Rita (Local 16100), 97, 195 BJORNSON-GOMEZ (Local 7800)
BOBAK, Sharon (Local 1112)
BOOE, Jim (Int'l Secretary-Treasurer)
BRADBY, Real (Local 2260)
BROWN, Janine (Local 3250)
BURGESS, Angie (Local 9410)
BUTLER-TRUEDALE, Sandra (Local 2336)
BUTTIGLIERI, Jann L. (Local 2101)
CALISE, Susan (Local 1180)
CATUCCI, Pete (Vice President)
CERENZO, Peter (Local 1032)
CHAPMAN, Mike (Local 4600)
CHELIOTES, Arthur (Local 1180)
CHOMA, Bill (Local 4309)
CLARK, James (Local 4604)
CLARK (Local 1111)
CLEVELAND Jr., Walter (Local 3263)
COHEN, Larry (Director of Organization)
CON ROY, Donna (Local 1112)
COSS, David R. (Local 7055)
COX, Nadine (Local 9408)
CROWELL, Mark (Local 9586)
CRUMP, Ann (Local 4600)
DAWSON, Mike (Local 3204)
DEE, Sherri L. (Local 3205)
DIANA, Jo Ann (Local 1023)
DION, Dianne (Local 9426)
DOLAH, Mark K. (Local 6311)
DORADO, Jose A. (Local 3107)
DUFFY, Thomas (Local 9000)
EASTERLING, Barbara J. (Executive Vice President)
EBELING, John J. (Local 14616)
EGAN, John J. (Local 4034)
ENRIGHT, Karen (Local 1133)
EVANS, Leslie E. (Local 2108)
FAHRENHOLT, Michael (Local 3410)
FAZIO, John (Local 1060)
FELLER, Dale E. (Local 7777)

FINN, Joe. E. (Local 3263)
FLINN, Theresa M. (Local 3177)
FLOYD, Carla (Local 7901)
FORSTER, Gail (Local 9400)
FOX, Doug (Local 9588)
FRANCIS, Rudy (Local 3410)
GADZINSKI, Gloria (Local 1100)
GALERY, Audrell E. (Local 2336)
GALVAN, Ricardo L. (Local 6229)
GILLIS, Samuel (Local 9509)
GOODEN, Robert (Local 3511)
GORDEN, Earl (Local 6215)
GRANT, Gilda (Local 6500)
GRAY, Gayle (Local 4600)
GREEN, Freddie (Local 3410)
GRIMES, Lois J. (Local 13550)
HARMON, Janet A. (Local 9503)
HARRIS, Elaine (Local 2001)
HART, Karen (Local 9415)
HARTSFIELD, Joan (Local 1080)
HAYS, Jack E. (Local 3805)
HENNING Jr., William (Local 1180)
HENSON, Emma R. (Local 2381)
HERNDON, Caroll (Local 7172)
HICKS, Beverly A. (Local 3808)
HILL, William (Chair, Resolutions and Rules Committee, Local 1182)
HILLEARY, James W. (Local 2207)
HOLBROOK, James (Local 6215)
HOUCHINS, Rich (Local 2201)
HUGHES, Jefferey L. (Local 2100)
IBSEN, Harry (Vice President, District 9)
ISRAEL, Steve (Local 7037)
JEFFREY, Ralph (Local 6050)
JOHNSON, Bob (Vice President)
JOHNSON, R. O. (Local 7200)
JONES, Eddie (Local 4501)
KAMBEITZ, Terri (Local 9423)
KELLEY, Neal E. (Local 7401)
KINCHIUS, Kathleen (Local 9415)
KINKS, Dale (Local 16300)
KINLOCH, John (Local 1058)
KLIMM, Jerry (Local 2150)
KNEUPPER, Richard (Local 6171)
KOOKER, Michelle (Local 1031)
LaCAUSE, Salvatore (Local 4302, Chair, Appeals Committee)
LAURENT, Tiny (Local 3411)
LAYMAN, David (Local 2204)
LILJA, Chair Robert (Local 1104)
LINGO, Joyce J. (Local 3972)
MAGEE, Carrol (Local 6215)
MALLIETT, Marie (Local 9410)
MANN, David (Local 4501)
MARKS, Margie (Local 9410)
MARLER, Eugene E. (Local 3907)
MASSENGALE, Kay (Alternate, Local 6201)
MAULIS, Walt (Vice President)

MCBRIDE, Marion (Local 2336)
McCALLA, Thomas (Chair, Finance Committee, Local 13000)
McLUCAS, Avanel M. (Local 4630)
McSWAIN, Kerry (Local 6222)
MENDELSON, Robert (Holocaust Memorial Council)
METZ, Paul A. (Local 7060)
MEYER, Sylvia (Local 6186)
MITCHELL, Pertie (Local 6320)
MOORE, John (Local 9410)
MOYE, Quincey (Local 7775)
MULLIGAN, Kevin P. (Local 7777)
NELSON, Gerald L. (Local 4100)
NICHOLS, M. E. (Executive Vice President)
NOYCE, Calvin J. (Local 7704)
O'NEILL, Eleanor (Local 4209)
ODOM, Lula (Local 4000)
OWEN, Carla (Local 6201)
PAPPAS, James G. (Local 2336)
PARKS, Robert (Local 2202)
PARSONS, T. O. (Vice President)
PETERSEN, Robert E. (Local 14200)
PETERSON, Jon M. (Local 4250)
PHILLIPS, Edwin (Local 4340)
PRINCIOTTA, Ann (Local 1023)
RENISH, Ron (Local 16900)
RIEMER, Gregory (Local 4309)
ROGERS, Louise E. (Local 9509)
RUCKER, Kenneth A. (Local 2323)
RUSSO, Gene (Vice President)
RYKE, Susan (Local 7777)
SANTORA, T. (Local 9000)
SCHAEFF, Jerry (Local 4322)
SCHAICH, John (Local 3113)
SCHELLIN, Marc A. (Local 2336)
SCHNICKELS, Dawn H. (Local 7200)
SCHULTZ, Jim (Local 9408)
SERAFIN, Walter J. (Local 1060)
SERVIS, Nancy (Local 4603)
SICKMAN, Daniel L. (Local 13000)
SLATER, Midge (Local 7102)
SMILNAK, George S. (Local 4309)
SMITH, M. M. (Local 3204)
SMITH, J. C. (Local 3218)
SONNIK III, William G. (Local 2105)
SPEARS, Dolores (Local 9505)
ST. JOHN, Sharron A. (Local 4630)
STANGLE, Diane L. (Local 1112)
STEGALL, Carol L. (Local 9509)
STEWART-WARE, Blondell (Local 2300)
SULLIVAN, William H. (Local 1126)
TERRAN, Philip M. (Local 14430)
TISZA, Steve G. (Local 4250)
TOKUMARU, Jan H. (Local 9509)
TUCKER, Jim (Local 6320)
UNGER, Laura (Local 1150)
UPTON, Michael (Local 2202)

WADE, Carolyn C. (Local 1040)
WALKER, Kenn (Local 9505)
WALSH, Kiki (Local 1023)
WATTS, Glenn (President Emeritus)
WEBB, Shirley C. (Local 3204)
WHITE, Diane (Local 2201)
WILIER, James (Local 13000)
WILSON, Madelynn C. (Local 7818)
WISZMANN, Erma J. (Local 7117)
WOITENA, Gary (Local 6143)
WOLF, Virginia (Local 1038)
WOODS, Terez (Local 4309)
ZICKWOLF, Bernice L. (Local 1039)