

Proceedings and Index of the 65th Annual Convention - 2003

Communications Workers of America
Navy Pier Chicago, Illinois
August 25-26, 2003

MONDAY MORNING SESSION August 25, 2003

The Opening Session of the 65th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, meeting at Navy Pier, Chicago, Illinois, August 25-26, 2003, convened at 8:30 a.m., Elizabeth Van Der Woude, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 4250, Temporary Chair, presiding.

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: Good morning. We have a very busy morning and a full schedule. So at this time, I would like to ask the delegates to please take their seats as soon as possible so we can begin.

Good morning. I am Elizabeth Van Der Woude, and I am the executive vice president of CWA Local 4250, right here in Chicago. (Applause) I have the distinct privilege of serving as your Temporary Chairperson as we begin this Convention in the Windy City. On behalf of the officers, members and retirees of District 4, I welcome you to Chicago and the 65th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America.

As is our custom, we will begin our Convention with a prayer. At this time, I would like to call upon Father Brendan Curran from St. Pius V Church who will deliver our opening invocation. Will the delegates please stand. And after the invocation, please remain standing for the presentation of Colors and the singing of the National Anthem.

Now please give Father Curran a warm welcome. (Applause)

FATHER BRENDAN CURRAN: We are mindful for the gift of a new day. Let us pause and bow in prayer, and let us call to mind the gift of life on this day.

We are gathered here together from myriad states, myriad traditions and cultures. We are thankful to God this day that we stand together in this space, for the opportunity to reconnect one with the other.

God, we ask Your blessings on this space for our time together. We ask Your blessings on each of us as we continue to do Your work here on this earth. We are mindful of our limitations at times; we are mindful of our inability to continue to grow and to foster Your presence among us. But we are here nonetheless.

Guide our thoughts, guide our comments, guide our actions these days as we gather in convention. We ask You to touch our work, as You do always in all ways with each and every step we take, as we continue to walk that road, as we continue to grow one with the other in this wonderful group that we call union.

We ask You to touch us, to touch our hearts, to touch our minds, our thoughts, and our actions as we continue to do Your work, as we look for Your blessing on each of us this day.

We ask this as we do all things, in the name of the God who created each and every one of us in God's very own image, Amen.

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: Thanks, Father Curran.

Please remain standing as we prepare for the presentation of Colors and the singing of the National Anthem. The Colors this morning will be presented by the Chicago International Association of Fire Fighters Honor Guard, Local No. 2. The Pipes and Drums Emerald Society of the Chicago Police Department will provide the escort for the Colors.

Laura Lynn Misener, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 4252, will be singing the National Anthem of the United States; Debbie Thomas, Executive Secretary of The Newspaper Guild-CWA, will sing the National Anthem of Canada; and the National Anthem of Puerto Rico will be sung by John Concepcion, a member of the American Guild of Musical Artists, who is currently engaged with the Lyric Opera of Chicago. I want to remind the delegates to please remain standing until the Color Guard has left the hall.

We will now have the presentation of Colors and the National Anthems of the United States, Canada and Puerto Rico.

... The delegates arose as the Colors were presented by the Honor Guard of IAFF Local 2, escorted by the Pipes and Drums of the Chicago Police Department Emerald Society, followed by the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" by Laura Lynn Misener, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 4252; "O Canada" by Debbie Thomas, Executive Secretary, TNG-CWA; and the National Anthem of Puerto Rico by John Concepcion of the American Guild of Musical Artists ... (Applause)

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: Welcome to Chicago. I want to thank the Color Guard, the Emerald Society, and our singers for their wonderful renditions. Please give them another round of applause. (Applause)

Before we get down to the real work of the Convention, I want to take just a moment and officially welcome you to Chicago and District 4. Frank Sinatra once sang, "Chicago is my kind of town." As you are no doubt discovering, Chicago is without question one of the world's most beautiful cities. Chicago is a hard-working city. Chicago is a labor city. When you go out onto the pier and look back at the Chicago skyline, I want you to know it is 100 percent union built. (Applause)

Chicago has had its share of writing labor's history, controversies and strikes, the Haymarket affair, the Pullman strike, the Eastman tragedy and the Republic Steel Memorial Day massacre just to name a few. If we are to learn from past history, we have learned that if we stand together in solidarity we can face any obstacle put before us.

We stand together when we go to the bargaining table. We stand together when we organize. We stand together when we fight corporations that out-source our work to foreign countries. We stand together when we vote to elect political candidates with the interests of hard working union men and women in mind.

We stand together for Jobs with Justice. We stand together wall-to-wall. We stand together because we understand an injury to one is an injury to all. This, fellow delegates, is the true meaning of solidarity. It's a bond that requires no verbal communication. It's a trust which requires no written agreement – just an understanding that comes from deep within each and every one of us. When we stand together, it is a sign of our solidarity which is indisputable, and one that will last forever.

We are proud to be your host for this Convention. Many hours of work and planning have gone into our efforts to make this Convention enjoyable for our delegates, our retirees, our alternates, and our guests.

Although I serve as the Chair of the District 4 Host Committee, the work was not done solely

by me. At this time, I would like to recognize the members of the District 4 Host Committee who have been working for months to ensure the success of this Convention. Will the delegates, retirees and volunteers please stand when your local is called?

... As each member of the Host Committee was introduced, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition...

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: First and foremost, my favorite President from Local 4250, Steve Tisza; Local 14408, Steve Berman, President; and my number one Typographical man, George Zaucha, Secretary-Treasurer; Local 4217, Bryon Capper, President; Local 4215, Joanna Gerrib, President; and Heather Cunningham, Vice President; Local 4998, Dan Danaher, President; and Lee Thomsen, Vice President; Local 4202, Gayle Gray, President; Local 14434, Joe Kelly, President; Local 4260, John Lukasik, President; and Chip Stevenson, Treasurer; Local 14430, Bob Maida, President, and Phil Terran, Secretary-Treasurer; Local 4290, Dennis Woods, President; and Paul Mandrik, Vice President; Local 34071, Jerry Minkkinen, Executive Director of the Guild; Local 4252, LaNell Piercy, President; and Angel Minnick, Vice President; Local 4214, Betty Moore, President; and Local 54041, Ray Taylor, President.

And last, but not least, Jerry Schaeff, CWA District 4 Staff Representative. Thank you, Jerry, for doing your job right.

Our next speaker is Dennis Gannon, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO.

The history of the Chicago Federation of Labor dates back over 100 years. The CFL is the central labor body for over 300 unions whose membership exceeds 500,000. One of the first unions established in Chicago was Typographical Local 16, now CWA Local 14408, which received its charter in 1852.

Dennis Gannon currently serves as president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, a position he has held since May of 2002. Please give a warm welcome to the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Dennis Gannon.

DENNIS GANNON (President, Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO): Thank you and good morning. I would like to welcome you on behalf of our Executive Board and the 500,000 working men and women of Chicago who belong to the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Behind me is Margaret Blackshere, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO, and I am proud to say that we work in conjunction with each other on politics linking to organizing. When you look around this building, everything in this building was built 100 percent union. (Applause) When you look around this building, the workers that work inside this building are 100 percent union. (Applause)

But it didn't come easy. It didn't happen by accident. And it was not a mistake. When they came to the State legislators to reinvent Navy Pier and McCormick Place and looked for \$900 million to build these structures, labor was there. Labor was there the day they said, "We want a project labor agreement" and we discussed it with them. Labor was there when we said, "We have to make sure we maintain this building 100 percent union." So it didn't happen by accident. It was labor; it was politics; it was business; it was our friends; it was our enemies. And we all came together here in Chicago to make it work.

I believe it can work across the country. It's folks like you who make it work. If it were not for your involvement, your memberships would not get the rights that they get at the bargaining table. They would not have the privilege of belonging to a union. They would not be able to grow. They would not be able to send their kids to college. It is because of your involvement that those things happen.

Chicago is a great union city. It's got a great union mayor. It's got a great President of Cook County here in Chicago. But the thing is, it's our members, it's our affiliates, it's the people on the

ground that make the politics work. And we link that with organizing to make our unions work in Chicago.

I believe that is what is going to happen with CWA. I wish you nothing but the best while you are here in Chicago. If there is anything that the Chicago Federation of Labor can do on your behalf while you are here, feel free to call. Don't ask for me. Ask for Tim Leahy. (Laughter)

I can't tell you how much we appreciate you folks being here in Chicago. It's easy for us to come and do a welcome, but it's an even greater thrill for us to come and see you all here. Thank you and have a great Convention. (Applause)

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: Our next speaker this morning is Margaret Blackshere, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO. On April 1, 2000, in a history-making election, more than 1,400 Illinois union locals and their one million members chose Margaret Blackshere as the first woman president of the Illinois AFL-CIO. (Applause)

Last November, then-Governor-Elect Rod Blagojevich, named Margaret Blackshere as chair of his "Coalition Team." This was the first time in recent history that a labor leader was at the helm of a state government transition team.

Please give a warm CWA welcome to the president of the Illinois AFL-CIO, Margaret Blackshere. (Applause)

MARGARET BLACKSHERE (President, Illinois AFL-CIO): Thank you. Welcome to Chicago and Illinois, a democratic state that passes legislation and gets it signed into law. (Applause)

Thank you, President Bahr and Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, for inviting me to welcome you to our great state and city. We are indeed an oasis here in Illinois.

We would like to spread the word. And so, as I share with you today some of what we have done, don't think of it as bragging, think of it as an opportunity to make change.

As Liz said, a year ago we worked very hard along with your members to elect Rod Blagojevich for governor. We were left with a major budget crisis thanks to the Bush Administration. But even with that, we were able to pass well over 20 worker-friendly laws because we elected a Democratic House, a Democratic Senate and a Democratic Governor. (Applause)

Some of what we did was equal pay, minimum wage increase, project labor agreements, enforcement of prevailing wage, prescription drugs, restoration of the right to strike to public employees – so many bills that make a difference for our family. But most important, we passed card check in the State of Illinois. (Applause)

We have worked with Vice President Teri Pluta and other members of our Executive Board – organizers like Celia Cody – to make a difference in Illinois. We now have a law that says if you're a public employee and in your group 51 percent of you signed a card, you can be union without an election. (Applause)

We know we can't take any of that for granted. We know that indeed it can be taken away from us just as we got it, so that we now are tripling our efforts on organizing and beginning our efforts to get "W" out the door in 2004. (Applause)

We are not a battleground state. Everybody takes us for granted. We are going to be in the right column. Nothing, as you know, whether it's our contract, whether it's our laws, whether it's elected officials, should ever be taken for granted. So, we have begun our work already. We have begun doing materials about this legislative session and the difference it makes. We are able to show the difference between what worker-friendly politicians in the State of Illinois have done for us and what the enemies of working families have done at the federal level. It makes for great paper. So I urge you, all of you, to begin today – registering.

It sounds so simple, but there are always folks who are not yet registered to vote. Begin giving the information today. This man in the White House has taken our flag and wrapped himself in it, and we cannot allow that. Let's get to work now. Welcome. (Applause)

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: It is now a privilege and an honor to introduce the Vice President of District 4. His quiet demeanor but strong leadership has guided us through some difficult times. Jeff is a trade unionist and only knows one way to walk – and that is forward. In 1973, at the tender age of 19, he was elected president of Cleveland CWA Local 4309, a Local of 2,000 members. Jeff was appointed as District 4 vice president in 1994 and since then has unanimously been reelected.

Jeff has faced crisis after crisis and has won the admiration, the gratitude, and the respect of the local leadership and the members of CWA – not only in our district but nationwide. A quote from Dr. Martin Luther King says it best: "The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands during challenges and controversy."

Brothers and sisters, it is with great pride that I present to you Jeff Rechenbach, CWA Vice President of District 4.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

VICE PRESIDENT JEFFREY RECHENBACH (CWA District 4): Good morning. Thank you, Liz, for that great introduction. That was very, very nice.

Before I go on too much further, let me openly thank Liz and the entire Host Committee for putting together a tremendous welcome for all of us here to the City of Chicago. Thank you all very much. (Applause)

Welcome to Chicago, a city with so many nicknames that it could probably be called the City of Nicknames. You know the "Windy City" and the "Second City." But I think my favorite is "The City of the Big Shoulders." The City of the Big Shoulders comes from a very famous Carl Sandburg poem entitled "Chicago." It is a poem that describes the spirit of this great city. Let me share with you just a brief passage from that. It begins: "Hog butcher of the world, toolmaker, stacker of wheat, player with railroads and the nation's freight handler – stormy, husky, brawling – the City of the Big Shoulders."

Those are powerful words and so descriptive of this city, a city where the Labor Movement has deep roots. From the Pullman strike to the Memorial Day massacre, to the Eastman disaster where 841 Western Electric workers on a sunny Saturday morning lost their lives, to the Haymarket tragedy where one of our members demonstrating for the eight-hour day, ITU member Albert Parsons, was wrongfully hanged for conspiracy in 1886, the history of our movement is imbedded in this town. It is in the spirit of that Chicago, the Chicago that helped birth the labor movement, that I welcome you here.

It is my privilege this morning to introduce our keynote speaker. But before I do that, let me read a quote of President Bahr's regarding our good friends at MCI WorldCom. He said, and I quote, "How could one company buy another by just putting up paper? This is the largest merger in history and yet WorldCom used its stock to pay for more than 80 percent of MCI. Think about it," he said, "the stock market tumbles and along with it goes WorldCom stock value – WorldCom, a house of cards waiting to fall." End quote.

Now, some of you may say, "Well, today that's old news." I guess the real significance of that quote that I just read is that Morty said it not last week when WorldCom stock was trading for a nickel a share; not three years ago when WorldCom stock was near \$50 and the stock market had not started tumbling. Morty made that prediction at MCI's board symposium at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., on March 13, 1998, more than five years ago. Neither of the President Bushes may have grasped the vision thing, but it is clear that our President does.

When Sandburg wrote his poem "Chicago," he described his vision of what Chicago was,

and he had a unique ability to articulate that. Nearly 20 years ago Morty Bahr had a vision, not only of what CWA was but, more important, what it could be. He saw a union that can balance all three sides of the triangle, a triangle where collective bargaining, political action and organizing all had equal importance, not only to the present but to the future of our union.

He saw a union that could reenergize, bring its members together, mobilize them, and create a force for working families well beyond the walls of the house that we call CWA.

He saw a diverse union, one with many women, all races, religions, a diverse union beyond Telecom, with workers from a wide array of industries all sharing the common denominator of helping their coworkers try to achieve a better life.

And he saw a union where creative ideas would become a hallmark, using all three sides of that triangle to build our strength, fighting from the inside, working to rule electronic picket lines, and pushing strategies designed to punish our employers and not our members, as Verizon is now learning only too well. (Applause)

Sisters and brothers, it is my pleasure to introduce to you this morning the man with the biggest shoulders in the American Labor Movement, our President, Morty Bahr.

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

CWA PRESIDENT MORTON BAHR: Thank you. Thank you very much. And thank you, Jeff. It is interesting because we did have that insight that WorldCom was a house of cards that long ago. But, Wall Street was profiting along with other profiteers who had to know that what did happen was inevitable.

I want to add my thanks to the Host Committee for helping to put together this great Convention.

Once again, I have the opportunity of introducing someone who I have been walking behind for many years, my wife, Florence. (Applause)

Now, some of you have been saying hello to someone you thought was me and wondering why you were getting a funny look. You were saying hello to my brother who lives here in Chicago. (Applause)

For the past 17 years, I have been bringing you greetings from President Emeritus Glenn Watts. As you know, Glenn passed away just one year ago this week. Glenn and I were both fortunate. We had something in common. What we had in common was having someone in the position of Executive Assistant – Dina Beaumont. And, Dina has been in that position for 23 years. Today is her birthday, and I would hope that you would join me in wishing Dina a happy birthday.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: I want to thank Barbara, Larry, and the entire Board for their cooperation, their support, their friendship. This union and its members are lucky that you have an Executive Board, each and every one great trade unionists who love this union, love the Labor Movement, and work very hard on behalf of our members.

Four of them are not with us today. Ed Fire had heart surgery a couple of months ago. He is doing well, but was unable to travel. And, Larry Mancino, Pete Catucci and Vince Maisano are in there plugging away, working hard to bring home a real good contract for Verizon and Verizon Wireless. (Applause) I will have more to say about that in a few minutes.

When we met last year in Las Vegas, together we shared our pain and our shock of the events of 9/11. We honored and remembered those CWA members who were lost in the attack. Although those events will always be etched in our memories, we left Las Vegas committed and determined to meet the new challenges that confront our nation, our union, and the Labor Movement.

As union members, we know what it means to stand up for America and serve our country. In this hall are veterans of the Cold War, the Korean War, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, and all the other conflicts in between. Some of you, like me, served in World War II.

Many of our members were called up to fight in Afghanistan and Iraq. Some are still there. More will likely go. When there is a conflict, it is working families, their sons, their daughters, their grandchildren who are called upon to serve. Union members also know what it means to make the ultimate sacrifice for our nation. We don't have to wear our patriotism on our sleeves. We don't have to prove our love of country to anyone. (Applause) And, sometimes, sometimes the bravest form of patriotism is standing up to our elected leaders when we believe they are making a mistake, even in time of crisis. (Applause)

Little did we realize last year that our biggest challenge would be a President and his Party who are intent on keeping our nation focused on 9/11, on turning every "soccer mom" into a "security mom," fearful, upset, and worried.

Why, brothers and sisters? Surely in a nation that is the most powerful in the history of the world, we can have both prosperity and security. Instead, the terrorists' threats overshadow all else in the news.

As long as the nation's attention is drawn to fear and uncertainty, the Administration distracts us from such real life facts as these: President Bush's mismanagement of the economy; President Bush's mismanagement of the war on terrorism; President Bush's squandering of the international goodwill and cooperation that we enjoyed following 9/11; and President Bush's plundering of the public treasury to line the pockets of his wealthiest supporters. (Applause)

The only institution in this country that can expose them for what they are doing is organized labor. That's why they are out to marginalize our Movement, weaken our power, and bleed our treasuries. Look at the record:

More than 3.1 million private-sector jobs – an average of 110,700 jobs a month, each month – have been lost since President George W. Bush took office. By July 2003, nine million men and women were officially jobless, but experts estimate the real figure is closer to 15 million.

We lost jobs in 25 of the 31 months that President Bush has been in office, making for the worst jobs record at this point in a presidency of any administration since Herbert Hoover. The unemployment rate has been at or about 6 percent for months – compared with 3.9 percent when President Clinton left office. Since the beginning of this year, more than one in every five unemployed workers has been jobless for six months or longer.

The nation has not experienced such a sustained period of long-term unemployment since 1984. Good-paying manufacturing jobs, the backbone of America's middle class, continue to disappear. The nation's bleeding manufacturing sector lost another 71,000 jobs last month, for a total of more than two million industrial jobs lost since the beginning of 2001.

Like Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, the promised economic benefits of President Bush's massive tax cuts have yet to materialize. But the wealthy have done very, very well. If you earn a million dollars a year, the last tax cut puts more than \$97,000 in your pocket. Taxes for the vast majority of middle-income union workers, however, went down an average of only \$236.

The federal budget deficit will be more than \$450 billion this year and our nation will be trillions of dollars in debt when all of the planned tax cuts take effect.

Between 2000 and 2003, the federal government experienced the biggest financial turnaround in history, going from a multi-billion-dollar surplus to the largest projected deficit in history.

State and local governments are experiencing the worst fiscal crisis in recent history, cutting payrolls, imposing tax increases and deferring infrastructure investment; 1.4 million Americans

have lost their health insurance since Bush took office.

Millions of seniors can't afford prescription drugs, and the Republican Medicare drug plan offers little relief. Currently there are 41 million estimated to be without health care. Next month they do the annual update, and they do it for the month of the past March. It's anticipated that the new numbers will be at 43 million uninsured Americans.

Bankruptcy cases have increased by a record-breaking 23 percent. Business investment is at its lowest level in more than 50 years. And, CEOs, well, they make more than 500 times that earned by their workers because, they tell us, "they are worth it." The middle class is shrinking and we have the greatest gap between the rich and the poor of any industrialized nation.

But simply challenging the President and his policies is not enough to cause change. We need to offer an alternative.

You will have the opportunity over today and tomorrow to hear from five of the Democratic candidates running for President. All nine were invited, but four had conflicts in their schedules. Their appearances are part of CWA's presidential endorsement policy.

As part of the process, soon after the Convention, you will have the opportunity to participate in a presidential preference poll on the CWA website. To make sure you can take part, please sign up for the epolitics list at the COPE booth, because your opinion will count and is very important to us.

While we are told the recession is over, telecom is still in a depression. The information sector, which includes telecom manufacturing and telecommunications, has lost 428,000 jobs during the Bush presidency. And because telecom accounts for about 17 percent of the nation's Gross Domestic Product, it is virtually impossible for this economy to grow substantially until telecom recovers and we begin to see job growth. I can point to job losses in every sector represented by our union, from health care to airlines.

The unprecedented financial crisis in state and local government has made collective bargaining extremely difficult for our public sector members. We negotiated a satisfactory agreement in New Jersey in the face of a terrible fiscal crisis. And, I want to make special note of the unity and the solidarity of our New Jersey state locals along with Vice President Mancino in the district that helped make this possible. (Applause)

But, we also need to note that we have a Governor who we helped elect, Jim McGreevey, and an administration with which we could work to resolve some of the more difficult issues.

In November, every seat in both the Assembly and Senate in New Jersey is up for grabs, and it is our job to do whatever is necessary to elect labor-friendly candidates. We also face important elections in the California recall and in the Kentucky and Mississippi governors' races.

Brothers and sisters, as we meet here today, the standard of living of all workers is threatened by the Bush Administration's attack on the Fair Labor Standard Act. The Labor Department, or the "Junior Department of Commerce," as we call it, is working on regulations that will eliminate overtime pay for millions of workers. The AFL-CIO, the Democrats, and some Republicans in Congress are working together to block implementation by the Department of Labor. This is serious and will require your participation with your Members of Congress and your Member in the Senate, when Congress returns next month.

And, if you think trade policy affects only industrial jobs, think again. The U.S. is also losing white-collar Information Technology jobs due to our misguided trade policies. Forrester Research predicts that over the next 15 years 3.3 million U.S. service industry jobs and \$136 billion in wages will move offshore to India, Russia, China, and the Philippines. Call center workers, IT professionals, technical specialists, and many other white-collar jobs that were once thought safe can and are being moved anywhere in the world.

The "right-to-know" legislation that was introduced in New Jersey was developed in

response to this threat. This bill would simply require a customer service rep to identify their country of origin. (Applause)

And so it is no great surprise to see how industry has massed together to come up with strong opposition to this bill; but we are hopeful. With the great work of our members in New Jersey and the New Jersey State Fed, and some employers who will work with us to pass this bill this year, will then enable us to have similar legislation introduced into other states.

Now we have had a longstanding problem with IT companies bringing in H-1B visa workers for technical jobs that unemployed Americans can do. Now, even these jobs can go offshore. Here's an example:

On July 30, the Bureau of National Affairs' *Daily Labor Report* quoted a spokesperson for Verizon –happened to be under the former Bell Atlantic and was their public relations guy. In speaking out on the negotiations with CWA and the IBEW, this spokesman said that, "in order to be competitive" – how often we've heard that phrase, "in order to be competitive" – "we need to be able to move our work anywhere in the United States and anywhere around the world."

And obviously, after feeling a great deal of heat – most of which came from our members, on August 12, thirteen days later, Verizon said that report was inaccurate. "We really have no intention of moving the work offshore."

But then a good member of CWA, who just happens to be a reporter for the *Boston Globe*, the very next day did a story showing that Verizon, indeed, has already quietly and secretively opened an operation in India.

Pichappan Pethachi is the executive director of Verizon's wholly-owned Verizon Data Services in Chennai, India, and the *Boston Globe* reported that on November 14, 2001, he gave an interview to a publication called "The Hindu Opportunities," obviously not a publication that many of us read. He said, Verizon Data Services India is the only development center built by Verizon outside of the U.S., and that this company is an extension of, quote, "the development environment in the United States."

Now, I ask you: Without our union, how long would it take for our work to turn up at this location in India or in other locations around the world?

I also want to thank our own Steve Tisza, president of Local 4250, for leading the crusade against corporate abuse of the H-1B visa program. (Applause) I know that I and probably many of you can't turn on our computers without seeing about seven or eight messages from Steve. And, Steve, after this Convention, would you please let me know when you sleep? Because even if I come in at 7 o'clock in the morning, I've got five or six e-mails from him. Keep it up, Steve. (Applause)

Now the Bush Administration wants to expand NAFTA to the entire hemisphere through negotiations of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. They are opposed to any labor protections; no environmental protections; no human rights protections. So listen carefully to the positions that the Presidential candidates take on this critical issue.

This fall, we will be participating in a campaign to stop the FTAA. I call your attention to this brochure that is on your table, and Larry Cohen will be speaking more about that. These examples clearly show the impact on our jobs and collective bargaining by those who sit in the White House, those who sit in the Congress, the governors' chairs, and state legislatures.

In our bargaining with Verizon, for example, a major part of the company's strategy was to leverage their political support. They used the bait and the threat of telecom investment to solicit support from governors. And last April, they appealed to their friends in the White House – we hadn't even started bargaining yet, but they appealed to their friends in the White House for a commitment that President Bush would invoke the Taft-Hartley Act if we went on strike.

Now, the likelihood of a court granting the President an injunction in this type of a labor

dispute was next to nil, so they couldn't even get a go-ahead, a commitment from their friends in the White House. And we are told that it wouldn't happen again.

But I want to take a few minutes to update you on the Verizon situation because of its critical nature. We are negotiating for 60,000 CWA members in Verizon Communications. IBEW has 18,000 in Verizon Communications; and we have 51 of the bravest union members you will find anywhere who day after day after day have fought Verizon Wireless in New York City. (Applause and cheers) They have rebuffed insidious attempts to get a decent, and Larry Mancino was in there until 3 o'clock this morning trying to get an agreement.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: Did you hear that, Mr. Seidenberg? (Applause)

Now, Verizon began to prepare for these negotiations about this time a year ago. They retained a Professor Manheim, who is a part-time teacher at George Washington University and has his own anti-union, vicious anti-union consulting firm in Maryland. You know, every once in a while we get up in the morning on the right side of the bed and information we're not supposed to have somehow comes into our hands. And, that's the way the Manheim Report came into our hands. What it was designed to do was to lay out a year-long scenario for this company to follow on how to turn the public to support them.

It reminded me of what we used to read about when I was a kid of how Hitler came into power, because this is the plan: You build your scenario. It doesn't have to be true. This is your scenario that you want to project, and you keep repeating it, repeating it to politicians. You keep repeating it and repeating it to the press. And if you repeat it often enough, even the unions will have to agree that it's true. That was the scenario.

And so what were their game plan objectives? Well, the old New York Telephone, there has never been an involuntary layoff in the history of the company, even through the Depression. And in 1994, in the old NYNEX, we negotiated a no lay-off agreement. In fact, shortly after that agreement, Mr. Seidenberg and I were invited to do a 15-minute segment on the McNeil Lehrer Show, and six times in that program I talked about how this is a no-layoff contract. Not only didn't Seidenberg ever say it wasn't, but every time I said it the camera panned on him and he smiled.

And then when Bell Atlantic acquired NYNEX, that language was extended into the old Bell Atlantic, and so now they wanted to renege. And about this time a year ago, according to the Manheim plan, they announced the layoff of about 3,400 people, most of them ours – minority IBEW, some 2,400 in New York alone.

We said, "Well, you know, if you want to test the language, we have enough time. Why don't we test it before anybody leaves the payroll?" They wouldn't agree to that, and then they began to stonewall us to where it was clear that a decision was going to come down when we were in bargaining.

And so this past May, before bargaining began, the vice chairman of the company, who is also the CEO of Verizon Communications, was in my office, and I said, "Is there anybody in the company" – because we were all – our vice presidents, Larry Cohen – they were all being told by the company, "This is a slam-dunk." Well, anybody who has ever been involved in arbitration knows no case is ever a slam-dunk. But their lawyers fed them this line, "this was a slam-dunk;" and I said to him, "Did anybody think of a scenario where the union just might win?" The decision at that time was due to come on July 9. It ultimately came on July 11.

Then our lawyer called me and said, "The union won." I called the bargaining committee in Washington, the bargaining committee in New York, and euphoria breaks out. I said to him, "Don't you agree that it would be easier for you to move this building across the street than get a concession from the union?" (Applause)

And, of course, we won. On July 30 some 3,300 people came back to work with seven months' back pay. (Cheers, whistles, and applause) And they still had the gall to want us to

change the language so they could lay these people off – who came to work on July 30 – and lay them off on August 3.

You see, you've got to know really where these people are coming from, notwithstanding all the tens of millions that they get. When the labor relations vice president told Larry Mancino, "This is about \$175 million" – this is last year – I called this CEO and said, "You know, if this is about \$175 million, let's sit down and work it out."

He said, "No, the bodies must go."

Our members are bodies, and never forget it! They want to talk about class war? Who sets it up? Referring to their employees, our members with families and children, as bodies. Shame on them. (Applause)

You see, the Manheim plan was being followed because Ivan Seidenberg went to Detroit and spoke at the Detroit City Club and talked about the great cooperation that exists between the UAW and GM, and he hoped that we could do that in his company with CWA and IBEW. So I called him up and then followed up in a letter. I said, "We're ready. Are you ready?"

"Oh, yeah."

I said, "Well, let me tell you about the other part that you didn't talk about – about GM not only being neutral and card checked throughout, but GM helps the UAW organize all GM suppliers; that GM sits with the union to negotiate increased pensions for pensioners; that there has been no health care cost shifting," and on and on and on.

But, he didn't want to talk about that part. Their view of partnership is where we become a junior partner – and this union will never be in that kind of a position. (Applause)

Then in 1997 when Bell Atlantic was acquiring NYNEX, they wanted our support for the merger. We said, fine, but we needed certain guarantees. And there was a committee of the two vice chairs of Bell Atlantic, including the guy who is now vice chairman and president – this Larry Babbio, and Jimmy Dowdall and Don Reid of NYNEX, and they proposed – and we agreed – that in support for the merger they are restricted to moving five-tenths of one percent of the work from any geographical area.

Obviously, we're talking about, in some places, movement of work in single digits where, in effect, there is no movement of work. Well, now we are sitting at the bargaining table and we are making a case for this, and we are up in front of the director of federal mediation. And I shared this – what I am about to tell you – at the staff meeting yesterday. Because I have been doing this for 41 years – my first contract that I chaired was in 1962 at New York Telephone, so I have been doing this for a few years.

Something happened a couple weeks ago that never happened before. We were sitting there – and I've our three vice presidents; the IBEW guys, and this guy Babbio is there – and we are talking about the movement of work. And it hits me, because we had just finished talking about them wanting to really zap the retirees who haven't had an increase for 13 years, to hit them on healthcare premiums.

So now I said, "You know, in 1997 we had an agreement, and it is in writing. You could only move five-tenths of a percent of work." You see, we know what they want to do. They want to move work all over the country, and I can tell you it's in the lowest wage areas. So we got an agreement that says you can't do that. "You want us to give up that agreement. I did not hear you say that you were willing to give up the \$83 million that you got just because you were there the day that Bell Atlantic bought NYNEX, and Bell Atlantic bought GTE – \$83 million just for being there."

At that point, brothers and sisters, I do not remember what happened or what I said until I walked out of that room saying, "You guys make me sick." (Applause)

On August 1, the same guy that is asking for concessions sold \$1.5 million worth of stock.

On August 13, he sold another \$800,000 worth of stock. Now, I don't begrudge these guys. Not that I don't know when enough is enough; but how in the world can you be doing that and not see the plight of the workers who work for your company who make it possible for you to rob the treasury? (Applause)

And, of course, the third issue was everybody is paying premiums for their health care, so our members should be doing the same.

Well, let me just tell you, even though there is no contract yet, the language on layoffs will not be changed. (Applause and cheers) The language on movement of work will not be changed. (Applause and cheers) And, there will be no premiums for health care for actives or retirees.

... The delegates arose and applauded and cheered...

Now, the other part of their strategy – and this is terribly important. You see, we have been predictable; with very few exceptions, at 12:01 a.m. on expiration, we go on strike. Well, I have come to the conclusion – after being in so many strikes, starting with 218 days in New York Tel – I have come to the simple conclusion that we no longer have to prove that we are macho. We don't have to prove that we are ready to fight any way that the fight has to go. But in today's economy we have to be smarter. So in the 12 months leading up to now, not only was Verizon preparing for that strike, they were all over the press, all over Wall Street, saying that they had 30,000 people who were being trained, ready to step in to do our work.

Now, what is the purpose of a picket line? The purpose of a picket line is to cause the struck employer to lose revenue, to cut their revenue stream. But we know we can put a thousand pickets around a telephone building and don't cut off a dollar. Ultimately, the system starts to break down and service deteriorates. But, why don't we take advantage of competition?

This set of negotiations with Verizon is the first in telecommunications since competition came into the local network. In the 12 Verizon states you have another union carrier, AT&T, in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Massachusetts – they are called "UNE-P states" - things that we have been arguing against, the deep discounts. And I can tell you that AT&T was so willing to cooperate with us.

So at 8:00 p.m. on the Saturday of expiration, with the full support of our vice presidents and the IBEW, I had a conference call with all the local presidents and laid out the strategy. A) We continue to work; B) We start putting together a program that I already worked out with President Sweeney and Rich Trumka – I can't say enough about the cooperation of the AFL-CIO, and I will get into that more – and third, make the company pay for the stand-by workforce. (Applause)

Our best estimate – and there is somebody in management high enough to know the plans who calls himself or herself "whistleblower," who for the past several months has been feeding me information that we have checked out and it's been very credible. For example, in California, on July 4, they started to train 600 people, and on August 1 flew all 600 into the Verizon territory. So even as we are here today, they are afraid to send these people away because we can still strike, there are 20,000 on stand-by – and I call it instead of "workforce," I call it "workfarce."

Now, we don't know what they are paying them. But if you just figure 200 bucks a day for hotel and food, 20,000 times \$200 is \$4 million a day. (Applause) I don't have to tell you, the first 24 hours was a little touch and go. I got e-mails up the wazoo. "What do you mean? We always go on strike." One guy, a member of Local 1101, was particularly strong with his e-mail. But, two days later I got another one. He says, "This is great." He said, "In my location, for some reason they dressed these people in black – maybe they were Ninjas or something." (Laughter)

At this one location, these 50 guys are there, now this is what that member tells me, that after they got tired of watching porn over the Internet, they started to vandalize the vending machines. At another location, I got an e-mail that a caterer came in with a whole load of food, thought there would be a bunch of scabs in there so, he said, "We ate it."

The best one, though, I think, is the one Vince Maisano got. This guy's with a group somewhere in Pennsylvania who were complaining that the company was reneging on the amount of money they were promised, and they wouldn't get the full amount unless they actually worked. They said, "That's why we need a union." This from scabs! (Laughter and applause)

So, they didn't know how to deal with it. I think there are three things that caught them off base: First, no strike and this strategy. Second, the unity within Districts 1, 2 and 13 – you have never seen anything like this. You couldn't tell that it was three different districts. And third, we have a seamless relationship with the IBEW.

Everything has worked like clockwork, just like clockwork. We are close. It is tough in Wireless, and we are not going to abandon them. You are going to hear more in the next couple of days. But it is kind of heartwarming, not only to see the reaction all of you gave with your support, but that there are 78,000 workers who are ready to stay and support the 51 at Wireless. True trade union spirit! (Applause)

Now, in 41 years of dealing with a whole variety of managements, I have not met more vicious management than those running Wireless, and unfortunately being condoned by the CEO of Verizon. Two weeks ago this Wednesday, Larry Cohen and Rich Trumka had an invitation-only conference call with 26 reporters. It was our conference call; it was our ports; and you got on by registering.

After it was over, we found out that two high-level Verizon managers stole our two ports. And not only did they record the conversation, but gave it to Verizon Wireless who then filed a contempt of court action against Larry because at the end he said to these reporters something like, "I hope Verizon can hear us now." So, two days later we filed an action in federal court against these two wiretappers for violation of the Omnibus Crime and Safe Streets Act. (Applause)

But how low will these people stoop? How many of your members, particularly in telecom, get fired at the drop of a hat if they ever get caught listening to anybody? (Applause) They violated their own code!

So I am now asking this Convention to send Verizon a message. I am proposing that this Convention authorize an expenditure of up to \$25 million from the Members' Relief Fund to support the struggle of these 78,000 members and the valiant 51 at Verizon Wireless. (Applause) Do I have your support? (Applause) I hope, Mr. Seidenberg, you heard our members.

You know, I couldn't help thinking all during this dispute how great it would be if I were able to pick up the phone and call President Al Gore and say, "I need help." (Applause)

Now, you all know that our ability to successfully organize and grow our union is shaped by the political climate and whether we have friends in critically elected positions. It was a great victory for organized labor in New Mexico when Governor Bill Richardson recently signed into law a Public Employee Collective Bargaining Bill. And, Barbara attended that bill-signing ceremony. (Applause) We expect to gain about 4,000 members in New Mexico as a result of that bill.

On the other hand, we have organized 3,000 workers at Comcast and its predecessor, AT&T Broadband, and still cannot get contracts. We are using every bit of political and community leverage we can to put pressure on the company, and we will continue for as long as it takes to bring this management around.

Last June, we negotiated a satisfactory agreement with General Electric. Our members will tell you that GE bargaining is always tough, but we negotiated new language that deals with organizing rights. GE, in that regard, has been as anti-union as they come. We know we need to grow our numbers in that company or ultimately risk irrelevancy. Ed Fire and Larry Cohen have put together a plan to accomplish just that.

Just two or three days ago, we had another great victory when an arbitrator ordered Delphi Company – that's a parts company that used to be owned by GM – to reinstate 500 members

who they laid off. They are back to work. (Applause)

Clearly, over the long-term, we need to change the political and economic climate that today denies so many workers the opportunity to freely exercise their rights to join a union.

One of the resolutions that will come before you concerns CWA's campaign for strengthening and expanding collective bargaining and organizing rights. This campaign is an all-out effort by the entire Labor Movement to link politics to organizing and to place organizing at the center of the Labor Movement's political agenda.

Our Executive Board has adopted a resolution in support of this campaign and about 300 locals have passed resolutions endorsing and committing to education, political work and mobilization based on this program. If you haven't done so yet, please do at your next membership meeting.

Organizing is the lifeblood of our union and our movement, but I want to tell you that the United States Labor Movement is in trouble. Not only are we down to about eight and a half percent representation in the private sector, but, of 65 affiliates of the AFL-CIO, 57 have fewer than 400,000 members. Only eight of us – there is no union between 400,000 and 600,000 – and there are only eight of us with 600,000 and up.

When you look at the International Association of Machinists, a great union – when I came to Washington 18 years ago, they had a banner across their building that said "One Million Strong and Growing." Today, I think they are closer to 350,000 than 400,000 because of many events beyond their control.

When you look at the steel industry – a union that once was over a million, with some 19 companies in Chapter 11 and the president of that great union saying, "Three or four years from now, if this continues, there may not be a United Steel Workers of America."

When you hear and see and realize these things – when the United Auto Workers, once 1.2 million are now down to 660,000, if you are not concerned about the future of the Labor Movement, you better get concerned now because we do not operate in a vacuum. We all live and work in communities, cities and states and our strength comes from each other. It's not easy.

You see, George Meany used to say years ago that if you don't have 100,000 members, you better look for a partner. Today, it's pretty much if you don't have 500,000 members, you better look for a partner because you're in a downward spiral that you no longer have the resources to get out of.

It takes a lot of guts for people to do what the ITU, America's oldest union, did in 1987 by joining us; and then NABET and The Newspaper Guild and the IUE. Each one, an old-line, proud union, joined with CWA. Numerous independents joined with us. And I would tell you that today, if we didn't have these mergers and affiliations of AFL-CIO independents, our union would be half the size it is today and we would be here looking at who we could merge with.

We are fortunate in that we have built a reputation, all of us together, of being a clean, honest, democratic union that effectively represents its members, that works for the good of the community and the good of our nation. So we are one of the few unions that become attractive to very proud unions that serve their members, but because of things beyond their control can no longer do so.

I pointed out in the staff meeting yesterday that if we were still the old Telecom Union – it was, when I came into this union – I pointed out one thing: To assist us in the Verizon negotiations, I asked Ted Kennedy to draft a letter that other U.S. Senators, Democrats from the Verizon states, would sign-on to as a letter to Seidenberg – hit all the good issues. And, there were 13 or 14 Senators who signed on. We were able to publish it in a newspaper ad.

But, take the state of New Jersey as an example. How willing might the two U.S. Senators

in New Jersey be to sign on to our letter if all we had were 3,000 telecom members instead of over 50,000 of public sector, IUE, ITU, and all the others? (Applause)

We brag about our diversity. How many times have we said that we're a diversity of men, women, religion, sex, the whole bit; that the more diverse we are, the stronger we are. Well, I'll tell you, the more diverse our union is, the stronger we are.

We have never had a merger, an affiliation that didn't benefit both the affiliating party and our union. (Applause) So today, you will hear from Pat Friend, the president of the Association of Flight Attendants. Last week we agreed on a draft merger between our two unions, although it's not finalized – it still could change – we will distribute it to you tomorrow for you to look at. Now, some of us might wonder why this particular alliance. Our unions are connected not just by our members at US Airways, but also by a common strategy of deep union democracy, fantastic membership mobilization, and an understanding that our effectiveness lies in our abilities to link bargaining, organizing and political action.

I am also absolutely confident that together we will be stronger. For example, flight attendants and customer service staff at Delta and Jet Blue are unorganized and we anticipate a joint campaign at both of these airlines.

Last week, CWA filed for representation election for 1,200 reservation agents at Piedmont Airlines where the flight attendants are already organized, and they will assist us in this campaign. Also, take note that there are about 20,000 flight attendants who are members of independent unions and 40,000 unorganized passenger reservation agents, which offers an enormous opportunity for growth for us working together.

These are rough times for the U.S. Labor Movement and, clearly, we need to find new ways to join together and build stronger unions. Only a broad movement committed to helping workers organize will create a strong political and collective voice for workers on the job, in the community, in the nation, and indeed around the world. So join me in welcoming Pat Friend and other AFA leaders to our convention. (Applause) They are sitting down there also. Pat is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and she and I work closely on many things.

Politics, organizing, collective bargaining; it's right there – the three sides of the CWA Triangle.

So I issue a call to action to each of you. Communicate with your members; talk with them about these issues. Give them the facts. Talk to them in a straightforward way. Warn them about the dangers of a declining Labor Movement to our way of life. Write about these issues in your newsletters. Discuss them, in your stewards' meetings; your membership meetings; distribute leaflets in the workplace – the best way to communicate. We are launching new Internet tools to make it easier than ever for you to do all this.

Our members will listen to you. You have enormous credibility with them and they want and need the information. I also ask you to participate to the fullest in CWA's Labor 2004 campaign, which will begin once this convention closes.

The stakes are so high and we just cannot wait for next year. President Bush and his allies seek nothing less than a total political realignment next year comparable to what President Roosevelt did with the New Deal in 1932. He has told his supporters, and you've seen it in the press, that he does not want "a lonely victory." He wants to widen the margins in both the House and the Senate to roll over any resistance from Democrats.

If reelected, his 21st Century New Deal agenda will seek to rollback all of the gains of the 20th Century. They would like to turn government over to private contractors and faith-based organizations; they want to restore the primacy of private property rights over public sharing; to phase out private pension plans in order to relieve corporations of the responsibility; and to privatize Social Security.

They would eliminate taxation of private capital and shift more of the tax burden to working

families, and on and on and on. But, most of all, they must smash organized labor because our unions are the embodiment of collective resistance.

Brothers and sisters, we are the only institution with the power, the reach, the membership, and the resources to stand in their way. That is why Labor is at the top of their hit list – we must be weakened to the point of irrelevancy in their quest for total political power.

For 65 years, our union has fought for a better life for our members and all working families. We were born in the same year that the Supreme Court upheld Labor's Magna Carta, the Wagner Act. The Bush Administration would take us back to the days before the Wagner Act. They would strip us of our union contracts; our union wages; benefits; and, most of all, our union rights. We will, we must fight back.

You have heard me speak to you for these past ten years about every election being the most important; and for the past ten years, every election has been the most important. Our nation was and remains today deeply divided. A shift of less than one-tenth of one percent of the total vote in 2002 would have resulted in the Democrats capturing both the House and Senate.

I repeat, just one-tenth of one percent would have resulted in Dick Gephardt being the Speaker of the House, Tom Daschle the Majority Leader, and Ted Kennedy the Chair of the Labor Committee.

The elections in 2004 will be the turning point for the entire next generation. President Bush claims a mandate where none exists. But, they are working hard to consolidate their power. The redistricting battles in Texas and Colorado and the recall election in California are part of that strategy. They are also trying to bury the Democrats and organized labor in cash.

President Bush is building the earliest, most aggressive campaign organization in 20 years. He raised \$30 million through the end of June, and it seems to grow a million dollars a day. He is on target to raise more than \$250 million before the Republican Convention next September. They will spend a record amount on field operations. They intend to register three million new voters. They've already signed up six million "e-leaders" on the Internet. And, they have a list of 325,000 "team leaders" responsible for organizing their communities.

Tom DeLay makes no bones about it, he copied it out of Labor's book. With the Campaign Finance Reform Act restricting the use of treasury money, our voluntary CWA-COPE contributions are more important than ever.

It takes money to support our candidates; money to build our field operations; money to communicate with our members. Yet, when I read your newsletters, and I read them all, very few of them have articles about COPE or the need to contribute. To be specific, every newsletter I read hits all the important issues and talks about what needs to be done about them, but of the last 70 newsletters I have read, only six mentioned the word "COPE."

We need to liberally put our money where our mouths are. We know our stewards and members will contribute to COPE when we ask them. Today, little more than nine percent of our members contribute on a regular basis. We cannot build an effective political program on the backs of nine percent of our members. So we need to walk the talk. We don't have to match the other side in money. We just need to raise enough to be competitive in key races.

Fortunately, because of the action of our delegates last year, we are far ahead of the curve in building an effective voluntary political action fund. But we must do more. We currently face the worst threat to our Movement that I have experienced in my lifetime. We need to go to the next higher level of activity to meet the challenges that face us. The status quo is a formula that will lead to our demise.

We have the strength and the power to respond. The future is not pre-ordained. But it will take all of us, committed and united, working together to take America back. If we lead, our members will follow. But first, each and every one of us has to make a personal decision to commit ourselves and our locals to the task ahead.

If you do this, I know that together we will continue to negotiate the best contracts; together we will organize and continue to build the most powerful union in the world; that together we will build the strongest, most effective political program the nation has ever seen.

When we leave this convention, we will be committed to taking a stand for the future of our members, our Movement and our nation. We will send a loud message to President Bush and his allies: You can't stop us. We will defend our rights. We will protect our way of life. We will move a union agenda forward. We will move a workers' agenda forward. We will change America. Thank you.

... The delegates arose and applauded, after which a very exciting video was shown entitled "Standing Together"...

TEMPORARY CHAIR VAN DER WOUDE: Before I turn the gavel over to President Bahr, I want to thank all of the delegates for this special honor of serving as your Temporary Chair. And, I would like to give special recognition to a group of people who do not often get recognized in a public format. As union activists, we all spend many long hours at our union halls, on the telephone at home, on picket lines, and surfing the Internet. We sometimes miss important occasions because we are out of town on union business.

I just want to say a special thank you to all the spouses, our partners in life, our children, our friends, and our pets who have understood our absences and stood beside us silently.

I personally want to thank my husband, Doc; my children, Melissa, Eric and Kathryn; my sister Barb, for giving me the wind beneath my wings. I also want to thank Susan Tisza, Jan Sullivan, Gina Gabe, and their families for always being so understanding and for making our load easier to carry.

I want to thank all the delegates for this honor of serving as your Temporary Chair. Until we meet again, may you all have a safe and blessed Labor Day! In unity always, thank you all so very much. (Applause)

And now, under the Rules of the Convention, I will now turn the gavel over to President Bahr who will assume the position of Permanent Convention Chair. Thank you.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you for being a great Temporary Chair who got us all off on the right foot. Would you all take your seats, please. No standing. We are changing the schedule a bit because our first and important speaker is here. So, would those standing please quietly take your seats. And would the Escort Committee please bring Representative Dick Gephardt to the podium. The Escort Committee consists of: Tony Ellebracht, President, Local 6310; Michael Neumann, President, Local 6320; Earline Jones, President, Local 6377; and John Ebeling, President, PPMWS Local 14616.

... The delegates arose and applauded as Representative Richard A. Gephardt was escorted to the platform...

PRESIDENT BAHR: I have been given about a five- or six-page introduction for Dick Gephardt. I worked with Dick for the 18 years that I have been president of this union, and I don't know anyone who is more solidly with us on every critical issue that faces working families and organized labor: the right to organize, to bargain collectively. He supports neutrality and the card-check processes. There is no one more eloquent about the need for fair trade treaties; no one more alarmed about not only industrial jobs that have fled our shores, but now the migration of those jobs that were supposed to be the future – IT and other white-collar jobs.

He is a man who most of the time calls me and asks if he could help me with some problem he heard about – most recently with Verizon, but it could be about anything. He is truly a friend of working men and women. He is truly a friend of organized labor. He is certainly a friend of our union, and I consider him a personal friend. We are all honored and privileged to have Dick

Gephardt with us today.

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

THE HONORABLE RICHARD A. GEPHARDT (U.S. House of Representatives, D-MO):
Thank you. Thank you all.

First, let me salute this great organization and your great president, Morty Bahr. I have worked with lots of labor leaders. I have never met one who is more dedicated, effective and successful in leading a union in all the ways that unions have to be led in this difficult, modern world in which all workers live, than Morty Bahr. Thank you, Morty Bahr, for the great job through the years. (Applause)

I am also extremely fond of Barbara Easterling and Lou Gerber, and all of the staff that we work with in Washington, D.C. They are as good as it gets in any union. They do a great job for you every day representing you in the Halls of Congress. Give them a big hand for their hard work. (Applause)

I am just happy to be introduced so you know who I am. One of the things that happen to you when you are on C-Span a lot is, when you go out into a restaurant or any public places, people see you but they cannot quite put the name with the face. People think I am Jack Kemp. People think I am a football coach. I am often confused with Dan Quayle. (Laughter) You think you have problems. (Laughter)

Two great stories. The other day I was in Pittsburgh in the airport. We are in the security line and this man comes up to me, and he has a little kid with him.

He said, "Sir, my son would love to have your autograph."

I said, "I'd be happy to give him my autograph."

As I am signing my name in his autograph book, the father said to me, "You know, my son has never had the autograph of an astronaut." (Laughter) I didn't say anything. (Laughter) Dick Gephardt, astronaut. (Laughter)

The best story of all is I have been married for 37 years to Jane Gephardt. It is Dick and Jane. (Laughter and applause) Don't you think we need Dick and Jane in the White House? I think that works. (Laughter and applause)

We were coming out of a hotel in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, about two weeks ago, dead tired. It was six o'clock in the morning. We get in a cab, half-asleep. We have a woman taxi driver. She is driving down the road. She looks up in the rearview mirror and she says, "Oh, my gosh!" she said, "You're famous. But," she said, "I can't remember your name." (Laughter)

Well, I thought at least she knows who I am. I kind of sat up. I woke up. I said, "I'm Dick Gephardt. I'm running for President."

She said, "Not you. Her." (Laughter)

So, thanks for introducing me so you know who I am. My name is Dick Gephardt. I am going to win the Democratic nomination and I am going to beat George Bush in November of 2004. (The delegates arose and applauded and cheered)

He needs to go. He needs to go. (Applause and cheers) We are going to win. (Applause and cheers)

My dad was a Teamster and a milk truck driver in St. Louis, Missouri. He didn't get through high school. My mother was a secretary, and neither did she. But they worked hard and gave me a fabulous education. They were the salt of the earth.

My dad used to say, "We have food on the table because I'm represented by a collective bargaining unit called the Teamsters. And we have a roof over our head because of that union."

He also used to say, "We have a middle class in America because we have labor unions. Other countries don't."

I have never forgotten that, and every day I have been in the House I have tried to represent people like my parents, working families and labor unions because they have made this country great. (Applause)

This President has made this economy a mess. He does not have a clue of what to do to fix this economy. I was the Majority Leader in 1993 with Bill Clinton as President and we passed the economic program in August of 1993. We didn't get one Republican vote in the House. We didn't get one Republican vote in the Senate. We passed it by one vote in both Houses. It was the platform on which you, the American people, created the best economy we have had in this country in fifty years. Remember it? Do you remember it? (Applause) Do you remember it? (Applause and cheers)

Listen to these facts; you created 22 million jobs in seven years. Unemployment at the end of the Clinton term was at 3 percent. You took a \$35 trillion deficit and turned it into a \$5 trillion surplus. This was a great economy that we presented, you presented to "W." And in a little more than 24 months he has turned everything on its head. He has lost 100,000 jobs a month. His record on losing jobs is the worst since Herbert Hoover. He has lost more jobs in two and a half years than the past eleven presidents combined. He only has one idea for fixing the economy: tax cuts for the wealthiest, followed by tax cuts for the wealthiest, followed by – you got it – tax cuts for the wealthiest.

Well, let me tell you something, folks, they are not working. They are not going to work. That is not fair for the middle class. He has declared war on the middle class. It is time for him to go. Like father, like son, four years and he is done.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

So in my first week as President, I will ask the Congress to get rid of the Bush tax cuts, and I will use most of the money to see to it that every person in this country is covered with good health insurance that cannot be taken away from them. (Applause)

My plan is the best plan. My plan is the only plan that helps everybody. My plan is the only plan that helps people that are uninsured and gives equal help to people that are already insured. My plan is the only plan that helps people that are part-time as well as full-time. My plan is the only plan that helps retirees as well as active employees. My plan is the only plan that helps public employees, state and local government employees, as well as not-for-profit employees, as much as private employees.

My plan requires every employer to offer health care to their employees and plans for them to have it, and it's the only plan that requires every employer to pass along to the employee my subsidy from the federal government equal to 60 percent of whatever plan you choose. It can never be taken away from you. And my plan is the only plan that says to employers who already offer insurance, like most of yours do, that if you already offer insurance, if you are going to get the 60 percent subsidy, you have to keep your share where it is. If it's at 90 percent, it has to stay at 90. If it's at 100, it has to stay at 100. If it's 80, it has to stay at 80. No backsliding on health care – which you know plenty about. (Applause)

Health care is the only issue that is on the bargaining table in most negotiations between workers and employers today. We will never fix the economy in this country until we fix the health care problem; never fix the economy until we fix the health care problem. (Applause)

Now, let me tell you why I care about this so much, beyond the obvious. Jane and I have three kids. When our oldest, Matt, was two – he was actually 18 months – he was diagnosed with terminal cancer at Children's Hospital in St. Louis. I will never forget that day. I think it was May 29, 1972. He had had some flu symptoms and they would not go away. Finally, the doctor said to Jane that she should bring him to the hospital to get an x-ray. She called me at 11 o'clock in the morning. She was crying. She said, "We've got a bad problem. You have to get over here

right away.”

I will never forget sitting down across from that pediatrician. He said, “We have got a bad problem here. He’s got a huge tumor on his prostate. It’s too big to get out with surgery. We don’t think chemo will work on it. The worst of it is it’s going to metastasize and go to his lungs. He is not going to be alive four weeks from now.”

I remember going back in his room and hugging him with tears streaming down my face. I couldn’t even explain to him because he was too young, why he hurt so much. I remember going home that night and kneeling down by the bed and offering prayers all night that we could find an answer to his problem. I remember in the days after that writing letters to Mexico to find out about Laetril. I remember taking him to Pittsburgh to a revival meeting with a healer because when your kid is going to die you’ll do anything to save them.

And then I remember the doctor a few days later saying, “We found some new therapies. We don’t think they’ll work, but your insurance will cover it, so we are going to give it a try. Don’t get your hopes up.”

He had three years of max chemo, max radiation. He has had ten operations. He’s still got a lot of health problems. But he is 32 years old and married, and he lives in Atlanta, Georgia. (Applause)

He is a gift from God. We are so lucky. We had good doctors and nurses. We had good research at the NIH. We had the grace of God. When he was in the hospital for five years, in and out, getting all this treatment, we met a lot of other parents of other kids who had cancer. Some of them did not have insurance. We were all scared, but if you want to see real terror, look in the eyes of a parent of a sick kid and they don’t have insurance. They don’t know where the next \$500 is going to come from for the next chemotherapy treatment. That, folks, is real terror.

I will argue to you that my plan is better for the economy; that it will build more jobs; that it will put more money in the average family’s pocket than the Bush tax cuts. I will argue to you that my plan will get this economy moving again. But I will also argue to you that this health care issue is a moral issue. It is immoral to have anybody in this country without health insurance; and when I am President, we are going to solve this problem once and for all.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

And, I will never forget that my father believed that we have a middle class in America because we had a legal system that has allowed labor unions. You and I have seen what this Administration has done to the laws that exist and the interpretation of those laws that allow people to be in labor unions. We have seen the perversion of those laws, the misinterpretation of those laws. We have seen how hard it is to organize people, to be able to have a fair election. And once you have won an election, as important as it is to be able to get a contract, we have seen all the legal tricks that they have played.

We have seen an administration that is as hostile to the middle class and the working families and labor unions as any administration that has ever served in the White House. When I am President, that will change. Because I come from a labor family, and I have fought for 27 years in the Congress for labor unions and working families to be able to have their rights.

Let me tell you what will happen and what you all can envision in a Gephardt administration. First, we will have card check and neutrality so you can get the election without intimidation. (Applause and cheers) Second, we will have first contract arbitration so we don’t wind up with five years in the legal system until you can finally get to a first contract. And, we will have triple back pay for the unlawful dismissal of union organizers who have been sent out of these plants through intimidation. (Applause) You need to be on a level playing field.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

And finally, you will see no bogus overtime proposal going through the Congress. I will

never sign it if it happens to get to my desk. You will see no bogus comp time proposal trying to come through the Congress. You will see no changes to weaken OSHA and safety regulations. You will see an ergonomic regulation put back on the books. And you will see an end to the assault on the minimum wage and safety rules and work rules and job rules.

This Administration is hostile to Labor. And let me say one other thing: I support you fully in what all of you have done to get a good agreement with all of your employers, especially in the last days at Verizon. Let me say this to the management of Verizon and Verizon Wireless: Do not make the mistake of hanging up this hugely important contract so you can beat 51 employees of Verizon Wireless out of their rights so you don't face a union at Verizon Wireless. That is wrong, and you shouldn't do it. You shouldn't do it.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

Finally, I will be a President who changes the world trading system and leads an alliance in the world so that we honor work and reward work in any country in the world because it is work performed by human beings. We have constructed a green light in this country in the last four administrations, Democratic and Republican, to say to every company in the world, "It is okay to go to the country in the world where you can get the cheapest possible labor, so you can make the highest monetary profit." We have constructed a race to the bottom.

What we have all forgotten is that there are two sides to the economic equation: supply and demand. What we are going to wind up with if we don't change this system is a lot of supply, but workers everywhere are not going to have any money to buy any of the products that they are making. Remember what Henry Ford said? "I have got to pay my workers enough so they can buy the cars they are making." It never changes. (Applause)

Now, I have been the leader on this issue for 25 years. I was Majority Leader when NAFTA came up. My President, Bill Clinton, who I agreed with on most things, wanted me to support NAFTA and support the treaty that he negotiated. And I told him directly I could not do that because the treaty would create a race to the bottom. I told him the same thing on free trade with China. And I fought him on both treaties. And we almost won.

I won on fast track in one of the last times it came out. I won on steel dumping. So, I have had some success. But we need a lot more success. This issue is important to every American worker. It is important to America, and it is important to China and Mexico and every other country in the world; because, if we don't fix this trade problem, nobody, no worker in the world, is going to be making enough to live decently as a human being.

You know, I have been to these places. I have been to these places. I have seen the problems. I have walked in the factories in China and Indonesia and India and Mexico. A lot of the candidates in this race will say that they would never sign a treaty that doesn't have proper labor and environmental conditions in it. But you had better check the record because most of them voted for those treaties when they were in front of the Congress while I was leading the fight against them.

Why did I do that? Because I have walked in the villages. The plants are as modern as anything in the United States. Any of us would be happy to work in the plants. But go to the villages where the workers live. They live in worse conditions than most animals in the United States. They live on the ground. They live in the cardboard boxes that bring the products back to the United States, because they can't buy any of the products they are making. Raw sewage coming down the middle of the road; no running water; no electricity.

This, folks, is nothing short of base human exploitation. It is wrong. It is immoral. And when I am President, it will end. (Applause) It will end, and we will get good treaties. (Applause)

And finally, as President I will go to the World Trade Organization and I will demand that we have something in the world we should have had a long time ago, and that is an international minimum wage. It may be different in China than in the United States, but we have got to start somewhere, folks. We have got to inform the world that we are not going to be part of a world

trading system that doesn't begin to have standards for every human being in this world. We have to bring their standards up to ours instead of our standards falling all the way down to them. When I am President, that is what we are going to do. (Applause) It is only right.

Let me finally say this: I have been endorsed by 12 international unions and I am proud of that endorsement. I am honored by their endorsement. I seek your endorsement. I want to represent as President the values that you stand for and that you believe in.

Every time I have gotten to one of these meetings with people like you, whether it was the Steelworkers or the Machinists or whichever union I was in front of, when I look out in the audience I see my mom and my dad, hard-working, patriotic, loyal Americans. You are the reason this country is great. You are the reason that I am out here running for President.

This election is not about me; it's not even about any of the other candidates. It is about us as a country. I could care less about being President. But I care a lot about what happens in this country to our people. I care a lot about what happens in this economy. I care a lot about whether we are going to deal with unions fairly on a level playing field. I care a lot about whether our people have health care.

I care a lot about whether we fix this education system in our country with something more than idle phrases like "Leave No Child Behind." I care a lot if we are going to have a world trading system. And I care a lot that we have a President who deals and works with other countries in the world, not with pride and arrogance, but deals with them with respect so we get the help from other countries in the world that we need in fighting against all of the problems we face.

This President is not doing the job for the American people. He is not up for this job. We need a President who will do all of these things for the people like you. (Applause)

Remember on your report card in grade school, you had a history grade, a math grade, English grade? Then there was a line that said, "Plays well with others"? (Laughter) Bush got an "F."

In the end, let me tell you what my philosophy of life is and how it is different than W's. I think we are all tied together. Whether you know it or not, even whether you like it or not, if somebody doesn't have health insurance they still get sick. They wind up in the emergency room. They have a heart attack rather than just high blood pressure. They have failed kidneys rather than the beginning of diabetes. When we take care of that, that bill goes on your bill, whether you know it or not or whether you like it or not.

If someone's child doesn't get a good education and winds up in prison, winds up on welfare, we all pay the bill every day. And the bills are mounting by the day.

If we don't get the trade system straightened out and workers in China and Mexico and some other countries don't make any money, they can't buy our products or their own products. It affects all of us every day. We are bound together. Martin Luther King once said, "We are all woven into a single garment of destiny." He said, "What affects one directly affects all the rest of us indirectly."

He also said, "I can't be what I ought to be until you can be what you ought to be." And that is what I really believe. I think the President believes we are all separated and isolated. If you make it, fine. If you don't make it, it doesn't matter. It's called survival of the fittest.

I don't think it's moral. My own life is the best example. My family was poor. The best job my dad ever had was as a Teamster. He lost it after ten years because his back gave out. They didn't have OSHA in those days. He took odd jobs. He didn't make nearly as much money, but because my parents worked hard and I had a church scholarship and university scholarship and government loans and three jobs, I got a great education.

I have been leader in the House for 13 years. I am running for President of the United

States, and I did not do it on my own. I had a lot of help. There are not many of us who don't need a lot of help to fulfill our potential.

I just want each of you to know that when I am in that Oval Office every day, on every issue I am going to be trying to figure out how every person in this great country fulfills their God-given potential with nobody left out, nobody left behind. We can make this country a better place by far than it has ever, ever been.

Thank you and God bless all of you.

... The delegates arose and applauded and extended a heartfelt standing ovation to U.S. Representative Dick Gephardt...

He's got to go! He's got to go! It's time for him to go! Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you so much, Dick.

Dick Gephardt promised me on a number of occasions that when he got to be Speaker of the Congress that I would be sitting up in the seat next to his wife watching him get the gavel. So, Dick, I hope when you become President of the United States, I still can get that seat at the first State of the Union message. Thank you for being with us. (Applause)

For the new delegates and review for some of the old, I want to describe the use of the microphones and how you get recognized. Microphone No. 1 – here – obviously is for motions, and that is the place you go if you want to make a motion.

On each mike there is a telephone. It is connected directly to our parliamentarians, and they are seated immediately behind me.

Will the parliamentarians please stand?

Pat Scanlon, Pat Shea, and Richard Rosenblatt. (Applause)

When you pick up the phone, please advise the parliamentarians of the motion you want to make. They will give you a preliminary ruling. If your motion is in order, the chair will be advised and you will be recognized. If you disagree with the parliamentarians' order, advise the parliamentarians. They will then bring the 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.

The microphone in the center, No. 2, called privilege, use it to raise a point of order or a point of privilege. It, too, is connected to the parliamentarians.

Microphone No. 3 is the "for" microphone. Use it to be recognized to speak for a motion that is before the convention. And microphone No. 4 is where you go to speak against the motion. At the back of the hall is microphone No. 5 where you go to ask a question or to get a clarification of a point.

Under our rules, we rotate from one microphone to the other. The maker of a motion may speak on that motion on microphone No. 1 for five minutes under our Five-Minute Rule, and there is a red light here on the platform. It should go on. There it is. That light will go on, and if you are not paying too much attention to what you're saying, it will go on like this to indicate that you have one minute left. After that, the microphone will go dead.

In rotation, the move will be from the motions mike or the platform to microphone No. 4, then to 3, and then to 5, if anybody is at 5. The rotation continues until at least two people have had an opportunity to speak for and against, after which a motion to close debate is in order.

As you go to the "for" and "against" and "questions" mike, lift the telephone, give the switchboard attendant your name and local number, and state or province, if it's Canada. You will be recognized in the order called for under our rules. Start off your remarks with your name

and local number.

Let me introduce the people who will be handling the switchboard and answering as you call from microphones 3, 4, and 5. They will advise me to recognize you. They are seated on my left and are:

... As each of the switchboard attendants was introduced, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition...

Judith Dennis, CWA Representative, District 3; Ann Crump, CWA Representative, District 4; Jerrell Miller, CWA Representative, District 6; Rick Sorensen, CWA Representative, District 7; Madelene Robertson, CWA Representative, District 6, Chair. And for the Five-Minute Rule, Gloria Parra, CWA Representative, District 6; and Howard Foshinbaur, Representative, IUE-CWA District 8.

During the course of our Convention, a verbatim record is kept. The record is carefully prepared by our editing group seated to the back on my right. There's the Editing Committee back there.

Shortly after adjournment, a complete set of convention proceedings will be mailed to you. You will then have 30 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 doing the editing and indexes are:

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

Linda Banas-Crawford, CWA Representative, District 3; Edith Jones, CWA Representative, District 6; Debbie Thomas, TNG-CWA Executive Secretary, Contracts Committee; Robert Patti, Representative, IUE-CWA District 3; Linda Cearley, TNG-CWA International Representative, Chair.

To help us with who is to be recognized and to be sure that we follow procedures as proposed under the Constitution, we have two delegates from the floor each day. These delegates sit with the people that operate our telephones and keep track of who is asking to be recognized. For that purpose today, we have: Rich Dumas, Vice President, Local 7019, and Michael Peterson, Vice President of NABET-CWA, Local 59053.

Now I want to introduce the members of the Credentials Committee: Gary Allen, President, CWA Local 1051; Joan Tapia, President, CWA Local 1080; Claudia K. Matthews, President, Local 2001; Clifford J. Thrasher, President, CWA Local 2911; Eddie Christian, President, Local 3263; Judy Bruno, President, CWA Local 3406; Richard Murray, President, CWA Local 4501; Ronnie Gray, President, CWA Local 6228; Mildred Montgomery, President, CWA Local 6402; Rozanne DuBois, President, CWA Local 7500; Malachy Sreenan, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 7800; Kingsley Chew, President, CWA Local 9410; April Lloyd, President, CWA Local 9586; Chris Fox, President, CWA Local 13302; Robert Hellwitz, Vice President, NABET-CWA Local 51025; Gary Reiser, President, IUE-CWA Local 84717; Donald R. Rice, CWA Representative, District 1, Co-Chair; Betty Witte, Administrative Assistant to VP, District 3, Co-Chair; Marjorie Ann Kruger, Administrative Assistant to VP, District 13, Chair.

The Chair recognizes the Chair of the Credentials Committee for a report.

DELEGATE MARJORIE ANN KRUEGER (District 13, Chair, Credentials Committee): President Bahr, Delegates, and Guests: I am pleased to announce, on behalf of the Credentials Committee, that the Committee has registered over 2,161 delegates, alternates and guests to this 65th CWA 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 assistance of the two departments mentioned, 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. We especially 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. Local 1025 in Voorhees, New Jersey; Local 1300 in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Local 3865 in Nashville, Tennessee; TNG Local 30009 in Kitchener, Ontario; Local 4502 in Columbus, Ohio; Local 9111 in Ontario, California; and Local 13200 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Let's welcome these locals. (Applause)

We shall be reporting on credentials in the following categories:

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

Category 2: Credentials properly executed but late.

Category 3: Improperly executed.

Category 4A: Proxy credentials properly executed but late.

Category 4B: Proxy credentials improperly executed.

Category 5: Unusual circumstances.

Category 1: 1,359 delegate credentials properly executed and on time.

The Committee moves that these delegates be seated.

... The motion was duly seconded ...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor. There is nobody on the mikes.

All those in favor, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Committee.

CHAIR KRUEGER: Thank you.

There are no credentials to report in Category 2. No credentials to report in Category 3. No credentials to report in Category 4. No credentials to report in Category 5.

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 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 Convention. Those delegates, other than Category 1, who have not 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 shortly at the registration counters in the lobby.

Mr. President and delegates, this completes the Committee's report at this time. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Marge, and thanks to the Committee. (Applause)

Would the Resolutions and Rules Committee please come to the platform. I want to introduce the members of the Resolutions and Rules Committee.

... As each member of the Resolutions and Rules Committee was introduced, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition...

Linda Smith, President, CWA Local 1082; Virginia Anderson, Treasurer, CWA Local 6320; Vicki Pallan, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 9575; Charlie Braico, Vice President, NABET-CWA Local 54041; Gil Woods, President, IUE-CWA Local 84768; Lillian Covarrubias, President, TNG-CWA Local 34043, Chair.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE LILLIAN COVARRUBIAS (Local 34043, Chair, Resolutions and Rules Committee): Thank you, Mr. President.

The Resolutions and Rules Committee met in the City of Chicago, Illinois, beginning on August 21, 2003, for the purpose of reviewing and considering any proposed amendments to the Permanent Rules Governing Conduct of CWA Conventions, which can be found printed in your CWA Constitution beginning on page 23 and ending on page 26.

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 65th Annual CWA Convention recommends no changes be made in the Permanent Rules.

HOURS OF THE CONVENTION

Rule VI (Hours of the 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: That the regular sessions of the 65th Annual CWA Convention shall be as follows:

On Monday, August 25, 2003, the Convention shall be called to order at 8:30 a.m. The Convention will be in recess for one and one-half hours beginning at approximately 12 noon to 1:30 p.m. and will continue until all business has been concluded.

Respectfully submitted.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the resolution.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is nobody at the mike. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. Thank you very much, Committee.

Would the Escort Committee bring Congressman Dennis Kucinich to the platform, please? (Applause) The Escort Committee consists of: Brenda Mallory, President, Local 4309; Ed Phillips, President, Local 4340; Daniel Rattay, Vice President, IUE-CWA Local 84727; and Janet Bernard, President, IUE-CWA Local 84737.

Congressman Dennis Kucinich is well-known, particularly to those of you from the Cleveland area, for his many years of hard work on behalf of workers and working families.

Along with our Union, he was a founding member of the Greater Cleveland Jobs with Justice Workers' Rights Board. The Board has assisted many union-organizing campaigns, including CWA campaigns at Security Link, Adelphia and WUAB/WOIO TV.

A few years ago, Representative Kucinich hosted a forum on the right to organize. The Greater Cleveland AFL-CIO has recognized him as a tireless advocate for the social and economic interests of his community. He is currently leading a civic crusade to save Cleveland's 90-year old steel industry and the thousands of jobs and retiree benefits it provides.

Dennis Kucinich was elected Mayor of Cleveland when he was only 31 years old, the youngest person ever elected to lead a major American city. He is now in his fourth term as a Congressman representing the Cleveland area.

As chairman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, Representative Kucinich has promoted a national health care system, preservation of Social Security, increased unemployment insurance benefits, and the establishment of wholesale cost-based rates for electricity, natural gas and home heating oil. He is a strong and vocal advocate for the poor and the homeless.

Representative Kucinich also fights for human rights around the world. On the eve of the World Trade Organization's Seattle conference, he organized 114 fellow Democrats to call for human rights, workers' rights and environmental quality principles, as preconditions in all U.S. trade agreements.

He marched with workers through the streets of Seattle protesting the WTO's policies, and, with students through the streets of Washington, D.C, challenging the policies of the IMF.

Please join with me in extending a warm welcome to one of the House of Representatives' strongest voices for workers and working families, Congressman Dennis Kucinich.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length as Congressman Dennis Kucinich was escorted the podium...

THE HONORABLE DENNIS KUCINICH (U.S. House of Representatives, D-OH): Thank you very much, delegates, brothers and sisters. Thank you to Morty for that fine introduction.

It has been my honor to be a representative in the United States Congress, to stand up and speak out on behalf of working men and women, to be there with the CWA and the IUE whenever the cause of workers' rights required.

This is a moment, brothers and sisters, when we are challenged to determine the direction not only of our country but the direction of the Labor Movement itself, because this election will be a defining moment to decide whether or not the hopes and dreams of working men and women can in fact be realized – not only through the nomination of someone who can win, but through the election of someone who will deliver for working men and women the promise of an America which has room for all, which has opportunities for all, which has hope for all. (Applause)

I am here to talk to you about a proven track record, a proven track record of defeating incumbent Republicans when I was elected Mayor of the City of Cleveland with the help of the CWA. I defeated a Republican incumbent when I was elected to the State Senate of Ohio, running into a Republican landslide.

I defeated a Republican incumbent with the help of the CWA when I was elected to the Congress in 1996, one of the few Democrats to defeat a Republican incumbent, and I did it with the help of the CWA. And, my brothers and sisters, with your help we are going to have a new President in 2004, and with your help that is going to be me, and I will continue my record of defeating Republican incumbents. (Applause)

No Republican has ever won the White House without winning in Ohio, and I come from a state with 20 electoral votes, and those 20 electoral votes will figure mightily. Al Gore lost in Ohio by only three points, even though all of us held to our efforts and pushed the vote out and closed the gap.

Without any help, we almost won Ohio. And I am saying that with me leading the ticket in Ohio, I can deliver Ohio to the Democratic Party, and I can deliver the White House to the Democratic Party, and that is my intention in running for this presidency.

I would submit to this Convention: What kind of a candidate has the best chance of winning against the incumbent president? When all is said and done, we must recognize why people stay home on Election Day. They stay home because there is not a real choice. They stay home

because it is Tweedle-Dee or Tweedle-Dum. They stay home because they don't feel that they have something at stake.

So, today I stand before you to tell you why my campaign and my candidacy represent the sharpest contrast with the incumbent administration, and why the issues that I am running on will be essential in igniting the passions of the American people for political change, because I led the effort in the House of Representatives in challenging this Administration's march toward war in Iraq.

This Administration lied to the American people, and we must challenge them and only a nominee who can effectively challenge them toe-to-toe, lie for lie that they have told the American people, and this is how we are going to be successful.

We lost the Congress of the United States in the last election. We should have won it back, and the reason why we didn't is because we didn't have our leadership challenging this President on the cause of war.

We know, with our men and women serving right now, their lives have been put on the line in a cause that has not been righteous, in a cause that has been discolored by the misrepresentations of an Administration who pushed us into war more than anything for their own political designs than for the security designs of this country.

Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11, with al-Qaida's attack on 9/11 or the anthrax attack on this country, but this Administration persisted to take us into war and I am ready to challenge them as I challenged them in the Congress of the United States. And, we must challenge them if we are to defeat this Administration, because if we do not challenge them on the war, they will do it all over again. We must challenge them. (Applause)

And, we must challenge the corporate power which stands behind this Administration; the corporate power which is attacking workers' rights at every turn; the corporate power that the CWA has singularly stood up to in such a dramatic way. You are standing toe-to-toe with Verizon, and you are demonstrating that the way to challenge a powerful corporation is to have a powerful union. The way to defeat a powerful corporation is to have a powerful union (applause), a union that makes it possible for workers' rights to be vindicated. It is the union that sets the possibility of workers' rights to be enshrined.

As the next President of the United States, I intend to lead the way for universal health care. Now, there are those who are saying, "Well, we can't go there; we can't go there." They are saying that because the corporations are too strong, the insurance companies and the pharmaceutical companies have too much power.

I say that only a President who is ready to take on the insurance companies and take on the pharmaceutical companies will have the ability to rally the American people, to bring in a new Congress, to bring in a new President who presents the opportunity for giving the American people the health care that they are entitled to. It is time for guaranteed universal health care, Medicare for all. (Applause) Let's lift this country up to where all Americans have expanded access and reduce the cost.

Our healthcare system now is based on ability to pay. People cannot afford to be sick. They can't afford to be well. The cost of insurance premiums keeps going up, co-pays are going up, deductibles are going up. Expanded access costs more money, and people don't have it. Increased cost means reductions, and that means service cuts. Forty-one million uninsured and sixty-one million underinsured.

They talk about a great moral cause. Tax credits don't get us there. There are those who say they are going to fix the system, but they don't want fundamental change – leaving us with a market base system that will not get us there.

The same corporations that the CWA stands up to and has been successful in contesting are the same types of corporations that are controlling our healthcare system. And the only way

that we can deliver healthcare for the American people is to take it away from the corporations, take it away from the market, take it away from the private sector and make healthcare the cause of our nation. (Applause and cheers)

Now, I have said before that only someone who could present the sharpest contrast with George Bush will have the opportunity to be elected. I've made my case that I'm the one on the issue of the war and that I'm the one on the issue of healthcare.

I will tell you one other area where I'm the only candidate who has stood before labor and made a specific promise. When I'm elected President of the United States, my first act in office will be to cancel NAFTA and the WTO and return to bilateral trade, return to bilateral trade conditioned on workers' rights, human rights and the environment. (Applause)

You know what NAFTA has meant. NAFTA has taken us back to the days when corporations had enormous power, when they could threaten to move if you didn't come to terms. Everyone here has been part of a bargaining unit. You understand how NAFTA has intervened in labor-management relations, how NAFTA has made a change in management relations.

They have given corporations great power. I've been to too many places around the country where I saw grass growing in parking lots where they used to make steel, cars, bicycles, machine parts, all kinds of things that we made in America.

NAFTA has contributed to a destructive undermining of our economy – 2.6 million manufacturing jobs have been lost since July of 2000. We are approaching a \$500 billion trade deficit in this country. Our jobs are going out of this country. Only a President who is ready to confront this issue of NAFTA head on, only someone who is ready to say we'll challenge the corporations will have the chance to inspire the American people to come out.

You know and I know corporations are engaging in brutal tactics much more so now than ever with this power they feel they have, with the take-backs and the givebacks and the forced overtime, with knocking down wages, with knocking down benefits. They want to take us back to the days of "Sixteen Tons." You remember? (Singing) "You load 16 tons and what do you get, another day older and deeper in debt. Saint Peter don't ya call me because I can't go, I owe my soul to the company store." (Applause)

No more "Sixteen Tons" in America! We will have a "Workers' White House" where the right to organize, the right to strike, the right to collective bargaining, the right to decent wages and benefits, the right to be able to have a secure retirement are guaranteed and a workers' White House means someone who will stand up for workers.

I will instruct the Justice Department to begin the work of repealing those sections of Taft-Hartley that undermine the right to organize. I will instruct my administration to move forward with an effort to challenge any federal contractor who does not want to provide the right to organize because we'll cancel federal contracts if they do not give their workers the right to organize.

We will require card check for everyone who has a federal contract. (Applause) We have to recognize that we are at a moment in this country where fear has been used for political agenda.

When I think of Francis Scott Key and the "Star Spangled Banner" and I think of the possibility for America to regain its optimism, regain its hope, I remember that Francis Scott Key asked the question, he said, "Oh, say, does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave." He connected courage and democracy, freedom and bravery, courage of democracy.

We have to be brave in order to save our democratic institutions. This Administration has used fear to take us into an unnecessary war. This Administration has used fear to pass a Patriot Act that undermines our basic liberties. This Administration has used fear to pass a Homeland Security Act when what we need is hometown security – police and fire.

This Administration has a political agenda to try to knock the Democratic Party out of the

administration. The Administration every day tries to control the politics of this country as it gets ready for the 2004 election.

How can we break the shackles of fear? How can we enable Americans to step forward confidently once again? It is this campaign. It is this campaign that presents the sharpest contrast. It is this campaign that gives the American people an opportunity for jobs for all with all employment opportunities, with restarting a WPA to put millions of people back to work, with canceling NAFTA and the WTO, with universal healthcare, blocking the privatization of Social Security, working with education for all, cutting the bloating budget that is based on fear.

This effort to take back the White House is about giving workers a White House they can call their own and breaking the fear that is in this country and reclaiming our essential optimism as Americans. What really makes us a force in the world is our belief in a better future, a belief in a hope for a while, our belief in a better tomorrow with our heads, with our hearts, with our spirits that we can create a new America. We can take back the country that we once knew that engaged the world confidently and that worked with the world community for the cause of peace.

That is the America that we can all be proud of.

That is the America I will work with you to reclaim. That is the America that will give workers the opportunity to be able to claim a fair share of the working people of this county.

Thank you very much. Let's go on to victory in 2004.

...The delegates arose and applauded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you so much, Dennis. Your remarks are inspirational. Good luck on the campaign trail.

Would the Finance Committee come to the podium, please?

While they come, let me advise you and ask for your participation. There will be a demonstration at the Verizon Wireless store located on Illinois and Michigan avenues immediately after we adjourn today. There will be designated buses waiting to take you there and staff from the sponsoring Districts, 1, 2 and 13, will assist you. The store is only a short distance from the Hyatt Regency and you will be able to walk back to the hotel when the demonstration ends. I will read this again before we adjourn. We hope you can rearrange whatever you are doing later to be able to spend a few minutes in support of our members.

On Mike 1, Delegate Valerie Reyna.

DELEGATE VALERIE REYNA (Local 9415): I move that we suspend the reading of the Finance Committee report and only read the introduction.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion was seconded from the floor. There are no speakers. All those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Those opposed by like sign. The motion is adopted. Thank you.

Let me introduce the members of the Committee: Russ Hall, Secretary-Treasurer, TNG-CWA Local 1314; Mary Curry, President, Local 3204; Maxine Velasquez, Vice President, Local 7011; Bill Harvey, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 9415, who is the Chair; and Barbara Easterling, who is the ad hoc member of the Committee.

The Chair recognizes Chair Harvey.

DELEGATE WILLIAM B. HARVEY (Local 9415, Chair, Finance Committee): Thank you, President Bahr.

Dear Sisters and Brothers, your Finance Committee met in Washington, D.C., on June 25,

26 and 27, 2003, to review and recommend the 2003-2004 budget. The Committee reviewed the Strategic Planning and Budget Committee Report adopted by the Executive Board, along with other supporting documentation.

Every requested book, record, or report of the Union was made available to us. The Committee reviewed the audit report prepared for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2002, by the certified public accounting firm of Thomas Havey & Co.

The Auditors conducted their examinations in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. In the Accountants' opinion, the financial statements reviewed fairly represent, in all material respects, the financial position of the Communications Workers of America as of June 30, 2002.

DELEGATE RUSS HALL (TNG-CWA Local 1314): Past convention actions direct Finance Committees to review the expenditures of each administrative unit and require any unit(s) overspent at the end of the previous budget year to give a detailed explanation to the Committee. This year's Committee concurred with the 1998 Committee guideline recommendation not to ask for written explanations from any administrative head that was one percent or less overspent. Therefore, your Committee directed those administrative heads who exceeded their 2001-2002 budgets by more than one percent to provide a detailed written explanation documenting the reasons why they exceeded their budget. When received and reviewed, the Committee, as empowered by convention action, may recommend that these administrative heads make an accounting to the convention.

DELEGATE MARY CURRY (Local 3204): Financial stability requires a continuing effort on CWA's part to organize both internally and externally. Fiscal responsibility must become daily practice. The Committee recognizes the burden that National and Local leadership face exercising cost containment while providing necessary service to our membership.

This Finance Committee is recommending the 2003-2004 budget as one showing appropriate fiscal restraint, with a continuing high level of representation and organizing commitment. The Committee applauds the work and efforts of this year's Strategic Planning and Budget Committee and wishes to compliment all administrative units that managed to stay within the confines of last year's budget recommendations.

DELEGATE MAXINE VELASQUEZ (Local 7011): The 2003-2004 Finance Committee extends our thanks, on behalf of the membership, to President Morton Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling, Executive Vice President Larry Cohen, Eileen Brackens and associated CWA staff for their time, expertise and effort in aiding us in the development and preparation of this year's report.

CHAIR HARVEY: This budget report was compiled through examination of the line item requests for 2003-2004, through interviews with department personnel and review of the demands and needs of all line items. There have been budget reductions in most line items in most administrative units that are directly related to layoffs and reductions in force at virtually all of our major employers.

The Committee wishes to thank all the leaders and staff in all District and National Units of our great union for their efforts in meeting the reduced budget. The Committee wishes to thank all other administrative units for their efforts to achieve the 2003-2004 Budget. We as a Committee therefore respectfully request and urge delegate approval.

In Solidarity, your 2003 Finance Committee.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion to adopt. It was seconded from the floor.

Mike 3, Delegate Smith.

DELEGATE ROBERT SMITH (Local 9400): President Bahr, fellow delegates, I am not a great orator but I am a local secretary-treasurer and have been for the past 25 years. As secretary-treasurer, I have had to prepare many budgets in good times and in bad. It is not always easy. I commend the Committee for its hard work. Anyone can prepare a budget when there's lots of money. It's the opposite when there isn't, and we know that times are not good.

I urge the support and adoption of the Committee's report. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike 5, Delegate Fahrenheit.

DELEGATE MICHAEL J. FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): In the Finance Committee report, page 2, line item 32, the Committee states "Annual Convention: Convention Committee Expenses and Union Label Show." My question is what does the cost of the Union Label Show have to do with this CWA Convention?

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: It has nothing to do with the Convention, Mike, but since we need to be represented at that show, we placed it in that area and increased the budget for the Convention to allocate for that. It's not a great deal of money. It's nowhere near the cost of the Convention. What it gives us is a presence at the Union Label Show.

Just to give you some idea of what we are talking about here, we rent the space at the show and we have some tables or a structure that we have that showcases CWA and the trinkets that we give. That is what we are talking about. It is a minimal amount of money because all of the union employers must pay their own way to appear at the show. If it's a telecom company, a healthcare company, General Motors, all of that is paid for by the employer.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: My second question begins on page 2, line item 032, Convention. The Committee stated both in writing and said a little bit earlier, and I will quote, "In view of the current finances of the union and the uncertainties of the future, perhaps it is time for the national leadership and the local leadership to reconsider biannual conventions."

Is this a not so veiled attempt to dilute our union democracy by making it more difficult to air our differences and manage the affairs of our great union?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The answer is no. I am going to elaborate when I shouldn't. I made a commitment the last time this issue came up and went down that this would not be introduced by the administration.

I may have something to say about this at the close of the Convention, but to assuage Mike's fears, if and when it ever comes to this body, that is the time for the debate to decide what it is you want to do in the future.

There is nobody else at a mike. All those in favor of the Finance Committee Report indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

It is now my pleasure to introduce to you for a report, Executive Vice President Larry Cohen.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN: Thank you.

There are many issues in front of us, many issues we could discuss. Morty mentioned earlier the fight for fair trade, the FTAA, the fight to maintain customer service jobs in the U.S., as every employer wants to outsource them.

But in the few minutes ahead, I am going to focus on only one thing: The campaign to restore collective bargaining rights in the United States. And this is a campaign that this top table – as united as we are, we can't accomplish it; the presidential candidates that come before us, as smart or clever as they may be, they can't accomplish it; the Members of Congress who are our allies, they can't accomplish it; the AFL-CIO leadership, and we will hear from Rich Trumka later,

he can't or they can't accomplish it. It will take all of us.

And that is what we will now focus on for a few minutes.

Imagine that it's 1948 and Harry Truman is President. Thirty-five percent of private sector workers are in unions, with full collective bargaining rights. Eleanor Roosevelt says, "Let's proclaim December 10th International Human Rights Day," hoping to promote U.S. democracy, including collective bargaining and organizing rights as standards for the rest of the world – for the rest of the world.

In fact, from 1935 to 1948 ten million workers, including those who started and built our unions, who built CWA, organized ten million workers. Prior to 1935, less than ten percent of private sector workers had bargaining agreements, so we imagine that time.

Now, 55 years later, only eight percent – from 35 percent to 8 percent – one in twelve U.S. private sector workers has bargaining rights, and organizing in the private sector has become almost impossible.

We heard Morty talk about Verizon Wireless and Comcast. It goes on and on. Public sector collective bargaining rates have risen to 35 percent, but this does not begin to offset the decline in the private sector. Just ask the 3,000 CWAers at Comcast working hard to organize while AT&T was the owner, getting recognition after a bitter fight. But now, two years later, no first contracts. No first contracts – 1,000 have lost bargaining rights, were decertified; 1,500 more cling to the hope that a first contract is possible.

This is not unique. This is not just about our fight, this is not about bad actors or bad management. This has become the law of this land, union busting has become the law of this land with prestigious – supposedly prestigious – law firms like Morgan-Lewis out of Philadelphia, or Jones-Day out of Washington that charge \$1,000 an hour to bust unions everywhere.

Morty talked about Verizon. Verizon, amazingly, can't get by with just their dozens and dozens of in-house lawyers, they too have to hire – including their chief counsel, former Bush Attorney General Bill Barr – they also have to hire Jones-Day, Foley-Hoag, and now Bill Baker's firm out of Houston, Baker-Botts.

We can moan about it or we can fight back. We can moan about it or fight back, like Local 3673 in North Carolina, fighting back with 150 Verizon workers on strike and winning after ten weeks. (Applause) Or 150 journalists at the *Chinese Daily News*, winning their NLRB election two years ago. Their employer won't recognize them – the employees appeal and appeal, and their appeal just sits there at the NLRB. Or 1,500 Verizon Information Services sales reps and office workers. Even with a card check agreement, it took them one year to organize and get recognition, and it took another year to get a first contract. Two years, even at that company – Verizon – where we have 80,000 members.

Or 29 Verizon Wireless retail store employees in Bakersfield, California, voting in an NLRB election, but for two years the ballots have been impounded as Verizon's clever lawyers appeal and appeal, even though the bargaining unit was a traditional unit – and the NLRB just sits on it for two years.

Are these stories atypical? Let's look at it another way. How many of us with collective bargaining rights are actually looking forward to our next contract like the founders of our locals did from the 1940s to the 1980s? How much of our bargaining today is about holding on – holding on to health care; holding on to job security; holding on to retirement security?

The facts are organizing rights and bargaining rights are totally linked. As U.S. collective bargaining density fell from 35 percent to 14 percent, bargaining necessarily becomes about defense – not about moving forward.

The chart on the screen shows us that, unfortunately, our situation in the USA is practically unique. As Dick Gephardt told us, there is no similar race to the bottom in Canada with 32

percent still with collective bargaining rights; Germany with 67 percent still with collective bargaining rights; and Great Britain with 36 percent still with collective bargaining rights.

So what do we do about it? We know the problem. What do we do about it? This pamphlet in front of us offers up a program, and that is what we want to focus on now. It is not a simple program. It is a five-point program. It is a multi-year program. It is going to take incredible commitment from us, as great as any commitment the Labor Movement and this union has ever made – perhaps greater. It's a national campaign. There are five points.

Number one, this is a national campaign. It is led by the AFL-CIO, and they call it "Voice@Work," and it is spearheaded by unions like CWA, others including the Service Employees, AFSCME and the Teamsters. We are asking every local union in CWA to follow the example of the Executive Board and pass a resolution supporting this campaign to restore collective bargaining rights.

In this brochure, on the back you see a replica of the first local resolution passed by Local 4310, Columbus, Ohio. This is now being followed across CWA and across the U.S. Labor Movement.

Would President Margaret Henderson and the delegates of Local 4310 please stand and remain standing. Stand and remain standing as we acknowledge all locals who have followed the example of 4310 and taken a stand and passed a similar resolution. (Applause)

And would those delegates from every one of the 300 locals that have passed a similar resolution please stand, and remain standing. We will flash on the screen those 300 local unions from all eight districts. As we now begin to see those locals on the screen, would you all stand as you see your local. Stand up. Stand up and join 4310. All 300 locals here, stand up as you see your numbers go across the screen. (Applause)

And other local leaders here. Other local leaders who are ready to take the pledge to support your own local resolution, bring it before the members, make the fight to restore collective bargaining and organizing rights, would you also stand. (Applause) Others who are ready to take that pledge now from Puerto Rico to California, from Texas to California. This is our army. This is the fighting force that can bring democracy back to the workplaces in CWA and organize new ones. Are we ready for that fight? (Applause and cheers)

That is point number one. Thank you. That's point number one. It can't work without each local union taking a stand, passing a resolution, laying out a program, saying to shop stewards, "This won't be easy."

Point number two. December 10th. We are back to December 10th, International Human Rights Day. The AFL-CIO will lead us. We need to turn out across the USA demanding a New Deal on Workers' Rights. The National Labor Relations Board is a farce, a cruel hoax. Don't wait until it gets you. Too many of us have already suffered.

Listen to the warning now of Ron Gaskins, president of Local 2004, Morgantown, West Virginia. This is a local of 200 incredibly fierce and determined members. Ron is an amazing local president who is seeing the struggle and leading the fight not only with members – the fight with Verizon, but with others at Adelphia Communications, the nation's fifth largest cable company, made famous when its billionaire CEO was led to jail in handcuffs, a symbol of corporate greed.

Ron's e-mails of the fight for a contract – in this case, this is about collective bargaining – they have had contracts before – but Ron's e-mails about the Adelphia strike and the continuing efforts to save our union in Morgantown have inspired me, and I know he will inspire you. Ron Gaskins. (Applause)

BROTHER RON GASKINS (Local 2004): Thank you, and hello from Local 2004. I am the president of a small local in north-central West Virginia representing 140 Verizon employees, about 40 Adelphia employees, and workers at three small print shops. At Verizon, we're fighting

to protect job security and healthcare. We have great bargaining strength, but it will still be a fight. Today, though, it's my Adelphia unit I'd like to talk about.

Adelphia is the fifth largest cable company in the United States. Look up "corporate greed" in the dictionary and you'll find Adelphia. Adelphia's former chief executive and his two sons have been indicted for fraud and for stealing over \$3 billion of company money for personal use. They bought a golf course, luxury condominiums and planes. They were arrested and taken away in handcuffs. Adelphia filed for bankruptcy and hired two former top dogs from AT&T Broadband to run the company. The new guys got a three-year contract worth over \$40 million.

We began bargaining in October of 2002, and Adelphia immediately pushed for elimination of binding arbitration, unilateral changes in medical benefits with cost-shifting, and a pay freeze. After seven frustrating months of bargaining, our members went on strike May 21. With help from Vice President Pete Catucci and the National's research department, we ran an information campaign and enjoyed tremendous support from other unions, the community, and various political leaders.

After we began our strike, Adelphia announced they would hire permanent replacements and began explaining to our members how they could resign from CWA and come back to work and get a raise. Adelphia bought full-page newspaper ads and TV ads to discredit the Union. Our members voted overwhelmingly to stay on strike in the face of Adelphia's decision to hire permanent replacements. (Applause)

Three members resigned and announced their intention to cross our picket line. The company had the scabs calling our members. The scabs told the striking members that the company was starting to hire people for their jobs and they might never get their jobs back. The scabs told them to come back to work right away.

Three weeks into the strike, my stewards called me saying some members intended to return to work the next morning. To avoid losing the group, we authorized them to go back. These are courageous union members, but the power against them was too great.

I have not been able to get a bargaining date from the company since June 13. Collective bargaining laws do not work for workers in this country anymore.

But we haven't given up. We're not done. With the help of our CWA brothers and sisters, we will win a new contract. (Applause)

But things have to change. Things have to change in this country if workers are going to have contracts or even unions in the future. That's why I will be there on December 10th demanding real workers' rights in this country. Thank you. (Applause)

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT COHEN: So, on December 10th the AFL-CIO, led by tens of thousands of us in the streets, will actually present an outline for a new National Labor Law. We cannot save the National Labor Relations Act from the corporate lawyers and those that pay them. We will keep the preamble, as you can see on the screen. "It is declared to be the policy of the United States...to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining..." But we will hope to follow the Canadian provinces that have established card check provisions by law. We will follow the recently enacted "Fairness at Work" passed in the U.K. – in England – establishing recognition when a majority had joined the union. We will follow Brazil where the new labor government is promoting workers' rights and collective bargaining.

December 10th, for Ron and his members at Verizon or Adelphia, for the journalists and other employees of the *Chinese Daily News*, for the thousands of CWAers fighting for a first contract at Comcast. December 10th we celebrate International Human Rights Day in the United States of America like never before; like we are fighting for ourselves and our own children, because we are.

Point 3. Elected officials. We just heard from two. Elected officials must take the pledge to support collective bargaining and organizing rights. They must take the pledge. Six would-be

Presidents will address us here. Two are already committed to this. Never before have presidential candidates committed to this in a campaign. So we have to keep the fire burning.

Let's listen when they speak to us and, more important, when they speak to others. But as Morty said, this is not just about presidentials or Members of Congress. This must be every elected official – town council members, county councils, state legislators – every elected official that we support must take the pledge to stand up and fight proudly for collective bargaining rights. Now! Now, before this gets worse, before it's too late. If they want our support, they must stand with us. (Applause)

Point 4. Bargaining to Organize. CWA has led the way on bargaining to organize. Brilliant work first by District 6, then District 9, District 4, and District 3 in a ten-year effort to get neutrality and card check recognition at SBC and Cingular Wireless where 17,000 are able to organize and negotiate agreements; Local 1168 bargaining card check and neutrality at Kaleida Health Systems and organizing 3,000 healthcare workers; AT&T and Lucent locals, 17 years of fighting for neutrality and card check and organizing nearly 10,000 clerical workers, manufacturing, local services and broadband; Delphi Automotive, hundreds organized by IUE-CWA and probably our best card check and neutrality language; and most recently, 1,000 court interpreters in California where we had to pass legislation to get employee status and bargaining rights.

And now, last week, the first group recognized based on card check, thanks to amazing work by CWA District 9 and the Northern California Media Guild. Or, as Morty mentioned, New Mexico where an AFSCME-CWA coalition passed state legislation, signed and actively supported by Governor Richardson, providing for recognition based on card check for state employees, and nearly 10,000 state workers are on the road to recognition.

Examples are everywhere – large and small. New York Typographical last week recognized by card check at Tech Valley Printing for 15 new members. All of us, in every negotiation, at every opportunity, must remain focused – focused not only on health care or pay, our pensions, our employment security, but remembering that without collective bargaining none of this is possible, and that we must fight for collective bargaining every time we negotiate.

And point 5, Member Education. None of this is possible without member education. The destruction of collective bargaining rights in the USA can't be some dark family secret we never discuss. We can't just focus on our own bargaining, as important as that may be. Our members want to understand what's happening, why is bargaining so hard, why is organizing impossible? Whether at Verizon or a newspaper publisher, at Sprint in New Jersey or ALLTEL in Kentucky, General Electric, at ABC-Disney, at the University of California, at the state of New Jersey, bargaining is tougher because there are fewer of us. And American management is deliberately leading the race to the bottom.

Like old-time 19th Century robber barons, U.S. management is recreating the upper class, the world of privilege with the rest of us dependent on them. We're supposed to believe that they are better and wiser and that we don't need a real voice at work, we don't need collective bargaining, we don't need a union.

Member education is the foundation of CWA mobilization. We have the tools; we have "train the trainer" materials as well. Let's do it the CWA way. Every member counts. Bring it to the work site so we can focus our political work, our bargaining, and be there together and united on December 10th.

So those are the five points: A local commitment; mass action December 10th; elected officials on notice; signing the pledge; bargaining to organize; and membership education. Three hundred locals have committed. More are joining the fight every day.

Many will ask, "How long will this take?" We asked the same question in the Civil Rights Movement. This week, we commemorate 40 years since the famous "I Have a Dream" speech of Martin Luther King. A demonstration – a rally actually – organized by A. Philip Randolph and much of Labor was called "Jobs and Justice." They understood then – civil rights, workers' rights,

the same dream.

How long will it take? Our parents and grandparents asked the same question during the Depression before there was a national collective bargaining law. How long will it take? Children in South Africa asked that same question when their parents were fighting apartheid. How long will it take? Our brothers and sisters in the U.K. asked that question for generations. "Fairness at Work," their first labor law, was not passed until 1998.

How long will it take? Our members are asking that question right now at Verizon. How long? Our answer is simple. Our answer will always be the same: As long as it takes, and one day longer. One day longer than corporate greed; one day longer than union-busting lawyers; one day longer than an NLRB that has turned out the lights on workers' rights.

How long will it take? As long as it takes. How long? One day longer. We are in it to win it. We will win it and we will never, ever give up. Thank you very much.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: Larry, would you come back to the podium, please? Two IBEW members who are bargaining with us asked me to present this to Larry when he speaks. The IBEW guys are asking you, Larry, "Can you hear us now?" (T-shirt presentation and applause)

Now, they are getting ready to take the Convention photograph. While they are doing that, I just want to make one announcement or deal with one thing, and then Barbara has two or three announcements. The Bone Marrow Foundation has a booth here at the Convention and will be doing marrow donor screening. It takes just a few minutes to make a lifetime of difference for someone. Let me take this opportunity to recognize one such recipient, Shana Milburn, the wife of our District 6 Vice President, Andy Milburn, who was such a recipient. Where is she? (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: There will be a meeting for the healthcare workers at the lunch break in Room 307 and 308 here in the Convention Center immediately upon the lunch break.

The *Chicago Sun Times*, which is actually the union newspaper in Chicago, has delivered enough copies for all delegates and alternates. They are at the main entrance of this hall. (Applause)

... Further announcements by Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling...

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: I want to remind you again that tomorrow we will be having the drawing for the Harley Davidson motorcycle. It's not too late for you to make a donation to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. A \$10 donation gives you a ticket in the drawing; so you want to try to do that today or early tomorrow. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Okay, we are ready for the photograph.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: We stand in recess until 1:30 p.m.

... The Convention recessed at 12:15 p.m....

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention reconvened at 1:30 p.m., President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Convention will come to order, please.

The Chair recognizes Don Rice, Co-Chair of the Credentials Committee for a supplementary report.

DELEGATE RICE: President Bahr, Delegates and Guests: The Credentials Committee would like to submit a Supplemental Report to the 65th Annual Convention in Category 2, credentials properly executed but late: Local 1301, Delegate Pomroy; Local 84801, Delegate Robbins.

The Committee moves that the delegates be seated.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: It was seconded from the floor. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Those opposed by like sign. The motion is adopted and the delegates will be seated.

The Chair recognizes Executive Vice President Larry Cohen for an organizing report.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN: As we recognize a group of locals for special success in our organizing program, we should remember that local union effort is the key to that success. There are many additional locals and additional campaigns that are not receiving these awards, where we were not successful or where the minimum goal of a hundred new members was not reached. But these efforts are just as much a part of our total program to reach out to our families, friends and neighbors and help them build a union where they work.

Now, we want to honor those locals that have accomplished a significant objective, winning new representation rights for at least 100 workers in new units in the past year. More than 250 locals have received this award at least once. Each local will receive \$1,000 organizing subsidy as well as a plaque for the current year. So join me as we honor those locals that have met their organizing commitment for the past year by organizing more than 100 workers in new units in a single year.

Local 1034, Trenton, New Jersey – organized 17 Cape Atlantic Legal Service employees, 55 City of Long Branch workers, 46 Franklin Township employees, 36 Hopewell Township workers, 30 Millstone Township employees, 11 Runnemede clerical workers, and 30 Warren Township employees.

Local 1037, Newark, New Jersey – organized 200 Essex ARC employees, and 35 Jersey City Employment Services workers.

Local 1040, Trenton, New Jersey – organized 36 Montclair Township employees, 75 home healthcare workers and 30 Somerset County Area Transport workers.

Local 1101, New York, New York – organized 100 Cingular wireless employees.

Local 80400, Kitchener, Ontario – organized 158 Schneider office employees.

Local 2000, Silver Spring, Maryland – organized 105 Aviation Safeguard employees at the Baltimore-Washington Airport.

Local 32035, Washington, D.C. – organized 125 Radio Free Asia employees.

Local 3010, San Juan, Puerto Rico – organized 223 Cingular employees.

Local 3204, Atlanta, Georgia – organized 350 Bell South employees.

Local 4340, Brooklyn Heights, Ohio – organized 22 Adelphia employees, 3 APA Associates workers, 17 Aztecs Global Technology employees, 6 Cable Connect workers, 5 Cleveland Cable Connection employees, 3 Geauga City Department of Water Resources employees, 3 Hendershot Consulting employees and 3 Ohio Valley Prewire employees, 3 Onsite Communications workers, and 5 Protective Systems employees.

Local 6171, Krum, Texas – organized 111 Valor employees.

Local 7011, Albuquerque, New Mexico – organized 20 KLUZ broadcast employees, 75

Sikorsky workers, and 12 Telcom employees.

Local 7026, Tucson, Arizona – organized 166 City of Nogales employees and 348 Tucson Unified School District workers.

Local 39521, San Francisco, California – organized 227 California Court Interpreters and 5 California energy markets employees.

Altogether, these 14 locals have organized 2,726 members in new units in a single year. (Applause)

In 2000, we began recognizing locals that had won this award five years or more.

Last year, we added recognition for a local that has won this award ten times or more. That's ten years when they have organized 100 or more workers in new units. Qualifying locals receive a \$5,000 check and a special pin.

Please join me in recognizing Local 1040, Carolyn Wade, President; and Local 4340, Ed Phillips, President, to their ranks.

Would the award winners remain standing while President Bahr presents the President's Annual Award? (Presentation - Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Since 1972, it has been our tradition to recognize outstanding achievements in organization by presentation of the President's Award. This award was considered by our founding president, Joe Beirne, to be our union's highest honor. Joe's successor, Glenn Watts, carried on the tradition, and now it falls to me to recognize those who are so highly effective in bringing new members to CWA. Their efforts enable our union to grow ever stronger and more effective.

Over the years, this award has gone to individuals and sometimes to multiple locals and CWA districts that have worked together to build our union.

This year, at the suggestion of District 1 Vice President Larry Mancino, I have selected one outstanding local leader and one local that have furthered our organizing goals at Verizon Information Services: CWA Local 1301 and its President, George Alcott. (Applause) Accepting for George is Colin Pomroy.

The NLRB issued a complaint against VIS, alleging 86 major violations of federal labor law in New York State alone.

And finally, after the filing of numerous legal actions by both the company and the union, Verizon, in March 2002, agreed to certification for 1,700 VIS workers in 21 offices from New York to West Virginia. Early this year, those workers ratified their first contract.

Now, this 22-month campaign started with VIS sales reps and premise reps wanting a better compensation plan and more equitable distribution of sales leads. We needed someone who knew their work, who could inspire a vision of what we had to offer, and who could help the workers hang together when the going got tough.

Throughout this long struggle, one CWA local and one local president came to the fore to meet every challenge facing us.

Local 1301 was organized more than 40 years ago – incidentally, by me, a little more than 40 years ago – to represent sales reps at New England Telephone, which became NYNEX, then Bell Atlantic; and when Bell Atlantic and GTE merged, Verizon Information Services – VIS.

George Alcott, President of Local 1301, the consummate Yellow Pages sales representative – proud of his own contract, with good wages, health benefits, work rules and grievance procedure – was quick to tell VIS workers, "If it wasn't for the union, I wouldn't have half of what I have now."

The local, of which he became President in 1990, totally embraces the entire CWA program. They are consistently recognized each year for raising the most COPE dollars in District 1; they helped us organize NYNEX, commercial representatives and SBC Yellow Pages reps, and have negotiated excellent contracts for their members.

As one of the first VIS units organized, they possessed invaluable experience that helped us move forward with this campaign in all 21 bargaining units; and by their own example, they helped those units stick together during Verizon's long, anti-union campaign.

Local 1301 members traveled wherever we needed them to help us with organizing – in Upstate New York, Virginia and West Virginia.

Just a few who got involved with the campaign were: Pat O'Neil, Colin Pomroy and Debra Silverman, and from Local 1020 in New Jersey, Richard Kennedy and George Bandics.

Local 1301 members gave out their home phone numbers to workers in the new units, in a classic example of member-to-member organizing.

When it came time to bargain, Pat O'Neil put in countless hours, helping us analyze a compensation plan with which he was already familiar and doing anything else we asked of him for members of another local.

Local 1301 continues to display the kind of solidarity that helps build and strengthen the union, and they continue to be involved in VIS organizing campaigns around the country, even though none of these members have gone into their local. They represent a classic example of member-to-member organizing that I feel is deserving of the President's Annual Award. The inscription reads, "In grateful recognition of dedicated service as evidenced through wholehearted acceptance of CWA's growth policy and program and dedicated effort directed toward making that policy effective. Awarded by the President of the Communications Workers of America, on behalf of the organization," and my signature is inscribed and the plaque is similarly engraved. (Presentation - Applause)

Congratulations.

DELEGATE COLIN POMROY (Local 1301): Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Let me present a replica of Joe Beirne's hat and the plaque, the inscription of which I just read, and convey our gratitude to Pat, to George, and all the members of Local 1301. And you get the mike.

DELEGATE POMROY: Wow! Thank you very much. (Applause)

I have been a member of 1301 in CWA since 1986. I have been to many conventions and never did I think I would have the opportunity to be accepting an award from Mr. Bahr. It is indeed a pleasure and it is a humbling experience. I am accepting this award for all the members in our Local 1301, and especially, as Mr. Bahr suggested, George Alcott, our president, who I believe is in the forefront of union leadership. Also Pat O'Neil put in extensive and long hours.

I would also like to thank some of the people that helped out in the initial part of it – Ed Sabol, Ron Collins, Alex Minishak. Without their help, this would have never happened.

Also in the organizing as well as getting the contract, Dennis Trainor, Jim Short, and Barbara Shiller. I would like to thank all the people in Districts 1, 2, and 13, Lauren Shelf for helping out whatever state you were in, whether it was Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, or others.

I would like to take this opportunity to also thank Larry Mancino, who in the many times we have been in tough situations, when Larry Mancino walks in the door we feel very comfortable and very fortified against the company.

Thank you very much Dina Beaumont, who was very helpful in getting all of this done, and I

would also like to thank Larry Cohen, who is dedicated and inspirational in his fight in organizing members throughout this country. Larry, thank you very much.

And last but not least, because of this job, the Yellow Page job which some of our people out here also do, I make a very good living, and the reason we make a good living and the reason we want to organize everyone else is because there is nothing wrong with making a good living. (Applause)

And when Bell Atlantic merged with GTE, GTE ran the Yellow Pages part of the corporation and they thought they were going to run roughshod over us. And Morty Bahr came in and had a meeting with the president of Verizon Information Resources. They had a little difference of opinion, and since that point, our members, who have always known that the only reason they make the living they do, enjoy the family situation with health benefits and things of that nature, is because of the CWA.

We have always known that. We have always contributed to COPE. It is one of the most important things we do during the year, because of that importance of being politically connected, but we never realized it as much until we were taken over by the group from Dallas or GTE.

At that point, every one of our members knew that the only reason we still have a job and the only reason that job is still good is because of Larry Cohen, Morty Bahr, Larry Mancino, and so on and so forth. So I want to thank you and all the people that were organized and whether it is in Arizona, whether it be in New York, whether it be in Hawaii, we are willing to go to any length to help organize people because of what CWA has done for us. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Join me in thanking all of the winners here for the good work that they do; and, hopefully, you can be up here next year with them. (Applause)

I would just like to recognize George Donahue, the International Vice President, and Paul MacKinnon, the International Secretary-Treasurer of the AFA. Would you guys stand? (Applause)

I am most pleased to introduce our next speaker. Some of you may very well have worked with Pat Friend and other officers of the Association of Flight Attendants. We share many interests and concerns in the airline industry. We have marched together at US Airways stock shareholder meetings and we have lobbied together to win fair treatment for airline workers.

I hope that all of us in the next months and years will be working even more closely with Pat, George, and Paul and all the other officers and members of the AFA if they vote to merge with us.

Pat is a dynamic leader; one who works very hard to make sure the public realizes that flight attendants are the frontline of safety for travelers. In this, the AFA's successes are many. Under Pat's leadership, the AFA has reinforced the critical safety rule that flight attendants carry out in the air. Her union has pressed an agenda on Capitol Hill and with the administration that focuses on crew and passenger protection, from aircraft air quality, to mandatory child safety seats, to stopping air rage. Deciding whether to merge with another union is always a hard decision, and AFA members and the union's governing board are considering this now.

Pat's vision for the AFA is focused on the future, past today's troubled times for the airline industry, the real opportunity for her members and her union. By combining our resources, our shared visions, and our determination to organize, we will make a new union the leading voice for flight attendants and airline workers.

I am looking forward to working with Pat and all the other leaders and members of the AFA. Please join me now in giving Pat Friend a warm CWA welcome.

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

PAT FRIEND (International President, Association of Flight Attendants): To my friends, President Bahr, Vice President Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, honored delegates and guests, to my sisters and brothers: Thank you for inviting AFA to share in your convention this

week, and thank you for inviting me here to speak today.

The first flight attendants, called stewardesses, were nurses employed by an early predecessor of United Airlines. Back then, we were needed to calm the nerves of passengers because flying was still an adventure. But I am not a nurse.

In the “coffee, tea or me” days of the 1960s, stewardesses were known as a commodity, marketed as sex objects by airline executives who thought exploitation was a business plan. I am definitely not a commodity.

Since deregulation in 1978, flight attendants have often been viewed as little more than a number, or a body, as President Bahr talked about earlier this morning. Rapid expansion and cutthroat competition threatened to reduce the entire airline industry to the least common denominator of unit labor costs. And I am most certainly not just a number.

My name is Pat Friend, and who I am is a flight attendant and a union leader. I have flown for United Airlines for 36 years. I have been a union member for those entire 36 years, and a union activist since 1977. I am a safety professional, trained to save lives and to respond to nearly unimaginable emergencies.

Today, I am the International President of the Association of Flight Attendants and I am very proud to be here representing the 35,000 flight attendants who are active members of AFA, and the 10,000 members of AFA who are currently unemployed.

AFA is primarily a volunteer organization, and I know that you know what that means. Like CWA, the backbone of AFA is hundreds of flight attendants who take time away from their busy schedules every day – from flying, from family, from church, and school – to further the profession that they so deeply love through a union to which they are deeply attached.

This union got its start when a handful of brave women, in the early days of the airline industry, pioneers in the industry and pioneers in the Labor Movement, banded together to win better pay and working conditions. Those women – Edie Lauterbach, Ada Brown, Frances Hall, and Sally Thometz – left a legacy of tenacity and determination in the face of overwhelming odds. The union that they created lives on in their image.

That legacy, perhaps soon to become part of your legacy as our two proud unions stand today on the threshold of a merger of historic significance. (Applause)

What have these flight attendants, what has this union accomplished over the years? Let me tell you just a little bit of our history.

The Association of Flight Attendants is the direct descendant of the Airline Stewardesses Association, which in 1945 was recognized as the first union for flight attendants. The first contract that we bargained with United Airline won those flight attendants a whopping \$155 a month salary, but it also won limited duty hours, rest periods, and a grievance procedure. Ironically, these are still some of the same issues we battle today. In fact, in the recent bankruptcy negotiations, United management demanded the elimination of work rules that were established in that first contract almost 60 years ago.

But since that first contract, our accomplishments have been many. Our continuing battles with airline management have propelled AFA into becoming known as the “small union with the loud voice.” Some of our most important achievements parallel the political and social movements of our country.

In the 1940s, we participated in the rapid growth of the Labor Movement seen throughout the U.S. economy. In the 1960s, we moved quickly to take advantage of the new civil rights laws to challenge airlines’ blatantly discriminatory policies based on gender, race, age, weight, pregnancy, and marital status. They didn’t miss one opportunity to discriminate.

In 1968, we won the fight against mandatory resignation at age 32.

In the '70s, we went to court to force the airlines to allow men to be hired, and then a few years later we had to fight for equal pay with our new male counterparts.

We fought and won against no-marriage rules, no-pregnancy rules, and discriminatory weight policies. And when we weren't fighting for basic fairness and justice, we were fighting to improve the flight attendants' career and to enhance the safety of our members and our passengers.

Over time, we have turned the stewardess' job into a career as a safety professional, recognized under the law as essential to airline safety and security.

AFA and the flight attendants that we represent defeated early attempts by the industry to remove emergency exits from aircraft. We fought against airline attempts to eliminate the FAA requirement for one flight attendant for every 50 seats on commercial aircraft. We won carry-on baggage limitations, a smoking ban, and whistleblower protection for our members.

Like the CWA, our current struggles continue the fight for a safer and a more secure workplace. For AFA members that means certification for flight attendants, the only professional group of airline workers with government-mandated training, but without a government license.

It also means extension of OSHA's authority to the aircraft cabin, because we have no federal safety and health laws that protect us. It means mandatory, comprehensive security training, and more.

In the late 1980s, deregulation reduced AFA to just eight bargaining units, and less than 20,000 members, and while the major airlines, with the exception of Delta, had all been organized in the '40s and '50s, deregulation spawned dozens of new carriers, regional airlines, low-fare operations, charter carriers, all with flight attendants who wanted union representation.

To survive, we began to organize, just like CWA did after deregulation of the telecommunication industry. Through a series of battles that continue to this day, we have more than tripled the number of AFA-represented bargaining units from eight to 26. At our peak before September 11, we represented over 50,000 flight attendants in the U.S. and on four continents around the world. Today, nearly 85 percent of flight attendants in America belong to a union. (Applause)

Today, we can count the number of organizing targets left for AFA on one hand. Easily, the biggest is Delta Air Lines. AFA's Board of Directors committed to organizing the unrepresented flight attendants at Delta at our convention six years ago. We worked closely with the Delta flight attendants. We developed an incredible network of activists throughout the country, and after four years of organizing, we filed for an election.

What happened next is even too strange and overwhelming for belief. On September 7, 2001, the National Mediation Board ordered an election at Delta Air Lines. On September 8, 2001, AFA and the Delta flight attendants marched at the front of the New York City Labor Day Parade. The tragic events of three days later on September 11 shocked our nation and devastated the airline industry and the people who work in it. While we worked tirelessly to gain new security measures to protect our lives at work, airlines were failing because passengers were staying home.

Delta management unconscionably used the terrorist attacks against the flight attendants in the election. They said that Delta was on the brink of financial ruin – that even the slightest change could send the airline careening into bankruptcy. And management said, "Oh, by the way, that union vote you flight attendants started would definitely put us over the edge."

The rules in organizing elections in the airline industry are different from the rules under the NLRA. To win that Delta election, we needed fifty percent plus one of the eligible voters to actually cast a ballot, or the vote would fail. So, management's strategy was aimed at getting people to not vote.

Then, as the ballots were mailed to the flight attendants to vote in the election, management began its campaign of fear by putting the workers on notice that their choice was essentially a vote for bankruptcy or, if you wanted to keep your airline flying and to keep your job, don't vote.

As if the odds weren't already stacked enough against us, the week before the ballots were mailed from the National Mediation Board in Washington, D.C., the anthrax scare hit our nation's capital. So, as we were beginning the grueling work of getting flight attendants to take their ballot out of the mail and vote, plastered on television screens across the nation were people in HAZMAT suits picking up mail in Washington, D.C. It was widely assumed that mail from Washington was infected with anthrax spores.

On February 1, 2002, Delta flight attendants and AFA lost that election. Between the massive interference campaign conducted by management, and the upheaval caused by the events of September 11, it was hardly a fair vote. But we have not lost our commitment to eventually organizing every single flight attendant in the United States. And with CWA's help, we know that we can do it. (Applause)

In the wake of the September 11th attacks that killed 25 flight attendants on four hijacked aircraft, our industry and our union changed forever. The downturn in the airline industry has resulted in a severe loss of jobs in commercial aviation, most of them union jobs. AFA is no exception. We have seen our dues-paying membership shrink to just under 35,000.

However, we are still engaged in the same battles; we still provide the same amount of services and offer the same programs and support. We still have the same number of contracts to bargain and to enforce. These are the priorities of our union, and we do not want to have to stop this work.

Shrinking membership means shrinking dollars. And shrinking dollars, no matter how one looks at it, means shrinking power. If we are to continue in our mandate to be "the" premier flight attendant union, it has become obvious to us that we must change and grow, even in these most difficult times.

Through the process of determining how to meet the challenges we face, the leadership of AFA believed it is time for us to consider merging with another union, a union with a similar vision and a similar commitment to the members that we represent.

AFA is no stranger to mergers. Our union was founded as the independent Airline Stewardesses Association. Through a number of changes, which included merging with the Air Line Pilots Association, the modern AFA was born in 1973, when we won our separate AFL-CIO charter after separating from ALPA.

The Association of Flight Attendants has almost 60 years of proud history and tradition. We hope to have another 60 years of continuing that tradition as the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA. (Applause)

Why did we choose the Communications Workers of America? Perhaps I can best answer that question by telling you what the Communications Workers of America means to us. We see the CWA as a union that values what we value, whose goals for the future match our goals for the future, whose integrity is unimpeachable, whose leadership and membership are progressive, whose political agenda is in sync with ours.

We see the CWA as a diverse union, like ours, with a strong commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity. Eighty-five percent of AFA members are women, and we hail from over 40 countries around the world. Combining our strength to serve this diversity is an exciting prospect to us. (Applause)

We see the CWA as a place where we would be welcome; where we can continue on the course that we have set for AFA. With CWA, we expect to be stronger, more powerful and more stable, while continuing to provide the leadership and the support our members need and deserve.

We see in the CWA the creative approach to building a stronger union that we like to believe we share. We see you take on Verizon using cutting-edge strategies and tactics, and we share that zeal for new approaches.

Keeping your Verizon members working while forcing management to pay to keep strikebreakers on the job just in case you go on strike will eventually break management's back financially. They can't pay for it forever. And, the strikebreakers that they have on staff will get more and more disgruntled as the days go by.

While the rules are a bit different in the airline industry, we employ a similar tactic in an attempt to leverage our power in contract negotiations. We call it CHAOS, which stands for Create Havoc Around Our System. CHAOS starts as a public information campaign, where we tell people that if they are going to fly when we might strike it's likely that their plane won't take off. Once we get into the self-help, or strike situation, we keep our members working too, but threaten to strike any flight, any place, at any time.

Not knowing when or where we might walk off a flight, and since we cannot be replaced while we are still working, management must go through the expense of training and flying strikebreakers around the country. We fight the battle of attrition like you are doing at Verizon, believing that our members can continue working longer than management can afford to pay managers to fly all around the country – just in case we walk off a plane, or before those managers get fed up and quit.

We believe this commitment to creativity and cutting-edge tactics will serve both AFA and CWA well. When we share what we know, both unions will be stronger.

The objectives of our respective unions mirror each other as exemplified in our constitutions. We both have, as our primary objective, to unite other workers in a single, cohesive union and to improve the conditions of workers, their rates of pay and their hours of work. The similarities continue: a belief in the education of our members, a commitment to communication with our members, a resolve to insist that our members have safe workplaces, and a mandate to advance and vigorously defend the causes and the rights of our members.

Together, we have the opportunity to create a better, more powerful, visionary union. As I stand before you today, I sincerely believe that the Communications Workers of America is the right home for the Association of Flight Attendants. (Applause)

I hope that you will join me, join with my union, join in our traditions, join in our legacy of hard-fought victories for the workers we represent, and support the merger of the AFA and the CWA. Thank you.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Pat. All of us look forward to working with you, growing with you, and improving the lives of the members – the new members we will both be looking to represent. (Applause)

Would the Defense Fund Committee come to the platform, please? The members of the Committee are:

... As each member of the Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee was introduced, the delegates gave a single clap of recognition...

David Layman, Local 2204; Mark Ledford, Local 3802; Edwin Phillips, President, Local 4340; James Allen, Executive Vice President, Local 6215; Dawn Schnickels-Johnson, Treasurer, Local 7200; Joan Gifford, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 9505; Arthur Cheliotis, President, Local 1180; Loretta Heard, Chair, IUE-CWA Board of Trustees; Robert Lilja, President, Local 1104, Chair. I also want to mention that Sandy Kmetyk, President of Local 13500, who is a member of this Committee, is back with the bargaining committee at Verizon.

The Chair recognizes the Chair of the Committee, Bob Lilja.

DELEGATE ROBERT LILJA (Local 1104, Chair, Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee): Thank you, Morty. For the purposes of reading the report, I would like to introduce David Layman from District 2. David.

DELEGATE DAVID LAYMAN (LOCAL 2204): Thank you Mr. Chair. The report of the Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee to the 65th annual CWA Convention.

... The various Committee members read the Report of the Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee, as follows: ...

The Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee met on March 17-19, 2003, in Washington, D.C. We met again in Chicago prior to the Convention. The Committee reviewed activities associated with the Members' Relief Fund and the Defense Fund. We examined receipts, disbursements, investments and the administrative policies associated with these two funds.

INVESTMENTS – In Washington, D.C., we reviewed the report from “Monitoring and Evaluation Services, Inc. – Investment Consultants” for the year ending December 31, 2002. In Chicago, we reviewed the report ending June 30, 2003. This firm is responsible for advising and verifying that fund investments are made in accordance with guidelines established by the CWA president and secretary-treasurer. We were furnished with information regarding the specific amounts invested, the interest rates and returns and the duration of each of these investments. Since our last report, which covered through March 31, 2002, the fund investments, including mortgages held by the funds, have earned 4.64% for the 15 months ending June 30, 2003.

MEMBERS' RELIEF FUND – The balance of the MRF as of June 30, 2003, is \$254,091,399.

Mortgage loans held by the MRF as of June 30, 2003, are:

<u>Local</u>	<u>LOCAL MORTGAGE LOANS</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1033		642,744.45
1034		191,903.36
1039		269,642.50
1109		271,926.30
1118		245,082.91
1120		42,148.40
2101		517,671.87
2222		228,239.86
2336		342,460.27
3112		147,189.05
3314		116,924.19
4340		1,066,559.97
4501		148,178.21
6171		28,148.08
6222		3,734,827.67
6229		11,998.15
6310		244,068.99

6320	390,000.00
7019	925,125.42
7708	251,329.15
9400	499,597.99
9400	272,610.54
9415	81,319.97
9423	1,310,261.21
9503	166,300.52
9505	386,353.12
9509	326,483.30
39521	125,099.78
59057	365,132.54
Total Local Mortgages	\$13,349,327.77

INTERNATIONAL MORTGAGE LOANS

All of the International mortgage loans have been retired. District 3 made its final payment in May 2003. The Mercury Building loan of \$6,800,557 was paid off June 2002. The 501 3rd Street Building loan of \$13,788,333.34 was paid off June 2003.

MEMBERS' RELIEF FUND EXPENDITURES – April 1, 2002, thru June 30, 2003:

STRIKE RELATED:

Local 706	- HBD Industries	\$66,853.66
Local 1101	- Sprint	115,600.00
Local 1199	- Derlan Precision Gear	(52,641.78)
Local 2004	- Adelphia Cable	22,800.00
Local 3010	- Phonocom	181,800.00
Local 3371/3372	- Alltel	152,000.00
Local 3673	- Verizon	188,200.00
Local 4319	- Allen County, Ohio	142,300.00
Local 14177	- New Era Cap Company	1,036,360.00
Local 30223	- Victoria Times	450,906.40
Local 30232	- Sudbury Star	329,140.29
Local 30248	- Cobourg Daily Star	219,960.60
Local 30403	- Victoria Times	95,156.17
Local 81266	- Fenn Manufacturing	1,106,087.73
Local 83743	- Leggett & Platt	200,000.00
Local 84689	- Hewitt Soap Company	170,700.00
Local 84903	- Mossberg Industries	38,545.00
Butler Fleet Svcs		88,920.00
Verizon		25,651.16
Total		\$4,578,339.23

DEFENSE FUND – The balance of the Defense Fund as of June 30, 2003, is **\$15,317,096.89**.

DEFENSE FUND EXPENDITURES – April 1, 2002, thru June 30, 2003:

STRIKE RELATED:

Bargaining Unit		Spent
Butler Fleet Svcs		\$522.25
General Electric		3,229.55
Verizon		18,709.23
Local 1101	- Sprint	2,500.00
Local 1199	- Derlan	1,840.53
Local 3371/3372	- Alltel	24,984.00
Local 3673	- Verizon	15,136.24
Local 4319	- Allen County, Ohio	37,000.00
Local 14177	- New Era Cap Co.	55,141.02
Local 30232	- Sudbury Star	15,145.29
Local 30223/30403	- Victoria Times	37,777.75
Local 30248	- Cobourg Daily Star	28,000.00
Local 81266	- Fenn Manufacturing	138,130.34
Local 83706	- HBD Industries	37,384.75
Local 83743	- Leggett & Platt	40,000.00
Local 84689	- Hewitt Soap Co	28,843.04
Local 84903	- Mossberg Industries	765.16
Total		\$485,109.15

Allocations and expenditures which were approved by the Executive Board and the Committee:

NON-STRIKE RELATED:

		<u>Allocated</u>	<u>Spent</u>
.ocal			
\lltel			\$2,681.13 **
Sprint			63,000.00 **
/erizon Media Campaign			46,919.74 **
.ocal 14177	- New Era Cap Co		14,233.90 **
.ocal 54042	- WKYC-TV		35,000.00 **
.ocal 54042	- WKYC-TV	30,345	24,000.00
\lltel		162,000	30,980.00
New Jersey State Workers		250,000	250,000.00
SBC Rally		38,100	10,694.54
Sprint	t	497,481	230,834.80
/erizon Layoffs		1,245,175	1,214,189.39
.ocal 1180	- New York City Workers	308,050	245,122.78
.ocal 2004	- Adelphia Cable	20,000	11,401.60
.ocal 6310	- SBC Rally	9,252	9,252.33
.ocal 13101	- State of Delaware	15,000	14,001.30
.ocal 14341	- Winston-Salem Journal	50,000	-0-
.ocal 30223/ 30403	- Victoria Times Columnist	8,850	-0-
.ocal 32035	- Washington Post	150,000	80,030.98
.ocal 51022	- WHEC-TV	69,100	22,004.24
.ocal 58023	- WBRE-TV	111,550	1,250.00
.ocal 58028	- WJET-TV	46,200	45,732.00
.ocal 58028	- WSEE-TV	41,860	17,979.20
.ocal 59051	- KTVA-TV	46,642	25,617.08

.ocal 81266	- Fenn Manufacturing	46,000	-0-
.ocal 81381	- Federation of Social Workers	44,900	16,476.15
Total		\$3,190,505	\$2,411,401.16

** Prior year's allocation

DELEGATE LORETTA HEARD (IUE-CWA): That is the end of the report. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Committee has completed its report. It has been received by the Convention. Please join me in thanking the Committee for another good year's work. (Applause)

Would the Women's Committee please come to the platform? The members of the National Women's Committee are:

... As the members of the Committee were introduced, the audience responded with a single clap of recognition...

Anne McCauley, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 1106; Paula Terveer, Executive Vice President, Local 2202; Arlene Jefferson, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 3406; Janet Rich, President, Local 4107; Jennifer M. Case, Vice President, Local 6320; Terri Newman, President, Local 7214; Kathleen Kinchius, Vice President, Local 9415; Carol Coultas, Executive Vice President, Local 13500.

DELEGATE ANNE McCAULEY (Local 1106): Good afternoon, President Bahr and delegates. The full report of the CWA National Women's Committee is in your packets. We will be reading just a summary.

... The various members of the Women's Committee presented the Committee Report as follows...

The CWA National Women's Committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1 and 2 prior to the CWA National Women's Conference. The conference, held on April 3 to 6, themed "Here's To Good Union Women," was attended by approximately 250 CWA activists, local officers, staff, and National Executive Board Members. In addition to workshops, this year's conference had an international flair as well as historical perspective with the inclusion of union sisters from Senegal and South Africa and a Mother Jones presentation from an oral historian. Approximately half the participants had never attended a Women's Conference. The conference gave them an opportunity to network with other union activists, expand their skills and recharge their batteries for the important work they do in their locals.

The Committee would like to recognize and thank Nancy Brady, member of Local 2222, and Kim Gallardo, vice president of Local 4013 for their service on the Committee and welcome Paula Terveer, executive vice president of Local 2202 and Janet Rich, president of Local 4107 to the Committee.

As stated in the Mission Statement of the CWA National Women's Committee, our primary mission is "to raise issues of special concern to women and to develop programs and strategies to make these issues a priority in the workplace, in the community and most important, in the union." In this report, we will continue to do that and we will highlight recent successes in addressing these issues.

Equal Pay

Equal pay remains one of labor's priority issues. Equal pay has been law since 1963, but women continue to be paid less than men for similar work. Today, women are paid 75 cents for every dollar men receive and for minority women the disparity is greater.

The leading national advocate for Pay Equity is the National Committee on Pay Equity (NCPE). Through their leadership, Pay Equity gets local and national attention. They educate the public about pay inequities between the sexes and races. Each year, the NCPE determines

Equal Pay Day – the day into the next year women must work to earn wages paid to men in the previous year. Equal Pay Day in 2004 will be April 20. Unions again will join civil rights and women's organizations, religious groups and others in highlighting the day with press releases, rallies, round table discussions, and other activities.

There are two bills in Congress aimed at curbing wage discrimination that address different aspects of wage discrimination. Both are needed to fully close the wage gap. While we continue to press for new federal legislation, many states are addressing the issue. The most recent example is the Illinois Equal Pay Act recently signed into law expanding the federal Equal Pay Act of 1963 to give about 330,000 more women in the state protection from gender-based discrimination in pay. It applies to public employees and private companies with four or more employees and prohibits paying men more than women for the same or similar work, except when the difference is based on seniority, merit or factors other than gender. Employers found guilty under the law will be required to pay the wage difference for employees, legal costs and face a fine of up to \$2,500 per violation.

New Mexico created an equal pay task force. Utah recently passed a law requiring a study of state workers' wages to determine if there is a difference based on gender.

Under our collective bargaining agreements, CWA members have pay equity but this continues to be an issue for working women. Pay Equity is a key advantage of unionization and should be highlighted in organizing women. We encourage locals to participate in the NCPE annual Equal Pay Day campaign.

Organizing

In our 2002 report, we noted women's representation in the work force had been growing steadily, creating the need for unions to adopt new organizing and internal practices to attract and retain women members. Women should be assigned formal leadership roles and there should be organizing campaigns geared specifically toward women or labor sectors where women are found.

In previous reports, we discussed that while more women are working, they remain less organized than their male counterparts despite the fact that on average women workers are more likely than men to want to join a union. The Committee recommended Locals aggressively seek out and pursue organizing opportunities for women to join CWA. We also recommend women be provided education and training such as that available through the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute and CWA District Organizing Retreats to assist their movement into leadership and organizing roles. We congratulate Vice President Linda Foley and The Newspaper Guild for sponsoring the first CWA Women's Organizing Institute earlier this year. We hope other Districts and Sectors will be inspired to follow their example.

This year, we will not provide a lot of statistics about women in the labor movement. Recommendations from previous years remain unchanged. Currently seven of the 16 full time organizers on CWA staff are women. Of the 254 local organizers, 118 are women. We still have work to do.

We recognize we are in tough financial times, but without organizing, times are only going to get worse. Organizing women workers into CWA is our hope for the future. We know it is easier to get a person to join an organization they can relate – one that consists of people with whom they can identify. Recruiting women into leadership and organizing roles is a necessity. Locals must stop looking to others for a quick fix. They must reach within their ranks and find those young members (especially women) who are looking for a cause and guide them toward making the union their cause.

Women in Politics

As we move closer to the 2004 elections, it is extremely important that we all be involved in

these crucial elections. In the last national elections, labor increased its share of the vote to 26 percent of all votes cast. It is imperative we do no less, and hopefully more, in 2004. Much is at stake. In past elections, the women's vote made the difference between a win and a loss. Every Local must make sure its members are registered and that they vote.

Over the past two years, more than 1.5 million union voters were added in voter registration drives. There has to be more than registration. We must focus on mobilization, education, work site visits, member-to-member contacts, mailings, et cetera. CWA Locals must ensure all their members know the issues and the positions of the candidates on the issues. We can make a difference. There should be more women in public office. With role models like Representative Nancy Pelosi, House Minority Leader, women and young girls clearly understand the possibilities.

Although there has been an increase in women elected to office, it is minimal. Women are 52 percent of the population, yet our representation in government is markedly disproportionate. Of the 535 seats in the 108th U.S. Congress, women hold 73 or 13.6 percent – an increase of eight seats since the 107th Congress. Women hold 14 or 14 percent of the 100 seats in the Senate and 59 or 13.6 percent of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives. Three women serve as Delegates to the House from Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Washington, D.C. There are 80 women in statewide elective executive posts, while women make up only 22.3 percent in state legislatures. The disparity is greater for women of color. Of the 73 women in the 108th U.S. Congress, 18 are women of color. Of the 80 women in statewide elective offices, five are women of color. Nationwide, of the 1,648 women state legislators, 299 are women of color.

Women have been elected to statewide executive office in 48 of the nation's 50 states, with the exception of Maine and West Virginia. We must encourage women to run for political office at national, state and local levels. Many organizations offer assistance and training for women interested in leadership roles in government.

We should all be engaged in changing policy to improve the lives of women and working families. Let your congressional representative know your opinion on legislation affecting women. Find out what legislation is scheduled for vote in Congress and contact your representatives.

Women's Health

In our 2002 report, we provided extensive information on women's major health issues. We addressed the three major causes of death among women in the United States; heart disease (the leading cause of death), lung cancer (the leading cause of cancer related deaths in women) and strokes (the third leading cause of death). Nothing has changed since last year's report. These remain the top three killers of women in the U.S.

The 2002 convention adopted a comprehensive health resolution, which included support for contraceptive equity coverage in all CWA negotiated health plans. Since then, CWA has provided extensive information on this issue in two publications. In addition, the issue, along with other women's health concerns, was highlighted at the 2003 Women's Conference.

Much attention has been focused on new information about cervical cancer and recent developments in fighting this cancer, which kills over 4,100 each year. When detected early, this cancer can be easily cured. The primary cause of cervical cancer is the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV). DNA testing accurately detects HPV and is playing a growing role in screening. Guidelines from the American Society for Colposcopy and Cervical Pathology (ASCCP) recommend HPV DNA testing as the preferred approach for managing the millions of women each year with inconclusive Pap test results.

The National HPV and Cervical Cancer Campaign, a cooperative effort of women's advocacy and provider organizations, informs women about the importance of regular cervical cancer screening, the link between HPV and cervical cancer, existing and new methods to detect cervical cancer and encourages women to discuss the disease with their health care provider. We encourage union negotiated health plans to cover all FDA approved HPV DNA testing and to

educate our members about HPV and its link to cervical cancer.

Nearly two decades ago, none of us could have imagined the catastrophic impact of AIDS on communities, countries and continents. AIDS is a humanitarian crisis that has shattered families and generations of people.

Since its outbreak, AIDS has caused the deaths of more than 25 million people and every day the world loses another 8,000 lives. AIDS has orphaned more than 14 million children, a number that is expected to triple by 2010. Today, 42 million people are estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS. Of these, 38.6 million are adults, 19.2 million are women, and 3.2 million are children under 15. An estimated five million people acquired the HIV virus in 2002. During 2002, AIDS caused the deaths of an estimated 3.1 million people, including 1.2 million women and 610,000 children under 15.

HIV is increasingly affecting women. Approximately 50 percent of 19.2 million of the 38.6 million adults living with HIV or AIDS are women. One-third of people living with HIV/AIDS are 15 to 24 years of age.

AIDS continues to erode prospects for development in countries where men and women in their most productive years are dying and societal and family structures are coming undone. Today, more than 95 percent of the estimated 40 million people infected with the HIV virus live in the developing world.

In poor countries where health care is scarce, the means to battle the virus through prevention and awareness programs are often unavailable. Education, a tool essential for development, is being compromised by a dwindling supply of both teachers and students, particularly girls who must care for their younger siblings when a parent becomes ill or dies. There are whole countries in Africa where more than one-third of the adult population carries the infection and many hospitals tell people, "If you have AIDS, we can't help you. Go home and die." In an age of new and miraculous medicines, no person should have to hear those words. Africa is now Ground Zero for the AIDS pandemic.

In 1990, CWA President Bahr invited Elisabeth Glaser to speak at the CWA National Convention. He was so moved that he proposed CWA make the Pediatric AIDS Foundation the union's charity of choice. Since that time, President Bahr and Secretary-Treasurer Easterling serve on the Foundation's Board of Directors. In 2002, President Bahr received the "Commitment to Children Award." Together, CWA rank-and-file members, officers and leaders have raised more than \$5 million for pediatric HIV/AIDS research and education, making CWA the single largest contributor to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. This has allowed progress in the development of drugs and therapies to prolong life and block the virus from being transmitted from mothers to newborns.

We know prevention is the most effective method of slowing the AIDS pandemic. Labor unions will need to provide accurate information about transmission through community education programs conducted via labor halls, educational television, messages in print and on radio, along with training community health promoters on transmission prevention.

We must continue to fight AIDS. It will require the leadership of all of us. CWA is a family united in strength and commitment to conquering the HIV/AIDS virus.

Social Security

Social Security, America's most successful social program protects families when a worker retires, becomes disabled or dies. Its benefits are lifelong, guaranteed and unmatched by any type of insurance or investment available in the private market. For more than 60 years, Social Security has provided benefits without fail and can continue to do so for years to come if we take prudent steps now to protect those benefits.

Some political leaders and special interest groups are pushing for the privatization of Social

Security. This would cost a bundle and paying for it would be devastating for working families. The added costs would require raising the retirement age to 70 or older, deep cuts in guaranteed benefits, cutting or eliminating cost of living adjustments, and creating huge new federal deficits, just to name a few drawbacks.

Social Security is the main source of retirement income for people of color. Approximately three in four older African American and Latino households rely on Social Security for at least half of their retirement income.

We can expect privatization to cost more than the current plan long after the transition period. Social Security spends one percent of its budgeted funds on administration. According to the American Council of Life Insurers, administrative costs for private insurance range between 12 and 14 percent.

Privatization would replace guaranteed benefits with benefits dependent on workers' luck or skill as investors and the ups and downs of the stock market. It would mean millions in fees for banks, insurance companies and investment firms – income for those businesses but a decrease in benefits for workers.

The Bush Commission on Social Security's recommendations would force people to work longer before retirement with Social Security and would cut Social Security benefits by making a technical change in the way benefits are computed. According to an analysis by the Institute for America's Future, under that option workers who are 28 years old today and retiring in 2040 would see benefits shrink by about 30 percent. Today's toddlers' cut could be as high as 48 percent.

The same change would sharply reduce benefits to those who count on Social Security as a safety net because they are disabled or are surviving relatives of a worker who has died. Fourteen percent of Social Security recipients get benefits because they become disabled on the job. Another 16 percent are the surviving spouse or children of a worker who has died.

The weakening of benefits once guaranteed by Social Security would be a tragedy for American families and workers. We should closely monitor the studies, reports, recommendations and policies involving Social Security. Make sure your representatives know your concerns and opinions about the measures that affect Social Security. We must fight together to maintain Social Security as it is today.

Family and Medical Leave

The federal Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 requires employers of 50 or more workers to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for employees for a serious illness or to care for a child, spouse or parent. Thirty-five million Americans have benefited from this law, but many have not. The FMLA guarantees only unpaid leave. A recent Department of Labor national survey found that more than three in four employees, 78 percent, who did not take needed leave cited loss of income as the primary reason.

While the present administration has attempted to make the FMLA more employer-friendly rather than employee-friendly, many state legislators realize the law is flawed. Along with workers and family organizations, they are exploring proposals to establish paid systems through the state's unemployment insurance (UI) programs, temporary disability insurance (TDI) programs and other mechanisms. State policy makers, researchers, and working family activists are mobilizing behind a range of proposals to make family and medical leave more available and affordable.

Proposals to extend temporary disability insurance systems (where they exist) to cover some or all types of family and medical leave were introduced in New Jersey, New York and California. Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Vermont have introduced proposals to allot general funds (money from the state's budget) to provide income during parental or full family and medical leave. Additionally, Illinois and Minnesota's proposals require matching funds from

employers.

The Paid Leave Campaign has made great strides in state legislatures around the country. Paid leave bills have been introduced in at least 26 states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Vermont, and Washington.

In California, legislation was passed creating the country's first comprehensive paid family and medical leave insurance program. In addition to wage replacement during medical leave, with this law over 13 million workers can receive partial wages, 55 to 60 percent of wages, to take up to six weeks of leave a year to care for a newborn, newly adopted or foster child, or to care for a seriously ill family member, and up to 50 weeks of leave a year to recover from their own serious illness, including pregnancy or a birth-related disability.

In Oklahoma, a new law permits employees to use sick leave to care for family members, and establishes a state leave-sharing program in which employees can donate their annual or sick leave to a fellow state employee in need of family and medical leave.

In five states, including Hawaii, Maine, Minnesota, New Mexico, and Oregon, laws were enacted requiring legislatures (or special legislative commissions) to research costs of providing paid leave, and in some cases suggest ways the state can implement a paid family benefits leave program.

Another success, the Washington Family Act, became effective in January 2003 in that state. It gives workers the choice to use sick leave or other paid time off (time allowed under their collective bargaining agreement or employer policy for illness, vacation or personal holidays) to care for their children, spouse, parents, parent-in-laws, or grandparents. Of equal importance is that the Act prohibits disciplining or otherwise discriminating against an employee for exercising her/his rights under the law.

In 1999, legislation was passed in California to help workers balance work and family commitments. That law requires employers who offer sick leave to let employees use one-half of their annual sick leave to attend to the illness of a child, parent or spouse. It prohibits an employer from denying the use of sick leave or from discharging, threatening to discharge, demoting, suspending, or in any manner discriminating in terms and conditions of employment against an employee for using or attempting to exercise the right to use sick leave to attend to the illness of a child, parent or spouse of the employee. Employers who violate the law must reinstate workers and pay actual damages, or one day's pay, whichever is greater.

Unfortunately, some employers have found a loophole to get around the law. They have implemented "absence control programs" or "attendance incentive programs" that take disciplinary action for "excessive" use of sick days. The action may include written reprimands and suspensions. These and other demerit systems are intended to keep workers from using sick days the law allows and they have earned.

Legislation enacted in 2002 clarifies that employees who take family sick leave shall not be penalized under existing company sick leave programs. It clarifies state law regarding use of sick leave for caring for a family member and states it is discriminatory to count use of a sick day for a family member when implementing company absence control and attendance incentive programs.

Domestic Violence

Prior to the early 1970's, violence against women was generally thought of as a private matter and was largely ignored by the legal system. Couples were left to solve their own conflicts except in cases of serious injury. The law was considered to be the last resort in the management of domestic violence with arrest only used occasionally as a temporary means of maintaining order.

Increased public intervention in the private sphere has been justified by new legislation, new police powers, and changing attitudes toward a state's intervention. Domestic violence is now, in theory, recognized as a "real" crime, and that it typically occurs in the home does not detract from its status as a criminal offense. Progress against domestic violence depends on public awareness. Through the efforts of women's organizations, unions, legislative action, and the media, society is far more aware of this insidious form of violence, and the legal system is responding. The turning point in strengthening society's response has occurred as a result of high-profile cases that have alerted people to the fatal dangers involved in many domestic violence cases. CWA has effectively led the way in educating its leaders as well as rank-and-file members by conducting in-depth training modules, which not only help identify victims and their abusers, but also offer invaluable resources that enable those willing to assist families in need.

At this year's Women's Conference, participants from across the union attended the domestic violence workshop and were trained in awareness and prevention of this plague. Through a joint initiative with Verizon, District One has conducted hundreds of comprehensive domestic violence training classes, educating thousands of customer service representatives. Efforts are underway to design another module geared specifically toward the male population. Indications are most men are concerned about the issue and would like to help address the problem but need more knowledge and training. Focus groups composed of men are being conducted and their feedback will provide information to develop a curriculum entitled "Men as Allies."

With these innovative workplace programs, CWA will be the leader in the country, if not the world, and everyone who makes programs such as these possible will help make this a better world in which to live.

Global Women Issues

In every region of the world, women are joining the paid workforce in record numbers, but studies show the rights of women workers are often being denied. Some examples make this clear:

Six million women in the Philippines, 20 percent of the working age population, migrate overseas as domestic workers working seven days a week for substandard salaries and often experiencing abuse and harassment.

Women active in the union movement in Colombia suffer the highest rate of assassination in the world.

Women working in free trade zones in Northern Mexico often must take pregnancy tests and may be required to take birth control pills.

As many as 50,000 women are trafficked each year into the U.S. to serve the sex industry and work in sweatshops.

As stable public sector jobs are eliminated through the privatization of public services, more women are turning to informal work to survive. In South Africa, as in other countries in Africa, 90 percent of women workers are informal workers: street vendors, home-based garment workers or childcare providers in their homes. Their work provides subsistence for their families but is not recognized as formal employment so they have no access to legal protection or benefits.

There is another threat to women workers: The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). It's been 10 years since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) began eroding workers' rights, jobs and the environment. FTAA would be NAFTA all over again but 10 times bigger and would include almost every country in the Americas. Most people think free trade is just about trade in goods – orange juice, tennis shoes, steel, et cetera – but the FTAA would cover much more and affect the life of every worker in the hemisphere.

The FTAA will cost jobs. In the United States, NAFTA has resulted in the loss of hundreds

of thousands of jobs, the majority of which were in the higher-paying manufacturing sector. Women increasingly find their only job opportunities are in the lower-paid service sector.

Wages could decrease. In the U.S., jobs in manufacturing have been replaced by jobs in the service sector, which pay 10 percent less than manufacturing jobs, on average.

Discrimination may rise in the workplace. As a result of NAFTA, women increasingly work under hazardous conditions and face on-the-job discrimination, sexual harassment and physical and verbal abuse. If a woman becomes pregnant soon after gaining employment, she may be mistreated or forced to resign.

Access to public services could be reduced. The FTAA will limit greatly the control of local and national governments over public services. Domestic laws that protect public services, health and safety and the rights of working women and their families could be challenged under the FTAA. Privatization of such services as health care, education and the water supply could result in service cuts, increased fees and limited access to these services for many working women and their families.

What can we do? First, we must make sure our members, their families and our friends know what the FTAA can do. Second, and most important, we must join in and support the FTAA-AFL-CIO Ballot Initiative.

In November 2003, unions and allied organizations will meet in Miami to deliver the ballots to trade ministers from throughout the hemisphere. It is important we get involved in the campaigns. Other things we can do include: organize an event in your community to oppose the FTAA, organize educational events on the FTAA, collect signed ballots and send them to the AFL-CIO for delivery to the trade ministers, and download a work site flyer from the www.aflcio.org/stopftaa and distribute it to your co-workers.

The Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride (IWFR) is a national mobilization effort to focus public attention on immigrant rights and injustice toward current immigrant workers. Inspired by the Freedom Riders of the Civil Rights Movement, immigrant workers and their allies will set out in late September from major U.S. cities and cross the country. Their goal – the goal of the ride – is to let people know we need a new immigration policy that incorporates legalization and a road to citizenship for all immigrant workers in this country, the right to reunite families, and the protection of workers' rights on the job without regard to legal status.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women

The 12th Biennial Convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) will be held October 9-12, 2003, at the Westin Hotel, Seattle, Washington. The convention theme is "Vision, Voices, Votes: Building the Labor Movement." More than 1200 delegates, observers, guests, and participants are expected to attend the convention, which in addition to the convention schedule will feature a one-day Health Fair with health care exhibits, health tests and workshops addressing a wide range of women's health issues. The convention will also provide a wide selection of workshops and presentations on organizing and political action, and speakers addressing many other issues facing working women.

CLUW continues to be involved in major projects as reported last year: The Wal-Mart Campaign, HIV and AIDS project, Contraceptive Equity, and Sweatshop/Child Labor campaigns.

This year there is a major focus on preparation for the 2004 elections. CLUW kicked off its 2004 political action program at its June national executive board meeting with visits to the Hill and training programs for activists. We are encouraging full participation in CWA and hope there will be representation of all segments of the Union.

Education Issues

“States are experiencing their worst financial crisis since World War II as they collectively wrestle with budget shortfalls that over a three-year period exceed \$180 billion,” according to a report prepared by the AFL-CIO in January 2003.

While there are several reasons for this, the prime culprit is the national economic downturn. Because most states are under constitutional mandates to balance their budgets, they have had to make painful choices to cut costs. Nineteen states have cut higher education spending, forcing cancellation of classes and tuition hikes of around 10 percent. Eleven states are spending less on K-12 education delaying much needed renovation and construction, eliminating after school programs, and in some places, cutting school weeks. Now is the time for the federal government to provide substantial aid to the states and get the economy back on track.

There have been various programs, such as vouchers, designed for the purpose of using public funds to pay for all or part of the costs of students’ tuition at private or religious schools. While the Labor Movement supports parents’ right to send their children to private or religious schools, it opposes the use of public funds to do so.

Women, civil rights, and union leaders joined in applauding the U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the University of Michigan Law Schools’ Affirmative Action Admissions Program. “The decision is a victory for America’s working families because it preserves the important principle that a diverse student body benefits institutions of higher learning and, ultimately, America’s workplaces and our communities,” said AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

“The court listened to the views of America’s foremost military and corporate leaders and recognized that America’s national security and American businesses benefit by recruiting men and women from diverse races, ethnicities and backgrounds,” said Wade Henderson, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a national coalition of more than 180 civil rights organizations.

During these very difficult economic times for American workers, especially working women, we must be constantly aware of the many “strategies” being used to either reduce or eliminate benefits we have won over the years. A perfect example is Title IX, which became the law about 30 years ago. Most people just think of sports when they hear Title IX, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in federally-assisted education programs or activities. But, Title IX has opened the door to educational opportunity for women for more than 30 years.

Women now constitute 40 percent of college athletes, compared to 15 percent 30 years ago. The values women learn from sports participation, such as leadership, teamwork, discipline, and pride in accomplishment are irreplaceable. It is no coincidence that 80 percent of female managers of Fortune 500 companies have a sports background at a time when the administration and Republican Congress are trying to undo this historic gender equality legislation through administrative and legislative means, including the Secretary of Education’s Commission on Opportunity in Athletics. One simply cannot deny that Title IX has given women so many of the tools they need for success.

The Technology Gender Gap

According to a recent report from the AAUW Educational Foundation, “Women at Work,” despite having achieved parity with men in obtaining four-year college degrees and moving faster into managerial and profession careers, women are not sufficiently prepared to move into better paying, higher status, and faster growing occupations such as systems analysis, software design and engineering. A “technology gender gap” continues to exist.

According to the report, the new high-tech economy is leaving women behind. National census data shows the highest proportions of women with a college education are still in traditional female careers of teaching and nursing.

Within CWA, we continue to witness the development of new education programs for CWA members such as a newly adopted program in District 7. An Advanced Leadership Course was

developed and implemented in 2002. This program combines all subjects taught at first and second leadership schools and includes public speaking, community and political action, mobilization, research, practical economics, and collective bargaining preparation.

The advanced course assignments were to prepare and present an actual collective bargaining experience. The goals were to develop and present proposals, to research strategies, prepare for the other side's proposals, and to have back-up plans prepared in order to achieve a contract.

We encourage locals to use the resources available within our union and beyond to inspire and develop leaders.

Respectfully Submitted by the Committee. (Applause)

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. There is no delegate at any mike. All those in favor of receiving and adopting this report indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like signs. It is adopted.

Please join me in thanking the Committee for an extraordinarily good job. (Applause)

Would the Resolutions Committee come to the platform? The first resolution the Committee will report on will be Resolution No. 10, which I referred to in my remarks.

I think Dick Gephardt and Congressman Kucinich did as well dealing with the Bush Administration to try to destroy the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

DELEGATE LILLIAN COVARRUBIAS (TNG-CWA Local 34043, Chair, Resolutions Committee): Thank you. The Chair recognizes Linda Smith, President CWA, Local 1082.

DELEGATE LINDA J. SMITH (Local 1082): Would the delegates please turn to page 14 of the Resolutions Committee report.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-10

Protecting Overtime Rights; Preserving the 40-Hour Workweek

The 40-hour workweek mandated by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938 is one of the American Labor Movement's greatest accomplishments, benefiting workers, families and society at large.

After 40 hours a week, workers' time is their own unless their employer is willing to pay time-and-a-half to keep them on the job. Employers have a financial motive to avoid unrestrained overtime. This creates a balance in the workplace that ensures employees have leisure time.

The 40-hour workweek is under assault by the Bush administration, and the business lobby and their allies in Congress. Under the Department of Labor's proposed changes to FLSA, more than 8 million workers could lose eligibility for overtime pay. Employers would be free to order employees to work far more than 40 hours without paying anything additional for their labor.

Under the guise that old regulations are outdated and unclear, the DOL is proposing the administration's most radical attack yet on workers' rights using deceptive, immoral and possibly illegal tactics.

Workers in danger of losing their overtime protection include police, firefighters, emergency medical technicians, paramedics, nurses, journalists, chefs, secretaries, dental hygienists, bookkeepers, administrative support workers, computer support staff, drafters, surveyors, designers, graphic artists, working supervisors, engineering technicians, planners, assistant and

associate architects, health technicians, paralegals, retail workers, and anyone with military training or other types of job training or schooling.

Union members may be temporarily protected by collective bargaining agreements, but employers can be expected to demand the right to deny overtime pay once the law permits it. Language in some union contracts would already allow employers to deny overtime pay if the DOL rules are passed.

The FLSA was designed to protect workers, ensuring that the vast majority would have overtime pay rights. Now the 65-year-old Act is being turned on its head to reduce what the Bush administration's DOL and corporate America claim is a burden to employers. The proposed new rules are deliberately vague, giving employers broad rights to reclassify workers so that virtually any worker earning more than \$65,000 a year could be excluded from overtime protections.

Allowing employers to exempt more workers from overtime protections will have a devastating effect on the FLSA's other vital mission: creating jobs. Our country's unemployment rate is the highest in a decade, with more than 9 million workers jobless. Once employers can force existing employees to work unlimited hours at no extra cost, they will have no incentive to hire new workers or provide part-time jobs.

The DOL refuses to acknowledge the vast number of workers who will be hurt by these new rules, as documented by the June 2003 Economic Policy Institute report, "Eliminating the Right to Overtime Pay."

The DOL publicly claims that only 644,000 workers will lose overtime protection, a gross underestimation of the potential damage. However, within the regulations, the DOL estimates that 2.7 million workers will no longer be eligible; still a very low number but more than four times what they repeatedly claim in media reports. The DOL says employers will "benefit" by collectively saving nearly \$5 billion in overtime wages a year, but doesn't address the fact that the burden is placed squarely on the backs of the American worker.

The DOL makes the further claim that 1.3 million low-wage managers who are now exempt from overtime will be eligible under the new rules.

The CWA fully supports efforts that would legitimately increase overtime protection for low-wage workers. However, the DOL is playing a deceptive public relations game, with no genuine intent to help these workers. The proposed regulations instruct employers how to avoid paying the newly eligible workers anything extra. Complete with a mathematical formula, the DOL explains that by converting the managers' low salaries to even lower hourly rates, their total pay won't actually increase even after the overtime is figured into the equation. Coaching employers how to cheat workers in this way is immoral at best and illegal at worst.

The Bush administration claims the proposed regulations are necessary to "clarify" the overtime rules. There is no reason why clarifying the rules requires disqualifying more workers from overtime protections. Consistent with the purpose and long-standing interpretation of the FLSA, clarifications of the overtime rules should expand coverage, not diminish it.

RESOLVED: CWA opposes any effort by the federal government to take away any workers' overtime protection. We support a genuine effort to extend overtime coverage to more workers. We will not stand by silently while the Department of Labor distorts the intent of its plan to enlarge business profits at the expense of American workers.

RESOLVED: CWA members will contact the Department of Labor, the White House and members of Congress to put a stop to this and any future effort to erode the Fair Labor Standards Act or to take away workers' longstanding right to overtime pay.

RESOLVED: CWA local leaders will make efforts to speak with local reporters about the overtime issues, and will work with local labor councils to organize rallies or other media events to bring public pressure to bear on the DOL and elected officials.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-10, entitled "Protecting Overtime Rights; Preserving the 40-Hour Work Week."

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made, seconded from the floor. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Szekely.

DELEGATE PETER SZEKELY (TNG-CWA Local 31003): Thank you, President Bahr. Until now, the only time I've ever spoken up at a CWA Convention has been to declare that, as a journalist who was sent here to represent other journalists, I would abstain when we voted to endorse a Presidential candidate. And I've got to tell you, Morty, I'm very excited to be up here actually advocating something rather than just remaining neutral.

PRESIDENT BAHR: So am I, Peter.

DELEGATE SZEKELY: Because the assault on the 40-hour work week is an attack on the rights of all workers, including journalists. And we are not going to sit on our hands and be neutral when we're under attack. I may be a journalist, but I'm not a chump. (Applause)

You know, my colleagues who cover the President and the candidates that we have heard here today and will hear tomorrow, the reporters who need to be neutral in politics, they spend a lot of time at their jobs. And when they work overtime, they get paid for it. They are not going to sit still while their overtime rights are under attack. This is a battle that affects every American worker, and every American worker had better stand up and fight for what we've got. (Applause)

Now, the business lobby, the folks on the other side of this battle, they like to tell us that the current Fair Labor Standards Act is a confusing, outdated, Depression-era law that has no place in the high-tech global economy. Now, what do they really mean by those hollow-sounding sound bytes? They know, as one study found, that eight million workers will lose their overtime eligibility under the Bush administration proposals. Hit hardest would be higher-skilled workers with decent-paying jobs, including many that we represent-- engineering techs, computer support staff, graphic artists, nurses, police, firefighters, journalists, and the list goes on and on and on.

They know, as this resolution says, that the Labor Department estimates its proposals will save employers nearly \$5 billion a year in overtime pay. Whose \$5 billion? Our \$5 billion. (Applause) And I'll bet you it's even higher than that.

Well, brothers and sisters, the Bush administration proposal is nothing short of a reverse Robin Hood transfer of wealth. We work the longer hours and our bosses get to keep our money. (Applause)

The proponents of these changes have tried to assure us in the labor movement that we have nothing to worry about. Their proposed regulatory changes, they say, won't override our overtime rights that we have in our contracts. What do they think we are? Stupid? Without the federal guarantees of the 40-hour work week, what do you think our employers will do the next time we go to the bargaining table? You and I know, brothers and sisters, that if this goes through we are going to have a round of battles with our employers to save our overtime that will make the current fights we're having over healthcare look like nothing.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE SZEKELY: Now, employers will be employers, and you almost can't blame them because that's the way they are. We know what they are like. We deal with them all the time. They will try to squeeze profits out of anything. I blame the politicians and the bureaucrats. This is a time where the lines are clear. We in the labor movement have to stand up and lead all the workers in this country to fight this back. We can do it. We should do it.

I urge you to pass this resolution. Look in your pockets and you will see a way that you can get active on this issue. We have to tell all of our friends, all of our relatives, all of our neighbors, union or non-union alike, to....

... The microphone was turned off...

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

DELEGATE JIM JOYCE (Local 51016): President Bahr, Vice President Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, Members of the Executive Board, Fellow Delegates, Alternates and Guests: I rise today in support of this resolution. This current attempt by the Bush administration to change the Fair Labor Standards Act is just another blatant attack on the working families in the U.S. The White House has tried to distract everyone's attention by conducting a public war in Iraq, while covertly conducting a war on the American worker here at home. (Applause)

These new proposed rules regarding overtime exceptions will have a tremendous effect on a large number of CWA members. Conservative estimates by the CWA Legal Department state that more than 100,000 of our members could find themselves exempt from overtime pay if these rules are adopted. Specifically, any member earning over \$65,000 could find themselves exempt.

Also, workers in the media, such as NABET-CWA members and Newspaper Guild members who use any amount of creative judgment in the performance of their jobs, could also find themselves exempt from overtime pay. Members working as reporters, photographers, editors, camera operators, sound technicians, would be included in this exemption.

Also exempt would be CWA members that work in sales portions. Other groups that would be exempt are police, firefighters, paramedics, nurses. In all, at least eight million Americans could be affected.

We have to stop this attack on overtime pay, and we have to stop it now. (Applause) Next week when Congress reconvenes, House Bill HR 2660 will be going to the Senate. HR 2660 is the Labor Appropriations Bill. When this bill gets to the Senate, Senator Tom Harkin from Iowa will introduce an amendment that would block the Department of Labor from implementing the rule that would eliminate overtime pay for these eight million workers.

Everyone in this room must make a pledge right now that you will contact your Senators and tell them to support the Harkin amendment to HR 2660, the Labor Appropriations Bill. Will you take that pledge?

... Cries of "Yes"...

I ask you again, will you take that pledge? (Applause and cheers) Will you call your Senators? (Applause) We have to tell President Bush that America does not work without overtime pay. Tell this administration "No O.T. not for me. No O.T. not for me." Call your Senators and support this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

... The following remarks were given to the Stenographers for inclusion in the Proceedings...

DELEGATE ANN M. CUMMINGS (Local 7200, Retired): I stand in support of Resolution 65A-03-10. The Bush administration proposes to destroy and take away overtime pay that employees are rightfully entitled to. He is trying to destroy the rights we are entitled to through bargaining. His action is devastating to all the workers and causes great hardship. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: There are no other delegates are at the mike. Before I take the vote, Peter Szekely reminded me of something before he got cut off. If your contract, for example, simply states that time and a half for overtime will be paid in accordance with federal law, as some contracts do, these DOL regulations would wipe out overtime in that bargaining unit.

We may have some that we haven't found, but our major contracts spell it out. There are unions that have that kind of language that if the DOL regulations change, so would the language of their contracts.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before us is Resolution 10. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

I hope you will follow through with the Resolveds. (Applause) On Microphone 1, Delegate Maxwell.

DELEGATE GENE MAXWELL (Local 51016): Thank you, President Bahr. I move that for the sake of brevity, and with a great deal of respect for the Committee, that the Committee read only the Resolveds on the remaining resolutions.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded ...

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The Chair recognizes the Chair of the Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, President Bahr.

Would the delegates please turn to page 1 of the Resolutions Committee report and look at Resolution 65A-03-1, entitled, "A New American Foreign Policy."

RESOLUTION 65A-03-1 A New American Foreign Policy

This country deserves a break from the failed policies of the past. Arms sales and military aid programs have created widespread anti-American sentiment. Nuclear weapons policies encourage nuclear proliferation.

Huge increases in military spending won't necessarily make us safer but will take funds from education, health care and other important social programs. Eliminating civil liberties threatens our constitution and undermines the very values that make our nation great. Our country is made safer by affirming our values, not abandoning them.

Democracy and human rights are ideals that the American people hold dear. Our elected officials have not always held true to these values. Sadly, our country leads the world in providing arms and military training to governments and dictatorships that abuse human rights. When we sell weapons worldwide, those arms may end up being used against our own troops. We sold arms to the Taliban, Saddam Hussein and Manuel Noriega – enough!

We face the threat that nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction can be aimed at us as well as others. The only way to be safe from this threat is to destroy the stockpiles and secure those facilities that make nuclear materials. Instead of leading efforts to secure and dismantle nuclear weapons, the Bush administration wants to build new ones. Spending billions on unreliable missile defense system, while building new nuclear weapons, will only speed the pace of nuclear proliferation.

The Declaration of Independence urges "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." The U.S. needs to promote policies that address the larger needs of the world community and minimize the potential for hate and anger.

The United States has the strength and ability to better the working and living conditions of humankind and increase our security in the process – but only if we lead by example.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America support all reasonable efforts to reduce and control the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We call on our elected officials to: oppose funding for the development or testing of new nuclear weapons; to support programs and agreements designed to reduce and secure the world's existing nuclear stockpiles; and to oppose missile defense and space weapons that increase the pace of nuclear proliferation.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America call on elected officials to strengthen international law and stability by opposing the doctrine of "preemptive attacks" and promote and support international systems that foster global cooperation.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A -03-1, entitled, "A New American Foreign Policy."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded...

It was seconded from the floor.

Louie Rocha is on Microphone 3. He sent it in. You have the mike.

DELEGATE LOUIE ROCHA (Local 9423): Thank you, Mr. President.

Delegates and guests, the campaign for a new American foreign policy is a growing movement to bring sanity to our foreign policy, a policy that is leading us all down a dangerous path, a path that requires all of us to raise our voices of concern. Our country deserves a break from the failed policies of the past. Our arms sales and military aid programs have created widespread anti-American sentiment. This policy is putting more and more of our brothers and sisters, as soldiers, in harm's way. Our nuclear weapons policies are encouraging nuclear proliferation. Our government's approach to the international community isolates us and frustrates our ability to take meaningful leadership.

This campaign for a new America foreign policy includes a three-point platform. Point one supports human rights and democracy. We can exhibit international leadership by opposing the policies of human rights abusers, not rewarding them with weapons.

This resolution calls on our elected officials to oppose arms transfer and military training or assistance to human rights-abusing governments, and to actively support efforts to regulate and control the arms trade. Huge increases in military spending won't make us safer, but they will take funds from education, healthcare, and programs, and harm the quality of life for all Americans.

Point two is to reduce and control the nuclear threat. Our nation should lead a worldwide campaign to reduce and control the threat of weapons of mass destruction, a policy of which we could be proud.

This resolution calls on our elected officials to oppose funding for the development or testing of new nuclear weapons, support programs and agreements designed to reduce and secure the world's existing nuclear stockpiles, oppose missile defense and space weapons that increase the pace of nuclear proliferation.

Point three is to cooperate with the world community. We can play a positive leadership role in the world community, playing strategies for a future we can all live with. This resolution calls on our elected officials to strengthen its international law and stability by opposing the doctrine of preemptive attacks, promote and support international systems which foster global cooperation such as the UN and the International Criminal Court.

Dear sisters and brothers, for our sake, for our children's and grandchildren's future I urge you to support this resolution. (Applause and cheers)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Bill Henning on Microphone 3.

DELEGATE WILLIAM HENNING, JR. (Local 1180): I rise in support of this resolution calling for a new American foreign policy. As I do so, I join with dozens of other union organizations and hundreds of individual labor leaders to invite you to join Local 1180 for a National Labor Assembly on the issues of peace, prosperity, security, democracy, and justice. The assembly will be held right here in Chicago on October 24 and 25. Its purpose will be to forge an ongoing labor coalition that will challenge the U.S. foreign policy of permanent war, and its consequences for working families both here at home and abroad.

In the months preceding the invasion of Iraq, hundreds of local, state and national unions,

central labor councils and other labor organizations took official positions opposing war on Iraq. This led to the founding, on January 11, in Chicago, of U.S. Labor Against War, USLAW. On February 27, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted its own resolution opposing Bush's unilateral and preemptive military action.

By the time the invasion of Iraq was actually launched on March 20, labor organizations representing almost one-third of all organized workers in the U.S. were on record opposed to the war. U.S. troops are now committed to an indeterminate occupation of the war-devastated country.

All the important questions about Iraq's future remain under a cloud, including what role the Iraqi people will have in shaping their own future, and whether Iraqi workers will enjoy internationally-recognized labor rights, including the right to organize freely, to bargain collectively and to strike.

Despite its rhetoric about liberation, it is increasingly clear that the Bush Administration is motivated more by global ambitions and corporate interests than by freedom of Iraqis. Consistent with its belligerent posture and preemptive war doctrine, threats of military action against other countries continue to emanate from the administration.

Its announced decision to resume development of tactical nuclear weapons will escalate the arms race, making the U.S. and the whole world less secure, not more secure. Our nation is in the midst of its worst economic crisis in decades. Organized labor and working families are under a relentless assault from the Bush Administration on every front. Government has become a willing ally of big business in attacking unions and the right to organize and bargain. More than 180,000 federal workers have lost the right to union representation in the name of national security.

While the social safety net is being shredded, the administration is massively cutting taxes for the wealthy. It has undermined cherished democratic ideals and eroded constitutional rights with measures like the Patriot Act and Homeland Security Act. The budget for military and prisons continues to grow while social programs and public sector jobs and services are being downsized, outsourced, privatized, or eliminated.

Schools are being shuttered, teachers are being laid off by the thousands, veterans' benefits are being slashed, millions are jobless, and many millions more are without health care and adequate housing. In communities of color, among immigrants and the poor, these cuts will have a disproportionately painful impact. Children will suffer their worst affects. The \$200 billion being spent to topple Saddam Hussein and reconstruct Iraq could have been spent addressing these urgent needs.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE HENNING: The stakes at this moment in history are high. For many trade unionists who did not oppose the war earlier, the relationship between a militarized foreign policy and its effect on our domestic economy are becoming painfully clear. National security has become the cover for gutting many of the social and economic gains won by working people during the 20th Century.

The administration is using the power of the U.S. military to boost Bush's image in the face of the disastrous results of his economic policies. The administration presents the most serious threat to the economic and social well-being, civil liberties and civil rights, security of the nation and peace of the world of any in memory.

Bush's defeat in the 2004 election is of paramount urgency. However, in seeking his defeat we must assure the defeat of the policies he has promoted so that no matter who is elected it will be politically impossible to pursue them.

We must create a voice within the Labor Movement....

... The microphone was cut off...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thanks, Bill. (Applause)

There are no other speakers wanting to address this resolution. Before us is Resolution No. 1, "A New American Foreign Policy." All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Linda Smith.

DELEGATE LINDA J. SMITH (Local 1082): Would the delegates please turn to page 2 of the Resolutions Committee report and look at Resolution 65A-03-2 entitled, "Customer Service Professionals."

RESOLUTION 65A-03-2 **Customer Service Professionals**

Customer service professionals are proud members of CWA whether they work in telecom, airline, newspapers, or the public sector. Our members want to be allowed to do a good job for their employers, provide excellent service for their customers and feel valued for the work they perform.

Unfortunately, many employers in the United States and around the world are degrading the work of customer service professionals by following the low road to customer service. The low road emphasizes control through quotas, tight scripting, limited call-handling times, unrealistic sales objectives, low wages, and an outsourced workforce. The low road pits workers against workers in a global race to the bottom.

CWA supports the high road to customer service, the professional model that recognizes this work as complex, requiring employee discretion and knowledge. The high road emphasizes employee skills, career opportunities, continuous learning, collaboration, flexible responses to customers instead of fixed scripts, downtime to complete tasks, and time to breathe.

In a widely cited report, Forrester Research Inc. predicts that American employers will move about 3.3 million service jobs overseas. This represents a loss of \$136 billion in wages over the next 15 years, up from \$4 billion in 2000. If this and other predictions like it come true, few customer service jobs will exist in the United States by 2018.

Outsourcing of work is not a new problem to CWA, but the extent and distance that our jobs are now moving are breathtaking. Call center work is moving around the globe – pushed by major corporations including AT&T, Verizon Wireless, BGE, Avis, Dell Computers, Amazon.com, Whirlpool, American Express, Microsoft, IBM, and CitiGroup. GE Capital alone has four call centers with 15,000 employees in India.

Telecom New Zealand shows us how low the low road can go, having outsourced all customer service work, along with operator and technical services. But, outsourcing to other parts of the globe does not stand alone; the outsourcing to nonunion companies in the United States is also running rampant. AT&T has outsourced 70 percent of its long distance customer care work; 20 percent has been moved abroad.

India, with a highly educated workforce but low-wage economy, is increasingly the recipient of outsourced call center work. Call Center Colleges have sprung up to train "customer service executives" to speak and sound like Americans, Australians or Brits; ready to work for \$40 per week, with no benefits. Arundhati Roy, the world-renowned Indian author, writes in a recent book about taking a visitor to a Call Center College in Gurgaon on the outskirts of Delhi:

"I thought it would be interesting for him to see how easily an ancient civilization can be made to abase itself completely. In a Call Center College, hundreds of young English-speaking Indians are being groomed to staff the backroom operations of giant transnational companies. They are trained to answer telephone queries from the United States and United Kingdom.

"On no account must the caller know that his or her inquiry is being attended to by an Indian sitting at a desk on the outskirts of Delhi. The Call Center College trains their students to speak in American or British accents. They have to read foreign papers so they can chitchat about the news or weather. On duty they have to change their given names, Sushma becomes Mary, Govind becomes Jerry. Call Center workers are paid one-tenth of the salaries of their counterparts abroad. From all accounts, call centers are billed to become a multi-billion dollar industry."

Threats of outsourcing are faced by customer service professionals regardless of where they work. The stress, monitoring, relentless sales quotas, scheduling problems, health and safety issues, lack of time to catch up and to breathe are issues faced around the globe. Our response must be global as well.

CWA is actively working with Union Network International (UNI), the major global union federation to which CWA is affiliated for telecom, broadcasting and printing, to promote participation in a Call Center Workers Global Action Week, October 6 to 10. Customer service professionals around the world will wear the same solidarity stickers to bring attention to the low road workplace issues.

CWA has been working to get consumer "right-to-know" legislation introduced and adopted at the state level. Such bills require customer service representatives to disclose to consumers who they work for, where they are located, and their name or a registered alias. The New Jersey State Assembly drafted a model right-to-know bill and is scheduled to vote on it in November. The Hawaii legislature adopted a right-to-know resolution. Corporations and Chambers of Commerce are aggressively opposing these state legislative initiatives because they threaten to expose the intentional deception being perpetrated on the American consumer.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America supports high road customer service and will continue to use collective bargaining, organizing, and political strategies to maintain high road union-represented customer service jobs.

RESOLVED: That the 65th Convention of the Communications Workers of America encourages all locals representing customer service professionals to participate in the Customer Service Global Action Day on October 8.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America supports consumers' right to know with whom they are doing business and will work to have right-to-know customer service legislation introduced and passed at the state level.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-2, entitled, "Customer Service Professionals."

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made and seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Miller.

DELEGATE REX M. MILLER (Local 2001): Mr. President, Members of the Board, Delegates, Alternates and Distinguished Guests: I stand before you today to speak in favor of Resolution 65A-03-2, "Customer Service Professionals."

I have worked as a Customer Service Rep in Customer Service since 1983. Prior to that, I worked as a Directory Assistance Operator. Throughout my career at C&P Telephone, Bell Atlantic, and now the infamous Verizon Communications, the mentality of the management staff has been: Rule by intimidation, not respect; rule by force, not by cooperation; rule by might, not

by right.

Our companies all have this same mentality: Move the jobs, save the money, but keep the profits for themselves. We have heard that many companies have joined the mass exodus out of America to foreign lands. Whereas in our company a Customer Service Rep at top pay after years of dedicated service makes approximately \$4,000 a month. The same type of work in India will pay approximately \$200 a month. This \$3,800 difference will not be passed on to us. It will probably not be passed on to the stockholders, but likely will be kept by the corporate rapists who already have more money than most Third World countries.

In our daily jobs we are monitored, watched, and observed until we can hardly make it through the workday. Managers listen to every word we say, follow us to the bathroom and try to control our every thought.

They script our contracts and they monitor to make sure every word is said their way. There is no room to use our own words. If we miss a word or say it wrong, we are scored as a minus and gigged. If we fail to say it their way or to make their sentences heard, we are faced with disciplinary action up to and including dismissal. This is unfair. This is insane.

Next, sales – yes, the elusive sales quotas. President Bahr has told us that each worker at Verizon is responsible for a profit of \$17,000, a part of the total of the net \$4.1 billion profit last year, but yet Verizon demands take-backs. No. No way will we stand for concessions.

Sales quotas have gotten out of hand. There is no limit. Once we strive and obtain 100 percent of our goal – and by the way, 100 percent is only satisfactory. I started as a Rep when we had touchtone, call waiting, forwarding and speed calling, plus three-way calling, and our quotas were unbelievable then. Today, with the many new technological advances, we have many new features. However, with new features we have new and higher quotas.

Management browbeats each of us to sell more. Every week we are forced to work overtime to sell, sell, sell. Selling is not bad, but when you are disciplined because you cannot or do not meet these unobtainable goals, this is wrong. Sure, the companies say they do not discipline for sales, but they do find something new to discipline for. And the company will not entertain the idea of office quotas instead of individual quotas.

Each day we are faced with a management that just doesn't get the idea: a happy worker is a productive worker. There are far too many of us in our companies that hate our jobs. Yes, we work there but we do not want our children to be subjected to what we are. We want better for them. We want jobs with companies that treat employees with respect. We want careers with our companies, but we cannot have careers if our companies move jobs out of the country.

Verizon, my company, wants to move jobs to India. There they teach their workers to say they are Americans, they are in America and are our neighbors. But they aren't. I have no problem if Indian workers want to help India have telephone service. But keep them there.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE MILLER: Keep their service there. And bring back and keep our service professional jobs in America. We must have the jobs stay here, for us, for our children, and for the future.

We must stand together to stop this corporate abuse. We must stop outsourcing. We must organize the unorganized so companies cannot and will not need or want to move jobs out of our communities and locate them overseas.

Together, we can and will win. Together, we can turn back corporate greed. We will stop the movement of jobs. We will stay strong and build a better future, a better America, a union-friendly world.

Thank you, my brothers and sisters, my friends. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike No. 3, Delegate Gavin.

DELEGATE BILLIE GAVIN (Local 6151): Thank you, President Bahr. Brothers and sisters, I'm a customer service professional for AT&T. I also have the privilege of serving my local members of 6151 as president.

I come before you to speak in favor of this resolution. As stated in the resolution, customer service professionals are proud members of CWA. We work in telecom, airline industries, newspapers, and the private sector.

Our members want to be allowed to do a good job for their employer. They want to provide excellent customer service and yes, they want to feel valued for the work they perform.

Unfortunately, their ability to perform at this level is restricted by corporate greed. Most of our employers choose the low road. The low road forces unobtainable quotas and objectives down our members' throats. These employers continually raise the bar for our members by lowering the amount of time the CSP has to assist the customer, thus eliminating their ability to resolve the customer's inquiry.

CWA supports the high road to customer service and they have been instrumental in our members' fight to get the companies to recognize this work for what it is. Our work is complex. It requires the ability to deal with difficult and irate customers. I want you to each think about your most vocal member and multiply that by 100 and that is what we deal with on a daily basis day after day after day.

Our members have watched as tens of thousands of jobs of customer service professionals, union represented jobs, have been outsourced. In my building just four years ago, we had more than 1,100 customer service reps providing excellent customer service.

Today we have fewer than 350 reps answering the needs of our customers.

Outsourcing is not a new problem, but now the work is being moved out, it's not just being moved out of union shops, it's out of our country. AT&T has outsourced more than 70 percent of its long distance customer care workers and, at least, 20 percent of that work is now in India.

AT&T is not the only U.S. work abroad. Verizon Wireless, GE, Avis, Dell Computers, Amazon.com, Whirlpool, American Express, Microsoft, IBM, and CitiGroup. GE Capital alone has shipped more than 15,000 jobs to India.

Perhaps President Bush should consider corporate incentives to keep work here in America instead of handing out rebate checks for votes. (Applause)

In India, Call Center Colleges are springing up everywhere to train them. They are trained to speak and sound like Americans. They learn to chitchat with you about the Yankees, the Cowboys and the Bulls and they are eager to work for \$40 a week with no benefits.

They are given names to replace theirs. Perhaps it was Sushma and changed to Mary or it's changed from Govind to Jerry. Threats of outsourcing are faced by customer service reps no matter where they are in the world.

The stress, monitoring sales quotas, schedule problems, health and safety issues, lack of time to catch up and catch their breath are issues faced around the globe.

CWA is actively working with the Union Network International, the major global union federation to hold a Call Center Global Action Week. I urge each of you to participate in this during the week of October 6 through the 10th.

Brothers and sisters, let's stand together and stop the attack on our jobs. Please support the customer service professionals by participating in the Call Center Workers Global Action Week. Please work to get the right-to-know legislation passed in each and every state.

And, finally, let's all continue to support the high road to customer service by using collective

bargaining, organizing and political action to maintain and grow good union jobs. Thank you.
(Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike 1, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MICHAEL J. FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): I would like to call the question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It's not debatable – requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor raise your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

... The following remarks were given to the stenographer for inclusion in these Proceedings...

DELEGATE DENNY KRAMER (Local 6201): I rise today in support of Resolution 65A-03-2. Local 6201 has 3,600 members who are all customer service professionals regardless of their title or their position. They all take pride in the service that they provide to their customers and do it with a high degree of integrity.

Sales pressure is at an all-time high with every entity expected to contribute to the bottom line. The companies' greed has deteriorated their own integrity and threatened to destroy our own. Adherence, programmed scripts, sales quotas, and excessive monitoring have taken the personal aspect away from the work that our members do and the threat of discipline, surpluses and center consolidation add to the stress of an already difficult job.

It is a shame that the companies that we represent have forgotten that customer service sets us apart from those companies that imitate what we have perfected. Therefore, it is important that we not only vote for this resolution but that we continue to support our customer service professionals in every aspect of their stressful jobs.

We in Local 6201 are very proud to host this year's Customer Service Professional-Marketing & Operators' Conference next month in Fort Worth, Texas. We look forward to seeing you there. Vote for this resolution.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before us is Resolution No. 2, "Customer Service Professionals." All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

We are going to hold the Resolutions Committee because Senator John Kerry is here. Would the Escort Committee please bring Senator Kerry to the platform. The Escort Committee consists of: Gary Nilsson, President, Local 1365; Bridget Meagher, Treasurer, Local 1400; Lesley Phillips, President, TNG-CWA Local 31032; and Jeff Crosby, President, IUE-CWA Local 81201.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length as Senator John Kerry was escorted into the Convention Hall...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Senator John Kerry has been a valued supporter of virtually every working family issue over the years. He is a dear friend of our union and I am proud to call him a personal friend.

Senator Kerry is one of the Senate's leading voices denouncing the Bush administration's attempt to strip overtime pay from millions of workers – the resolution that we just passed.

He has consistently stood up for workers as this White House has attacked one hard-won right after another. He has been there for issues specifically affecting CWA members.

For example, in 2001 he piloted a CWA-drafted bill to deal with airport rage, a growing fear for our US Airways agents and passenger service agents throughout the country.

Individuals who disrupt, intimidate or otherwise interfere with airline agents who are performing their FAA-mandated security duties can now be fined or even imprisoned.

Senator Kerry included our language as an amendment to the Aviation and Transportation Security Act. It passed unanimously.

Later, I was even more pleased to receive a letter from Senator Kerry in which he said our Union was "the driving force" behind the provision and that we had provided "crucial research and analysis" of this issue. Senator Kerry wanted to make that very clear because American Airlines, in the throes of our campaign to represent those passenger agents, passed out literature to its passenger service agents claiming that CWA had nothing to do with the airport rage legislation. We appreciate not only his efforts to pass this important legislation, but to publicly stand up for us against a corporate attack. (Applause)

I'm sure each of you know of Senator Kerry's heroic military record in Vietnam, where his Naval service earned him a Silver Star, Bronze Star, and three Purple Hearts. Senator Kerry is as patriotic as any American can possibly be. Yet, he knows true patriotism doesn't mean you blindly follow the leader.

After returning home from Vietnam, he felt compelled to question the war and the great costs to American soldiers and their families. When he questions our foreign policy today, it is as a veteran whose life experience gives him genuine credibility, the kind that you cannot get by just putting on a borrowed flight suit. (Applause) I heard him use that term. I swiped it.

John Kerry is in his fourth term in the United States Senate and this is his second visit in as many years to our Convention.

Please join me in giving him a rousing return welcome.

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

THE HONORABLE JOHN KERRY (U.S. SENATE, D-MA): Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, Morty Bahr. Thank you, brothers and sisters at CWA. It is an honor to be here with you. I'm privileged to have an opportunity to share a few words with you and thank you for the invitation to be able to be here.

As you know, we are getting close to Labor Day and Labor Day is a day we set aside to honor those who make our economy strong, which means we can rule out the Bush economic team being honored on that day. (Applause)

Incidentally, I was down in Florida the other day and this fellow came up to me and he said, "tell me, what is it like to be running for the most powerful office in the land?"

And I looked at him and I said, "I don't have a clue, because I'm not running for Secretary of the State of Florida." (Applause) Now we get it. Now we get it.

I figured out the other day that the only jobs George Bush has created in the United States of America are the nine of us running for President of the United States, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause)

Well, I got a little advice to begin with and my advice is pretty straightforward: Verizon, settle the contract with 51 CWA workers at Verizon Wireless. That is the way to honor Labor Day and move this country forward. That is the way to not break faith with the American people.

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

You know, 40 years ago this week Martin Luther King gave his "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington. He was fighting not just for civil rights, but he was fighting for workers' rights. Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis on that balcony when he went down there to help janitors organize in America.

I come to you today to say that just as Martin Luther King said that his dream was deeply rooted in the American dream, so today we must remind this President and the Republicans that the dream of all workers to be treated fairly and decently is rooted in the American dream; and it

is time for us. We deserve a President of the United States, my friends, who understand what it means to work in America, who understands what it means to struggle to get by on a minimum wage that will barely buy you poverty in America.

We deserve a President of the United States who spends his time fighting to give Americans a living wage, not destroying overtime in the United States of America. (Applause)

We deserve a President who will fight for the rights of people to organize. I met with organizers in New York the other day. They were telling me the stories of their efforts to be able to try to simply come together in the workplace, of the harassment, of people who were fired, of the changes in their shifts, of the difficulties that they had with their fellow workers as a consequence of their efforts to try to come together. I want to make it clear that we deserve a President of the United States who will appoint people to the NLRB who will respect labor law, who will appoint a labor secretary who comes out of labor and who will put someone in positions of power to enforce the organizing rules of our country, and I will guarantee that we will have a card check organizing system by executive order so that people have the ability to organize in America.

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

We deserve a President who doesn't empower his attorney general to be able to have a Justice Department that denies people the proper balance between corporate power and workers in our country. We deserve a President who has an attorney general who actually respects the Constitution of the United States. We deserve a President who appoints an attorney general who is not John Ashcroft, and I look forward to doing that when you make me President.

We also deserve a President who understands that it is an insult to working people in America whose retirements have been blown away by criminal activity. It is an insult that some two years plus later, no one from Enron is in jail where they belong, and we deserve a Justice Department that puts people where they belong. (Cheers and applause)

Lucent Technologies laid off – the chief executive laid off 65,000 workers, half the workforce, and after the chief executive did that, while they froze the 401(k)s of all the workers, while they froze them in place, even as those 401(k)s dropped 31 percent, no worker was allowed to sell. The chief executive was rewarded with a \$5.5 million severance pay. His mortgage was picked up for \$4.3 million. He was given \$9,000 a month with a secretary and an office to find a job, and he was given an \$870,000 a year pension from that company.

My friends, I cannot tell you how deeply I believe and how much all of us in America understand that the fundamental relationship between management and workers is being breached, and this administration treats it as an entitlement; and we deserve a President of the United States who will restore fairness to the workplace and take away those corporate perks which allow CEOs to squirrel away the money for themselves, take it to Bermuda, not pay taxes, and stick the rest of the country with the bill. (Applause)

I am going to take those tax breaks away and restore fairness to the workplace in America. (Applause and cheers) And it is long since time that the President understood that something different is happening in the workplace in America today.

I met with workers in New Hampshire the other day who literally had to train their replacements from India and then see their jobs go to them. The outsourcing that is taking place in our country today has no parallel. And we need a President who is prepared, not just to talk about trade in the context of its freedom, but to talk about trade in the context of its fairness and its smartness.

We must review those agreements and make certain that there is no agreement signed, no trade agreement that passes without labor standards, environmental standards, and fairness in the workplace, and I support the Buy America Amendment on the Department of Defense Authorization bill that will help us to hold on to manufacturing and keep our jobs. (Applause)

Let me make it clear to everybody that I was first introduced to a union when I was a kid in college. I became a Teamster when I loaded and unloaded trucks at First National Stores in Massachusetts. And I learned about the size of the paycheck that I got as a consequence and the workers' rights and benefits that came with it.

I think we deserve a President of the United States who understands that every day in our country, millions of workers get up, they get out of bed, they go to work, and they go to a workplace where they have a decent wage and they have health care and they have a pension and they may even have some kind of shareholding capacity and they have a safe workplace. And the only reason they have it, even though they are not members of a union, is because for over 100 years, people in this country were prepared to go out and stand in a picket line and put their lives on the line in order to win those rights for Americans. (Applause)

And I will tell you something, I look forward to reminding this President, and all the members of the Republican Party who are so quick to run around this country and give speeches about heroes and talk about values, I can't wait to remind them that every single one of those heroes, every one of those police officers and fire fighters and emergency medical personnel, every one of them who ran up those stairs and gave their lives so that others might live, every one of them was a member of organized labor and they believed in the right to strike, The right to benefits, the right to earn a living wage, the right to bargain, the right to be treated fairly, the right to have a wage that you can live on in America. (Applause)

And, I will tell you when you measure their rhetoric against their policies, the divide is bigger than the Grand Canyon. This is the biggest "say one thing, do another" administration we have ever had in the history of modern America. They say they are going to give a tax cut to Americans, all Americans; most of it goes to the wealthy. They say they are going to "leave no child behind." With the stroke of a pen, this President left 12 million kids behind because he thought it was more important to give people earning \$315,000 a year a tax cut at the expense of people earning \$10,000 and \$26,000 a year. I say, shame on their sense of right and wrong. (Applause)

And I say it is time. It is time we held those politicians who talk about family values accountable, and make them value families. And if they don't, throw them out of office and make our politicians accountable in this country. (Applause)

The record of this administration is the worst jobs record since Herbert Hoover was President in the Great Depression. We have lost 3.1 million jobs. We have got 2 million Americans who lost their health care. I have talked to countless numbers of workers who can't afford their COBRA after they have been laid off.

I talked to a man the other day who has been laid off for the last year and a half. He is 50 years old. He is looking for work. He has had 60 interviews. He can't find a job, and he just learned that his wife has cancer. He doesn't know where to turn.

Where is this President when people tell us the real stories of America? When you add up the 3.1 million jobs lost, the two million people who have lost their insurance, when you add up the numbers of people in America for whom retirement has been destroyed or delayed, when you add up the number of children abandoned, I will tell you it is going to be clear to everybody in this country, and I will make it clear, that the one person in the United States of America who deserves to be laid off is George W. Bush. (Cheers) And we are going to do it.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length, whistled and cheered...

I will tell you a little story, my friends. Five thousand years ago, Moses said, "Hitch up your camel, pick up your shovel, mount your ass, I will lead you to the Promised Land."

Five thousand years later, Franklin Roosevelt said, "Light up a Camel, lay down your shovel, sit on your ass, you have reached the Promised Land."

And today, George Bush will lay off your camel, tax your shovel, kick your ass, and tell you

there is no Promised Land. (Cheers)

Well, we are going to change that, my friends. We are going to change that.

... The delegates arose and applauded, cheered and whistled...

And, I am tired of this game they play with trickle down economics. I know something about that, because I am supposed to be one of those people who is going to get some money and go out and do something with it. I don't think I ought to get it any more than Warren Buffet believes he ought to get it. It seems to me that what we need is a little common sense and good judgment in America.

Warren Buffet is the second richest man in America, and he said of George Bush's tax cut, "I don't think I ought to get it. Rather than give me the ability to pay myself a billion dollars because I own my own company and give it to myself in dividends so I get \$310 million tax free," he said, "I think we ought to give 310,000 families in America \$1,000." And that is the kind of approach that we ought to have in this nation. (Applause and cheers)

I am tired of listening to the Republicans give some lame excuse for trickle down economics when everywhere I go in this country I am meeting people who are just plain tired of being trickled on by George W. Bush and Republican economics, and we have got to change it. (Applause)

My friends, there are two points of view. There have always been two points of view. On the one side is that idea about trickle down. On the other side, think of what Andrew Jackson said 160 years ago. He said the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Instead, he said, the job of government was to look out for the humble members of society – the farmers, mechanics, and laborers. That is what Andrew Jackson wrote 160 years ago, and it is as true today as it was then.

I think we deserve a President who is prepared to invest in America. I think we deserve a President who understands that we could put people to work tomorrow in this country if we made the right choices, investing in our schools, our roads, in our tunnels, in our communities, in our hospitals, and in our water treatment facilities. We could put people to work putting broadband out into rural communities of America the way we put electricity out into those communities in the 1930s, and we could put CWA workers to work doing that work for America. (Applause)

I want to be President because I want to stop this nonsense where every response to every problem in America is a tax cut for the wealthiest Americans. I want to stop this nonsense where governors are forced to raise taxes and lower services as a response to the federal government's cutting.

George W. Bush can walk around and beat his chest and tell everybody we gave you a tax cut. No.

What he gave you was a tax increase in your property tax, in your sales tax, in your state income tax, and he lowered the quality of life in America at the same time. And I will tell you something, the bottom line, we should not be opening fire houses in Baghdad and shutting them in New York City and elsewhere in the United States of America.

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

So, I am running for President. I am running for President to put America back to work and to put American back on track. I am running because it is long since time in this great country of ours that we stopped being the only industrial nation on the face of the planet not to recognize that health care is not a privilege, it is a right. And I will see to it that every American can buy into the same health care plan that the President and Senators and Congressmen give themselves. (Applause)

If it is good enough for us at your expense, it is good enough for every American and we will make it available to them.

In addition to that, there is nothing more important than education. This President stole from the Children's Defense Fund the phrase, "leave no child behind," which is really leave no teacher standing. (Laughter)

I will tell you, I will tell you we are going backwards in America, backwards on after-school programs, backwards on remedial programs, backwards on the number of teachers in the classroom, backwards in the capacity of our children to be safe, backwards in our ability to raise the standards of our own education system which is so critical for us, and I will crisscross this country, and together we will hold this President accountable for making a mockery of the words, "leave no child behind."

We are going to fund early childhood education. (Applause) I used to be a prosecutor. I have talked to those kids who are 15 and 16 years old and in trouble, and I will tell you what I learned. It is a matter of common sense. I would rather make a better choice. Rather than spend \$50,000 a year to house some kid in jail for the rest of their lives, we need to spend \$10,000 a year on Head Start, Early Start, Smart Start, early childhood education, and give kids the chance to be full citizens for the rest of their lives. (Applause)

I am running for President because never should young Americans be held hostage and have to go to the Middle East in uniform to wage a war because of America's dependency on fossil fuel oil from the Middle East. We need to liberate America from our dependency and move to energy independence. And we need, above all, to do something better than this administration with respect to our responsibility to protect the environment for future generations.

My friends, we are at risk, literally. We are at risk of being the first generation in American history to pass this country onto our children in worse shape than we were handed it by the greatest generation. I refuse to accept that we are stuck there. I refuse to accept that that is our destiny as a generation.

Each generation has the power and the opportunity to write our part of our own history and our future, and I am determined that we are going to step up and be counted as those before us and recognize that we do not inherit the earth. We borrow it. And we have a responsibility to pass it on in better shape than we were given it, and we must do that. (Applause)

Finally, let me just say to all of you, this is the most important election that I have taken part in since I came back from Vietnam in 1969. I will never forget the words in 1968, when I returned from my first tour of duty, spoken so often in the campaign of Robert Kennedy – and I remember them so well because I came back to the coast of California the night that Robert Kennedy was assassinated at the Ambassador Hotel, and those words were the words spoken by the poet George Bernard Shaw. "Some men see things as they are and ask why. I dream things that never were, and ask why not."

I want our Party and our country to again ask that question, why not? Why not have children who are safe? Why not schools that work? Why not health care for all Americans? Why not put arts and sciences and music and dance and theater back into the meaning of education in America? Why not lift our nation up and reach for the science that creates the new jobs of the future?

This is the most anti-science administration in modern history, willing to rub out scientific facts from reports of their own agencies, hiding the truth from the American people and from the world. It is the new time of George Orwell, when peace is war and words mean something other than what they are meant to mean.

Most important, we are engaged in a complex challenge across this planet, and we need someone to lead the Democratic Party who can lead from a position of strength. We have to recognize that Karl Rove and the President will try to run as that person wearing that suit on the aircraft carrier, the Commander in Chief.

And I say to all of you that it is critical that the Democratic Party convinces America that we can make America safer and more secure and stronger than they are. And I say to you, that

begins by rejecting their unilateral, blustering, arrogant foreign policy that is losing us respect and influence across this planet. (Applause and cheers)

President Clinton, about two months ago, said that the 2002 election showed that strong and wrong beats weak and right. I believe that I will bring to our Party the ability to be able to be strong and right at the same time. I look forward to reminding the Republicans and this President – because I learned something about aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin for real. I look forward to reminding this President that having a skilled navy pilot land you in a fancy stunt on an aircraft carrier does not make up for a failed economic policy, for the loss of three million jobs, for going backwards on the environment, for neglecting our children, for abandoning workers, for not doing health care, and we need to hold him accountable. (Applause)

And I also look forward to reminding the Republicans that it is vital that we not allow false pride to cloud the decisions we make about our troops. One of the lessons I learned in Vietnam is that the best exit strategy is called victory, and the best way to achieve victory is to include other countries and build the strongest coalition possible to achieve your goals.

I will do something that I look forward to as President. After I give my inaugural address and after I give my State of the Union message in which I lay out the agenda I described, I will go to the United Nations and I am going to turn over a new, proud chapter in America's relationship with the rest of the world which lives up to the highest standards and values of our nation. And I intend to remind people that the flag of the United States of America and patriotism do not belong to any party. They don't belong to any ideology. They don't belong to any President. They don't belong to any campaign. They belong to all of us as citizens of the United States of America. (Applause)

We are going to take the flag back for our country, and we are going to define patriotism as doing those things that make America safe, stronger, and more secure. (Applause) Join me in this effort. We are going to win back the White House in 2004.

Thank you and God bless. Thank you.

... The delegates cheered and applauded at length...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Senator Kerry. We are honored that you joined us today to share your view of what America could be and what America should be. We look forward to working with you during this campaign.

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

DELEGATE LILLIAN COVARRUBIAS (Local 34043, Chair, Resolutions Committee): Thank you, Mr. President.

Would the delegates please turn to page 4 of the Resolutions Committee's report and look at Resolution 65A-03-3 entitled, "Economic Globalization and Job Loss."

RESOLUTION 65A-03-3 **Economic Globalization and Job Loss**

The high-technology sector of our economy is the latest target of economic globalization, soon to be followed by other service sector jobs, ranging from auditing to art production to engineering, to financial services, and to core government jobs. Following the precedent set in the 1970s of shifting manufacturing offshore, thousands of our jobs have moved or will soon be moved to various countries. Large corporations are spending hundreds of millions of dollars for their own production and training facilities, taking advantage of the millions of dollars of investments made by the World Bank and other U.S. taxpayer-financed global institutions.

Our high-tech workers have invested heavily in their education. Their work has helped sustain the middle class, and their wages have helped create other service sector jobs in our communities. In order to attract these high-technology jobs, our communities, states, and federal

government have provided tax breaks and incentives and sponsored other corporate-friendly legislation.

Now these governmental bodies are supporting corporations in their efforts to move jobs offshore. These actions weaken our economy and increase the strain on state services for a growing number of families who are drawing unemployment benefits, signing up for food stamps, and losing health insurance. We, as workers, are the last to know about the planned job exodus, while we as taxpayers continue to subsidize corporate interests.

Large corporations are pursuing this course under the guise of free trade. Our government has signed free-trade agreements, and institutions such as the World Trade Organization have been formed to circumvent worker, community, and legislative opposition to the exportation of jobs. These organizations will also challenge national labor and environmental laws, if necessary, to promote free trade. While the trade may be free, the results will be very expensive for working families.

As technology evolves, the U.S. workforce must be continually retrained if they are to have a role in the technologies of the future. It is common practice for companies doing trade with the United States to require some national skills-development as part of that trade. Is the United States to be the only large economy that does not fully appreciate the value of maintaining a skilled workforce?

Now more than ever our workers are becoming aware of the jobs that will be exported. Some still believe that the economic downturn will eventually reverse, and they will have jobs again. What they do not realize is that many of our jobs are gone or will be gone – forever. While there are programs in place to help retrain workers, it is not always clear what jobs they should be retrained for. Likewise, there is an all-out attack on the many social programs which the Bush administration seeks to privatize. We must rebuild an America that puts the needs of working people and those in need first: one that helps promote an alternative global economy that puts people, local culture, and the environment first. To do this, we must educate unions and coalitions in the United States and elsewhere to insist on collective bargaining rights for ourselves and for all workers.

Our future as workers in high-technology depends on four things: (1) investment in U.S.-based jobs and the local workers who want these jobs; (2) continuation of a strong U.S. technological knowledge base and skilled workforce; (3) protection of our labor and environmental law; and (4) increased awareness by all workers in every country of the effects of economic globalization on their domestic economy and culture.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America make globalization of our technology jobs a priority for the union in the areas of organizing, political, and community action.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will advocate for:

- The protection of domestic private-sector employment.
- Prohibitions of the exportation of government jobs, either directly or through outsourcing agencies or consulting firms.
- Awareness that corporations that benefit from our national policy and local and state tax laws owe a reciprocal obligation to invest in domestic capacity. It is just plain wrong to tax people, and then use that tax money to throw those people out of work.
- Strengthening legislative protections for workers, our environment, and our communities.
- Challenging legislation that protects corporations that are undercutting the domestic economy with offshore/outsourcing practices.

- Inclusion of workers and their organizations at all levels in the dialog and decisions about economic globalization.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-03 entitled, "Economic Globalization and Job Loss."

... The motion was duly seconded ...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion seconded from the floor. On microphone No. 1, Delegate Amber.

DELEGATE ARNOLD AMBER (Director of TNG-Canada): I do not have to remind you of the more than hundred years of cooperation between Canadian labor and workers in the United States, but I would like to bring to your attention the fact that the resolution before this house at the moment does not go far enough. The issues facing American workers also are plaguing Canadian workers.

We must expand this resolution to protect all parts of the CWA family of workers and workers in both of these great two nations.

Mr. President, I would direct your attention to an amendment that we are proposing for line 42, so that it should read: "The protection of private sector employment in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico." And on line 50, we ask for the exclusion of the word "domestic," to change it to read, "Challenging legislation that protects corporations that are undercutting the economies of the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico."

Mr. President, the situations which are detailed in the preamble to this resolution speak to the issues in Puerto Rico, in Canada, and the United States. And is, therefore, my fervent hope that all of us will unite behind this, what I considered to be an extremely friendly resolution.

Mr. President, at the beginning of every CWA Convention that I have attended, we start with three flags walked down the center aisle of this great Convention Hall. And as I see those flags go by, I see behind them the armies of workers in Puerto Rico, in Canada, and in the United States. I call on all my colleagues to gladly accept these amendments and pass the resolution as we propose.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: With the concurrence of the Convention, in the two places in the Resolved where the word "domestic" is, we would strike "domestic" and put in instead "in the U.S., Canada and Puerto Rico." Does that meet with your concurrence? (Applause) Then the resolution is so changed, and no formal amendment will be required.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Adams.

DELEGATE KEITH ADAMS (Local 4351): Brothers and sisters, I rise in support of Resolution 65A-03-3. I agree with the issues in the Resolved, but there is another issue not mentioned, an issue which even supersedes job loss, and that is national security.

You heard President Bahr in his opening remarks describe the outrageous abuse of the H-1B and L-1 visa programs that many American companies use to move work offshore and take advantage of lower-wage workforce in places like India and China. AT&T is one of those companies.

Four local presidents who stand with me, Mary Lou Algieri, Local 1153; Steve Tisza, Local 4250; Dan Danaher, Local 4998 and myself, ably assisted by Vice President Ralph Maly and President Bahr, have hounded AT&T to share with us the details of their network security provisions.

We are concerned because as we have shared with you before, AT&T has off-shored the programming responsibility for all major network maintenance system and customer records

databases. This means that a single programmer can crash the entire switches and networks at will.

We have little new to share with you about AT&T. They continue to stonewall our information requests in blatant violation of labor law. They continue to repeat their mantra, "The networks are safe. Trust us."

AT&T continues to paint our concerns as hysterical ranting of random, disaffected, uneducated union officers. But lately our concerns became real. Last month a man was arrested in Norristown, Pennsylvania, a borough outside of Philadelphia. This man is a member of a Pakistani terrorist group who planned to perform acts of violence in the United States. His group hoped to raise awareness of the longstanding disputes between Pakistan and India. As recently as 2002, this man was an AT&T employee. An AT&T employee.

In my most recent letter to AT&T CEO Dave Dorman, I asked him, "Dave, is it not reasonable to assume that like roaches, where you see one terrorist, there are many more hiding in the walls?"

As a U.S. citizen, the four of us can be prosecuted for treasonous acts. As AT&T active employees, Dan and I are bound to the AT&T Code of Conduct. But, AT&T believes we are security risks. They can't share network systems information with us; nor will they share it with Vice President Maly or President Bahr. They, too, are, apparently, security risks. However, they will entrust entire telecommunication networks to non-employee, non-U.S. citizen sub-contractors who are working overseas, and who are virtually unaccountable.

But this is old news. I come before you today also because the issues of telecommunications offshore job loss and national security have expanded beyond AT&T and into the BOCs.

In the last two months, Qwest, BellSouth and Verizon have all made major announcements that information technology work will move overseas. The BOCs assume, as AT&T did, that CWA wouldn't care about what are typically management jobs. AT&T was wrong and I urge you, the employees of those companies, to prove the BOCs wrong.

Every telecom company has national security responsibility. Every job lost, whether management or occupational, weakens not only the companies, but our country. We who do the work are the only ones in a position to blow this whistle. It is our duty – it is our sacred duty. It is our duty to protect our economy. It is our duty to protect our military. It is our duty to protect our families.

Support this resolution and demand accountability from the greedy bastard companies who believe dollars are more important than lives. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Marcus Courtney.

DELEGATE MARCUS COURTNEY (Local 37083): My brothers and sisters, I am asking for your support on this resolution regarding the globalization of our technology jobs, and we need to make it a priority for our union in the areas of organizing, political and community action.

Exporting jobs is an old story for our brothers and sisters in the manufacturing industry, but it is unprecedented development for our members at Microsoft and IBM.

In the last two years, 150,000 high-technology workers across this country have lost their jobs due to the economic recession.

In January of this year, WashTech publicized an internal presentation by a Microsoft senior vice president where he called upon managers to "pick a project and outsource today." He wanted to outsource this work as, in his words he said, "Two heads are cheaper than one."

Today, in Seattle, the unemployment level is more than 10 percent for high-technology workers, and Microsoft has \$44 billion in the bank. They do not need to export one single job

from Redmond, Washington, to be more competitive and take the unemployment rate up to 11 percent. We need to put a stop to this, and CWA needs to be in the front leading the fight. (Applause)

In July, WashTech and the alliance at IBM released the recording of an IBM internal conference call where executives said, we have to offshore jobs in chip development and software development because our competitors are doing it.

But also, in that call, the IBM executives made it very clear, they are going to make employees train their replacements, and this is what the executives said, "In many cases, we will fly over Chinese workers and ask our IBM employees to train them, and at the end of a fixed period of time, they will be out of a job."

Just last week I talked to an employee at AT&T Wireless, and she was training her Indian replacement and was soon also to be out of a job. This is an unprecedented trend where companies are coercing employees to train their replacements and forcing them onto the unemployment lines.

We need to put a stop to it. This resolution calls for us to stand up for the protection of domestic and private sector employment, and we welcome – we need protection for our union brothers and sisters in Canada and Puerto Rico. We also need to make sure that we need to stop the off-shoring of our government jobs by passing legislation that stops public sector monies from eliminating public sector jobs. (Applause)

We also need to bring accountability to these corporations and stop subsidizing corporations through tax breaks that are exporting our jobs. It is just wrong to tax people, then use those tax dollars to throw them out of work.

We need to challenge legislation that protects corporations that are undercutting our employment. And, finally, we need to ensure that workers and our organizations and unions have a voice in economic globalization. With passing this resolution, the CWA needs to mobilize, energize and politicize our members and make this issue a priority.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Green.

DELEGATE FREDDIE R. GREEN (Local 3410): I would like to close debate.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion is made to close debate. It is not debatable. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

I might add that those of you who have prepared comments, who would like them entered in the record, if you would bring it up to the end of the table, it will be so done.

... The following remarks were given to the Stenographer for inclusion in these Proceedings, as follows: ...

DELEGATE MIKE SIMMONS (Local 6171): I stand in support of the CWA Resolution on Economic Globalization and Job Loss. Anti-labor business groups in America have long supported policies that make it easier for U.S. companies to export our jobs. These interests have long claimed that we need not be concerned about protecting jobs because workers can always "find other jobs."

However, the unrestrained export of millions of American jobs in recent years has resulted in a severe decline in living standards as jobs have been lost and as workers have not been able to find good-paying alternative jobs. This is particularly obvious where foreign workers are now making products and providing services for American-owned corporations for as much as one-fourth of what was once paid to American workers for doing the same work.

Even in the high-tech telecom industry, managers at Verizon, AllTel, Sprint, and other companies have argued in bargaining that low wages and less benefits for workers are somehow good for America, that the outsourcing of our jobs is somehow necessary to help keep American companies healthy.

This is nothing more than cold, callous corporate greed.

CWA needs to speak up against these dangerous and greedy trends.

An economy that is allowed to create even more wealth for business owners without assuring good jobs for middle-class America is an economy at risk. Our ultimate economic future will depend on whether we choose to ignore the harm caused by economic globalization, or whether we recognize and respond to the negative sides of globalization that are hurting American workers.

In order to grow a healthy economy, we need to support policies that assure investment in good jobs, jobs that pay good wages, jobs that pay good benefits. This also means that we must support policies that assure that working Americans will have the skills and education necessary to adapt to the changes that globalization brings.

DELEGATE LOUIE ROCHA (Local 9423): I rise in support of Resolution 65A-03-3, Economic Globalization and Job Loss. In Silicon Valley, California, our communities have lost over 200,000 jobs in the last two years. Much of the loss due to the failed Bush administration's economic policies and also the growing corporate move to export high-technology jobs. It was wrong to move manufacturing jobs, and it was damn wrong to move high-tech jobs offshore.

Workers are exploited by corporations worldwide, and the abuses are growing. IBM, Hewlett-Packard/Compaq, Intel, Microsoft, and many others are not only exporting jobs but they are sending carpal tunnel injuries, excessive overtime, stress and other working condition problems rampant in the high-tech sector. The environment is also adversely impacted. Corporations are "exporting harm" to our environment worldwide, exploiting the weak environmental laws in developing countries.

CWA is leading the fight for corporate accountability, especially in the high-tech sector. This resolution will further our strategic organizing on this just fight for workers and our communities.

PRESIDENT BAHR: All those in favor of Resolution 65A-03-3 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Virginia Anderson, Treasurer of CWA Local 6320.

DELEGATE VIRGINIA ANDERSON (Local 6320): Will all the delegates please turn to page 6.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-4 **Economic Policy Resolution**

Although the recession officially ended in 2001, U.S. working families continue to experience job loss and declining living standards. Unemployment is at the highest level since 1994, with more than 9.3 million Americans, or 6.4 percent of the labor force, out of work. More than 2.7 million jobs have been lost since the Bush administration took over. If these trends continue, the Bush administration will be the first since Herbert Hoover's to see a reduction in jobs during its term of office. Workers' wages declined in the past year, the first time since 1990. These two factors have contributed to the deterioration of family incomes. Likewise, health care benefits and pension coverage are disappearing.

Even as workers' wages and family incomes declined last year, corporate executives prospered. In 2002, the average CEO compensation package equaled \$10.8 million according to the New York Times. Median CEO pay increased by 6 percent in 2002 – more than twice the

growth of workers' paychecks. And while shareholders – including workers who depend on the stock market for their retirement savings and pensions – have lost \$7 trillion since the stock market peak, today's CEO pay packages are roughly equal to their pre-bear market levels.

The Bush administration's economic policies have plunged the United States into a job-loss recovery. Two large tax cuts for the wealthy transformed a \$1.7 trillion budget surplus left by the Clinton administration into a \$455 billion deficit created by the Bush administration and the Republican Congress this year. The Bush tax and budget program recycles the failed trickle-down economic policies of earlier Republican administrations. Rather than use public resources to invest in education, health care, transportation and other vital social needs that also create jobs, the Bush administration rewarded their wealthy supporters with massive tax cuts.

According to Citizens for Tax Justice, the Bush tax cut will give millionaires a \$100,000 tax break over the next four years, but provide only a \$743 cut over the same period to the average middle-class American.

The Bush administration has failed to provide adequate assistance to the states as they face their worst fiscal crisis since the Great Depression. State budget shortfalls reached \$80 billion in 2003, and estimates are for even larger budget gaps next year. The state fiscal crisis is primarily a result of tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations during the 1990s, rising Medicaid and homeland security costs, and reduced federal assistance and tax law changes. In New Jersey, for example, from 1994-2001 the state reduced taxes on the wealthy and corporations by \$11.7 billion.

Already, states have cut Medicaid and other public health care programs for 1.7 million people. Many states and localities are cutting public safety budgets. Additionally 24 states have laid off public workers, 19 states have cut higher education and 12 states have cut K-12 education spending, 23 states have reduced access to affordable childcare, and 10 states are scaling back aid to local government. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, at least 37 states cut spending between 2001 and 2003, and next year promises to be worse. These cutbacks have reduced economic growth by at least a half percentage point.

This global race to the bottom shows little sign of abating. According to the Economic Policy Institute, trade deals resulted in over 3 million jobs lost in the U.S. economy between 1994 and 2000. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) alone has resulted in the loss of more than 750,000 U.S. jobs. With admission into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2000, China aggravated the growing U.S. trade deficit. In 2002, China accounted for 22 percent of the \$554 billion trade deficit. The free trade agreements with Chile and Singapore, which were approved by the House of Representatives in July, and are seen as models for a hemisphere-wide Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), have weaker protections for workers than existing U.S. trade agreements, including NAFTA.

The race to the bottom is also manifested in the movement of white-collar work abroad. Since the late 1990s, corporations have moved call center jobs, as well as jobs in software development, network analysis, accounting, financial analysis, and legal work offshore, mostly to India but also to the Philippines, Russia, China, and other countries. Forester Research estimates that by 2015, 3.3 million U.S. white-collar professional jobs will head offshore. Gartner, Inc. estimates that 500,000 IT jobs, 5 percent of the total work force, will go abroad in the next 18 months.

CWA-represented employers are sending our call center workforce and IT work offshore. AT&T sends 15 percent of long-distance customer care work offshore, resulting in a downsizing of the CWA-represented workforce. Verizon sends DSL tech support work to Canada, and along with BellSouth sends data services to India. General Electric operates call centers in India, Costa Rica, and other foreign countries. Microsoft and IBM have sent IT work to India.

Retirement security remains precarious for working families. The nosedive in the stock market after 2000 reduced asset values of corporate pension plans by half. Meanwhile, the reduction in interest rates increased benefit obligations of the plans. This double whammy of

reduced asset values and increased obligations has transformed once over-funded plans into under-funded status, forcing some companies to make contributions. This has put pressure on pension plans to either reduce benefits or alter plan design, and either choice means lower income for retirees. Meanwhile, the values of other vehicles of retirement savings, such as 401(k) and 403(b) accounts have also dropped. Current and future retirees face uncertain futures.

Corporate accountability scandals continue to rock the economy, resulting in the loss of billions of dollars in employee pension funds from fraud-induced bankruptcies. Yet, the Bush administration has failed to levy any meaningful punishment on the largest corporate criminal, MCI/WorldCom, for its \$11 billion securities fraud that destabilized the entire telecom industry.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America continues its opposition to federal, state, and local tax and budget policies that hurt working families by reducing vital public services and by cutting and privatizing public sector jobs. CWA will continue to work to restore fairness to federal, state, and local tax and budget priorities and to oppose privatization of public sector jobs.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America calls on Congress to enact fair trade and tax policies that will revitalize manufacturing and increase employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector. Congress must ensure that future trade policies stem the mass exodus of high-paying manufacturing jobs. All trade agreements should provide for jobs with justice, the adoption and enforcement of core international labor standards, the right of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and prohibitions on employment discrimination, child labor, and slave labor. Congress should adopt legislation that would stimulate industry, including public infrastructure investment, increase funding for training, support research and development, and tighten domestic content regulations for military expenditures.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America believes that pension benefits should assure that retirees can maintain a standard of living that equals the standard achieved just prior to retirement. We call on companies to fund pension plans sufficiently, to assure the long-term viability of the plans and to avoid reducing benefits.

DELEGATE ANDERSON: Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-4, entitled, "Economic Policy Resolution.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made. Seconded from the floor. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Turnbo.

DELEGATE GLENDA TURNBO (Local 6174): I proudly urge the adoption of CWA's Economic Policy Resolution. The resolution urges that CWA will work for fairness for working people – fairness in tax and budget policies; fairness in trade policies; and fundamental fairness in all other economic policies that intimately affect workers.

Fighting for fair and just economic policies will be especially important during the next political year, as President Bush, who is no friend of mine, and his friends have said they are no friends of labor. The resolution assures that workers will have a voice in this fight.

I need not go through the litany of horrors that has been brought to working people, either as a result of the Bush Administration's refusal to support policies that will benefit labor, or as a result of the Bush administration's direct support of policies that favor the rich at the expense of labor.

In the first years of the Bush Administration, Congress has adopted Bush-supported tax policies that favor the rich, while forcing budget cuts that have strangled funding for education and health care. CEOs that have contributed to Bush's election campaign have been allowed with impunity to take fat retirement packages, while 401(k) savings and pensions for workers have collapsed. Friends of Bush have taken advantage of huge tax avoidance schemes, while millions of jobs for workers have been outsourced. Big energy companies, big supporters of

Bush, have grown their monopolies even bigger, while regular people pay more at the gas pump.

The stories are endless.

This economic resolution assures that CWA will remain in the forefront of the fight for fair and just economic policies. I therefore urge that the resolution be adopted. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE STEPHEN C. SARNOFF (Local 3179): President Bahr, brothers and sisters: I rise in support of this resolution. I bring greetings from the wonderful Sunshine State of Florida where we now can take a back seat to our brothers and sisters in California as being whacky. (Laughter)

The other “shrub,” the little “shrub” – we just call him Jeb – Jeb did something wonderful when he became governor. He decided he was going to privatize and outsource the state workforce, our brothers and sisters of AFSCME. He called his program “Service First.” We call the “Service Worst.”

The state of Florida has spent millions upon millions of dollars in the last ten years to attract jobs to the state of Florida. And the way they did that was, “Come to Florida. It’s a right-to-work-for-less state; a right-to-starve state. We love the boss and we keep down the employee.” That is the tradition of Florida.

Under “Service Worst” and privatization, two companies – Convergence and Exensure, have gotten several state contracts without bid because they were chosen under our sole source policy, with a proviso in their contracts that because they were going to displace state workers, especially in the cities of Jacksonville and Tallahassee, that these companies would establish service centers in those cities, re-employ those displaced state workers, of course at lower pay and no benefits, “But, hey, you got a job. It’s better than flipping burgers.”

The problem with Exensure and Convergence is they took most of these jobs – not most of them; we don’t really know how many, but it’s between five or ten percent of them – and took them over to India where they are probably working in their IT development center. And the penalty for them not building those service centers in Jacksonville and Tallahassee is \$150,000 apiece. Do the math. A \$30 million to \$50 million contract. What do you think \$150,000 means? It’s like postage expenses.

We must support these resolutions and not only support them, but we must live them and must bring them back to our communities, and we must tell the story because today it is us, tomorrow it is them. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegate cares to speak. All those in favor of Resolution No. 4 indicate by raising their hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair again recognizes Virginia Anderson.

DELEGATE VIRGINIA ANDERSON (Local 6320): Will all the delegates please turn to page 8.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-5 In Support of Proper Voting Equipment

Fair and honest elections are necessary if democracy is to flourish in our country. The disastrous election process in Florida in 2000 raised serious doubts about the integrity of our elections and prompted the passage of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA). HAVA mandates the upgrading of election machinery in time for the general election in 2006. Current law dictates

replacement of the disastrous punch card systems, and mechanical lever machines with computerized vote counting systems.

New vote counting systems include "mark sense" equipment which uses paper ballots counted by scanners and various electronic technologies such as "touch screen" and the "direct recording electronic" system (DRE) that use electronic memory to record votes. The early models of "touch screen" and DRE have no physical record to audit. Without a physical record to audit, it is impossible to discover if the equipment is recording the voter's choice correctly.

DREs and touch screens can be modified with a printer that would produce a paper ballot that the voter could review before the ballot is cast. When the "cast ballot" button is pushed the paper would drop into an internal, sealed container, which could be opened for any subsequent audit.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America endorse and support the use of only DRE and "touch screen" machines with the ability to provide the voters with a view of a paper ballot that is stored and available for audits.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will communicate the need for auditable paper ballot trails to the AFL-CIO, its affiliated unions, and other civic-minded organizations that the officers of CWA deem appropriate.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution No. 65A-03-5, entitled, "In Support of Proper Voting Equipment."

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made and seconded from the floor.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Wagner.

DELEGATE RICHARD WAGNER (Local 1183): I represent employees in the city of New York. I want to take you back a little bit to the year 2000 in the elections in Florida. We saw an election system out of control that caused the Congress to pass the Help America Vote Act, which requires that voting machines be updated. The problem is that they are updating to a machine that cannot be verified. And because it does not have a verification capability, we are in serious trouble.

A lot of so-called direct election result machines, DREs, are causing surprise elections in elections. People who are experts in this field have figured out a way of making a better machine. It requires the machine, whether it is a DRE or a touch screen machine, to produce a paper ballot that is seen by the voter and then put into a box inside the voting machine after they verify it.

This resolution represents the minimum that must be done to protect our democracy.

By the way, HAVA requires that the Federal Election Commission approve the voting machines. They have not approved any machines yet.

Representative Rush Holt from New Jersey has introduced legislation requiring that all EVMs produce a voter verified paper trail. Let us support that legislation and let us watch very carefully as voting machines are replaced with this new technology.

Thank you. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE ROBERT SMITH (Local 9400): Thank you, President Bahr.

I rise in support of Resolution 65A-03-5, "Proper Voting Equipment." Past elections have proven a new method in our voting is needed. Our governmental elections must correctly reflect the wishes of the voters. However, until such time as this is accomplished, there are companies

across this country that conduct local elections, union elections, city elections, hundreds of elections each year. I urge you to seek a union-represented firm to help you.

Our local organized California elections more than ten years ago. We organized them, and we used them. You can and should do the same.

It will take time to get that equipment. We still have to have elections. Don't hire a nonunion company to handle your union elections.

I ask you to support this resolution. I also ask that until such time as we see the changes, we organize all companies that do this business wherever they may be. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Green.

DELEGATE FREDDIE R. GREEN (Local 3410): I move the question.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made to close debate. It is not debatable.

All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

The vote is on Resolution 5. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary-Treasurer.

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: I remind you that there is a demonstration at the Verizon Wireless store located at Illinois and Michigan avenues, about two blocks from the Hyatt, immediately after we adjourn today. There will be designated buses. There are three of them waiting to take you there, and staff from the sponsoring Districts 1, 2 and 13 will assist you.

The store is just a short distance from the Hyatt and you will be able to walk back to your hotel when the demonstration ends.

Keith Hendriks should return to the Windy City Leathers to recover your VISA card. You left that there.

District 7 will have a meeting immediately after the convention adjourns today in Rooms 318 and 320.

The Texas Local Presidents Conference will meet immediately after the Southwestern Bell Bargaining Committee elections in Rooms 305 and 306.

Gayle Gray, President of Local 4202, has requested that any interested locals that represent Cingular Wireless workers meet on Tuesday at 7:30 a.m. in Rooms 309 to 312 here at the Convention Center.

Those of you who have requested copies of President Bahr's address, Executive Vice President Larry Cohen's remarks, and my remarks, which will be given tomorrow, they will be available tomorrow in the local editors' room.

We have received letters of greetings from the following individuals. I am not going to read those; however, I am going to tell you who sent them to us and we will have them placed in the record.

Nancy Pelosi, Democratic Leader; Tom Daschle; Steny Hoyer, Congressman from Maryland; Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts; Senator Harry Reid of Nevada; the Governor of Illinois; the Mayor of Chicago; the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance; APRI, the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Pride at Work; the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO; and the NAACP. Those will be placed in the record.

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Platform Observers for tomorrow are Lesley Phillips, Local 31032, and John Ebeling, President of Local 14616. They should report to the platform at 8:30 tomorrow morning.

It's been a long day. I appreciate the participation, your attentiveness, and we stand in recess until 8:30 tomorrow morning.

... The Convention recessed at 4:51 p.m....

TUESDAY MORNING SESSION **August 26, 2003**

The Convention reconvened at 8:30 a.m., President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Would the delegates take their seats please. The Convention will be in order.

Good morning, everyone. To start our Convention this morning in our usual way, seeking divine guidance, it is my pleasure to introduce to you the Reverend Jean Darling, Unitarian Universalist, from Oak Park, Illinois, for the Invocation.

REV. JEAN DARLING (Unitarian Universalist, Oak Park, Illinois): I have always supported unions because I believe in fairness, and I believe in democracy. Where else in our society do you get to participate so fully in the democratic process as in a union?

I joined the Workers' Education Local 189 when I worked with television over ten years ago. I retained my membership in the ULAE, which is associated with the CWA, so you can say I am a member. (Applause) I say, as a minister I am a Communications Worker.

It might be the American ideal that some day we will all be rich, but the reality is that most of us have to have jobs to keep body and soul together. We are living in difficult times, times of transition. The chaos is frightening, and we need a touchstone, a way not to lose sight of those values we hold dearest.

Where do we find this touchstone? Often, the Holy is something near at hand that we have overlooked. Unions represent one of the great ideas of human kind. Though they grow out of the need to balance the power of the bosses with the power of the workers, they represent the idea of mutual aid of ordinary people coming together to help one another.

They represent democracy, true respect for all people, for each person's voice counts. The union is the functioning of democracy on the ground, flawed at times, but assistance means to listen to people and to respond. In theological terms, the union represents treating one another as children of God. All are cherished. All are valuable.

As we go through our daily lives, it is so important to keep in mind our ideals. We know that reality is flawed. It can never live up to the ideal, and yet the ideal gives us hope. We can always work to make something better.

Let us enter into the spirit of meditation and prayer.

We are grateful for this day, for the gift of life, for our talents, and our opportunities. We are grateful for those around us who make our lives easier, our associates, our brothers and sisters. We are grateful for those who model courage for us when our hearts fail.

We are grateful for those who bring wisdom and steadfastness to this work and for those whose energies never seem to run dry. May this day continue our learning, our connecting with others, our exhilaration at coming together. May this day enhance our determination to create justice, and may the larger vision remain clear in our minds. Still, may we be moved by compassion and be strong, standing firm in our integrity.

I was going to say, "May the workers at Verizon find justice," but I hear they have settled. May all the other bargaining sites find justice. May we stand tall together and may this work bring us joy. Amen.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Reverend, I hope that your delight at us settling at Verizon reached the Ivory Tower in New York so that perhaps today we can actually do it. Thank you so much for your inspiring message.

Would the Constitution Committee please come to the platform? The members of the Constitution Committee are Paula Lopez, Executive Vice President, Local 1105; Jimmy Donohue, President, Local 3104; Bill Demers, Executive Vice President, Local 9400; Tina Perry, President, Local 13301; and the Chair of the Committee, David Blackburn, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 7050.

DELEGATE DAVID BLACKBURN (Local 7050, Chair, Constitution Committee): Thank you, President Bahr. Will the delegates please turn to the Report of the Constitution to the 65th Annual Convention?

The Constitution Committee met in the city of Washington, D.C., beginning June 23, 2003, for the purpose of reviewing and considering proposed amendments to the CWA Constitution.

The Constitution provides under Article XVI that the Constitution Committee is "charged with the duty of considering proposals to change this Constitution." Article XXVIII provides that amendments submitted to the Locals sixty (60) days in advance of the Convention will require a majority vote of the delegates present to be enacted. All other amendments to the Constitution proposed at the Convention shall require a three-fourths (3/4) vote of those voting to effectuate such proposed amendments.

The Constitution Committee has held meetings in Chicago, Illinois, beginning Thursday, August 21, 2003, to consider additional proposals that may be received after the preliminary report was issued. No proposals were received.

The Committee has made itself available to any and all wishing to appear before the Committee. It has been a privilege for us to serve you, and we appreciate the cooperation given us by one and all.

Respectfully submitted,

David Blackburn, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 7050, Chair; Paula Lopez, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 1105; Jimmy Donohue, President, CWA Local 3104; William Demers, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 9400; Tina Perry, President, CWA Local 13301.

President Bahr, the Committee recommends adoption of the Constitution Report.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: All in favor of the Committee's report as read, signify by raising your hand. Down hands. The report is accepted.

Please join me in thanking the Constitution Committee members for the work they have done for this Convention. Thank you, and the Committee is discharged. (Applause)

It is now my pleasure to introduce to you for the purpose of the Secretary-Treasurer's report, Barbara Easterling. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Thank you. It is indeed a great honor to once again be able to stand before you and address the 65th CWA Convention. And when you stop to think about our 65 years of standing together and standing up for workers' rights, it is truly a remarkable achievement.

Our history has been filled with accomplishment in the never-ending struggle to achieve dignity, equity and justice for workers and their families. Solidarity has always been our

watchword.

The theme of this Convention – We Stand Together – could not be more appropriate. Standing together is synonymous with CWA. It really is what this union is all about. Our solidarity has fueled our success for 65 proud years.

As we meet here today, standing together has never been more important. If there ever was a time when we must stand together, that time is now, because we face greater challenges, larger threats and graver dangers than at any time in our storied history. Normally this would make me nervous. But, I am not worried, because I am privileged to know and work with all of you.

And what I know most of all is this: You are the toughest, smartest, most resourceful and most tenacious group of leaders and activists in the labor movement. And you are more than a match for anything the right-wing radicals can throw at us. (Applause)

And that, sisters and brothers, is why in these challenging times the state of our union is still great. A union is only as good as its people, and with more than 700,000 smart, hard-working people, dedicated women and men, our union proudly stands at the pinnacle of the labor movement and at the apex of every small-d democratic institution in our society.

Economically, these are the toughest times our nation has endured since the Great Depression. Yet financially, CWA remains sound. Yes, we have had to tighten our belt. We have had to cut all unnecessary expenditures, and we have done so without reducing our historic commitment to membership services.

The state of our union, the state of CWA, is today's good news, because the state of the larger union, as in the United States of America, is downright awful. The economy is in the tank despite what "W" and Company want you to believe. Jobs are disappearing. Governments – at all levels – are hemorrhaging money. The trade deficit is skyrocketing.

America's prestige in the world community has taken a free-fall with our nation seen as too eager to go to war, too willing to lie about why, too incompetent at keeping the peace, and too arrogant to ask for help.

And here at home, the powers that be – namely George W. Bush and his congressional and corporate cronies of his – are waging an all-out war against America's working families and our never-ending quest for justice and equality.

Speaking of equality, today, August 26, is Women's Equality Day throughout the United States. (Applause) In 1971, at the urging of Representative Bella Abzug of New York, Congress designated August 26 as Women's Equality Day to commemorate the 1920 passage of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution that gave women the right to vote.

When it approved the resolution, Congress also authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in commemoration of the Day and the fight for women's rights. Now, I am not holding my breath waiting on a women's rights proclamation from this President.

I say that today because thanks to the policies of this President, America stands at a crossroads. This is more than just a metaphor. It quite literally describes where we are today and the choices about where we might go in the future. One path takes us down the road we have been on since the Supreme Court put King George II on the throne. That road sends us down, down to uncharted depths of devastation and destruction.

The other path puts us back on the road to prosperity, equity, tolerance, fairness, decency, opportunity, and justice for all Americans. The question is, which path will our nation take? Well, that's where all of us and our great union come into the picture. By our actions, we are going to help decide which road America takes.

With the two possible paths our nation may travel being so divergent, yet so consequential,

we've got to get in the driver's seat ourselves and do the steering. Anything less would be a betrayal of our members and our mission, a shirking of our calling and responsibilities, an abandonment of our values and our principles.

To put it simply, you are the people who hold the future of this union, the future of the Labor Movement, and the future of America's working families in your hands. If we win in 2004, if we send George W. Bush back to his ranch in Texas, if we liberate Dick Cheney from hiding and from his office at the CIA headquarters, if we just reintroduce Tom DeLay to the joys of pest control, then we can start undoing some of the colossal damage this crowd of right-wing radicals has inflicted on our nation. And we can actually create opportunities to solve some of our greatest problems from the health care crisis to Social Security and Medicare.

The alternative? Well, if we allow Bush and the Republican Congress to get reelected, they'll get to finish the job. And you know what finishing the job is?

It is to roll back the clock – to roll it back all the way to the days of the late 19th Century when William McKinley was President and a man by the name of Mark Hanna was his political kingmaker. They did it first in my home state of Ohio when McKinley was a two-term governor and then they brought their prescription for pain and suffering to the entire nation.

Now, that was more than a century ago. But here's the scary part. Bush's kingmaker, Karl Rove, sees himself as a modern-day Mark Hanna and openly admits modeling the Bush presidency on McKinley's.

Actually, that is a rare dose of honesty from an administration whose M.O. is to lie – to lie about our reasons for going to war with Iraq; to lie about the impact of tax cuts in creating the largest deficits in history; to lie about protecting us from terrorism while cutting funding for our frontline troops; to lie about "leaving no child behind" while cutting funding for education and children's health; to lie that their overtime regulations would end overtime for 644,000 workers – when, in fact, we know eight million would lose this sacred right.

But back to the days of Hanna and McKinley, as journalist Bill Moyers pointedly put it, and I quote: "It was said that [Hanna] believed 'that businessmen should run the government and run it for personal profit.' Hanna saw to it that first Ohio and then Washington were 'ruled by business, by bankers, railroads and public utility corporations.' They just saw the loot and went for it."

You could use those same words with the addition of Big Oil and media conglomerates to describe what Rove and Bush are doing today. Or you could take the words of Benito Mussolini. That's right, Mussolini, the notorious fascist dictator of Italy during the '30s and early '40s who allied himself with Hitler and Nazi Germany.

As columnist Molly Irvins recently pointed out, Mussolini once said, and I quote: "Fascism should more properly be called 'corporatism,' since it is the marriage of government and corporate power."

Tell me, sisters and brothers, could anyone have come up with a better description of the George W. Bush/Dick Cheney/John Ashcroft/Tom DeLay agenda for America? If you think that sounds too strong, then think again.

Or just listen to Grover Norquist, the Bush Administration's ideological godfather who has become one of the most powerful people in Washington and who makes no bones about what they want.

Norquist boasts of wanting to shrink the government, and I quote, "shrink it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub."

Here we must understand something that is very important, and that is this: George Bush and his allies are not conservatives in the sense we have always thought of conservatives. They are radicals whose goal is to dismantle America's social and economic system and roll back the 20th Century.

Look around this room. All of us are their targets. Their goal is to undo a century of progress. And make no mistake, their goal is a world without unions. It is time for us to take a stand, and the trade union movement must lead the way.

What makes this threat different from all others we have faced is the fact that Bush and Company have built the political machine to achieve another one of their goals; they have built a machine to make America a one-party nation.

Once again, Norquist himself offers strident testimony to this, arguing, and I quote, "bipartisanship is another name for date rape." His words. But despite this revolting analogy, these folks have an endless supply of money and a growing array of tools at their disposal.

First look at how much the wealthy and big business are making from their tax policies, how much they stand to pocket from the administration's relentless drive to privatize anything that moves, how their profits would swell by ending overtime for eight million workers.

Then look at the FCC's effort to co-opt the news media by letting them gain near monopolies in radio and television, and witness the payback here: Fawning coverage of Bush, a wholly-owned media subsidiary of the GOP in the Fox News Network and radio monopolist Clear Channel's sponsorship of pro-war rallies. Even GM and Verizon – surprise, surprise, got into the act when they mailed out flyers with their dividend checks encouraging shareholders to lobby Congress to eliminate taxes on dividends.

Then, of course, there is the K-Street Shakedown in Washington where House Majority Leader Tom DeLay of Texas and Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania demand that corporations and trade associations only hire Republican lobbyists or else they'll get frozen out on Capitol Hill.

Like I said, they are after a one-party rule. They are after that "marriage of government and corporate power." And, we are both the first and the last line of defense against their scheme to parlay an electoral minority and a partisan Supreme Court ruling into a total coup d'etat. Fortunately, the seeds of their own defeat lie in the substance of their programs and policies.

Perhaps the most obvious, though I have yet to hear anyone mention this, is the fact that under the McKinley presidency, America was hardly the global superpower it is today. Our country was indeed weaker, our global influence far less, our attitudes more narrow, our economy more anemic and prone to recession.

And guess what? That is exactly where George Bush is taking us. He is weakening America and we've got to get the word out about it. Under Bush, we've lost three million jobs. Gone down the tubes. Our nation has now suffered a net loss of jobs each year for three years in a row, the first time that's happened since the Great Depression.

Under Bush, we've turned a \$5.6 trillion surplus into a nearly half-trillion dollar deficit this year alone. Under Bush, the states are suffering their worst budget crisis in half a century. And under Bush, most of our military is tied up running a country that didn't attack or threaten us, to rid them of weapons they didn't have, based on intelligence that we now know was cooked, leaving Osama bin Laden to plan his next terrorist attack and North Korea to build nuclear weapons while our attention is diverted elsewhere.

Dressing up in a flight suit and landing on an aircraft carrier cannot disguise the fact that this President is making America weaker and more vulnerable in every way that matters, militarily, economically and democratically.

That is one message you and I must spread from one corner of our nation to another, and so must you – from California to New York Island, because as the old song goes, this land was made for you and me, and not for "W" and his corporate pals. (Applause)

So it is time for us to reclaim America, to once again make America a land of, by and for the people instead of George Bush's America, Incorporated, where our nation is a land of, by and for

the corporations.

The other main message we must send Bush is that they are waging a war on working families, an assault on our standard of living – we've got to get this message out to our people – our quality of life, our health, job and retirement security, all of these are wars against us, against our fundamental rights, and our essential protections, all so they can further line the pockets of a privileged few – those who are contributing to his campaign – and whose pockets are already bulging with more money than they know what to do with.

Right now, the front lines of this battle are on Capitol Hill, and it's tough out there, with the political equivalent of rocket-propelled grenades being fired every minute from the right. Do you want to know how tough it is? Listen to this short video clip of Senator Don Nickles, a Republican from Oklahoma, whose anti-union views symbolize this administration and their allies.

... Showing of a short video clip of Don Nickles stating that management must have the right to hire striker replacements...

That is the mentality we are up against in Washington these days. Talk to your CWA government affairs representatives who are in the thick of it on Capitol Hill. Talk to Lou Gerber, to T Santora, to Rosie Torres, to Alfonso Pollard. They are out there every day working for you – working off their you-know-what fighting to make our voice heard, fighting to stop the attacks, fighting to protect our hard-earned rights. I think they are doing a heck of a job in the most difficult legislative and political environment we have faced. Now, more than ever, they deserve our gratitude and our applause. (Applause)

It is difficult. It is trying. Every day we face another battle with the Bush Administration. First and foremost, Bush and Company are trying to strip the right to overtime pay for eight million workers. Overall, for millions of workers, the Bush regulations will mean a pay cut averaging \$161 a week. Ain't no tax cut going to make up for that, unless you're a millionaire.

House Republicans called in a lot of chits to defeat a House resolution against the new overtime regulations by just three votes, those three votes we can get back by winning a handful of seats next fall.

When the Senate gets back from its August recess, Senator Tom Harkin will offer an amendment to prevent the Labor Department from implementing the regulations, and we've got to pull out all the stops to pass it. And we can do it. We generated many of the 80,000 comments to the Labor Department opposing these callous regulations. And, if we can help get 80,000 letters and phone calls into the Senate, we can win this vote.

And the same is true of legislation to overturn the FCC's media monopoly regulations and restore balance and diversity to the Fourth Estate. This will be coming up for a vote after the recess, and this is another vote we can win.

We have also got to do everything in our power to make sure that the important build America amendments are included in the defense authorization bill currently before Congress to ensure that companies like GE are not allowed to reap the benefits of huge defense contracts, and then send good, manufacturing jobs to foreign plants. (Applause)

You have in front of you a letter to President Bush that the IUE-CWA is asking you to sign in order to save defense manufacturing jobs in the United States. Please, sign the letters, pass them forward to the end of the tables, and we'll pick them up during the break.

There is so much more that Bush and Company are trying to get away with. They are trying to gut the collective bargaining rights of airline workers by rewriting the Railway Labor Act and requiring winner-take-all arbitration.

They are trying to use legislation supposedly establishing a Medicare prescription drug benefit to undermine seniors' health security by funneling taxpayer money to insurance companies, keeping pharmaceutical prices high and doing nothing to protect retirees in employer-

sponsored health care plans from losing coverage.

They are trying to pass pension legislation, the so-called Pension Preservation and Savings Expansion Act, that would benefit only the most highly compensated individuals and employers and give everyone else the shaft.

They are trying to privatize every single function of government, the prisons, air traffic controllers, human services providers, and even the military, which is one reason why our brave troops in Iraq face such wretched conditions, because private contractors, namely Dick Cheney's Haliburton Company, are in charge of supply and logistics.

They are trying to sabotage the Family and Medical Leave Act so that workers who suffer from chronic health problems would be denied the right to take unpaid leave. They are trying to slash childcare, Head Start, food stamps, child nutrition, and school lunches. They are even trying to cut veterans' programs, yet another thank you to our brave soldiers.

The more people are aware of the many ways in which Bush's policies are harming them and their families, the quicker we can pull that moving van up to the White House. Driving that message home must be our number one job between now and November 2004.

We have got to get out there and train the largest, most dynamic army of political activists CWA has ever built. They are waging war against working families, our members, our union, and our movement, and we have got to deploy the biggest and best political attack machine this world has ever seen.

We have to help turn "Grassroots Democrats," the new Section 527 organization chaired by President Bahr, into a political force. We have got to get every single member registered, informed about what is at stake and where the candidates stand, energized to go to the polls and bring others along with them and then turned out to vote through absentee ballots or on Election Day.

Like I said earlier, we are at a true crossroads. The road we take, the road from here, will depend largely on our actions. As we look to some of the most crucial months in our history, there is no doubt in my mind that CWA, with all of us standing together, will respond like we have so many times before.

You will carry the spirit of our own union's forefathers who overcame the economic destruction wrought by Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression, and enacted the labor protections and New Deal advances we still hold dear today.

You will carry the spirit of the civil rights heroes who risked their lives and won the right to vote, the right to equal opportunity, the right to be free from discrimination, the right to justice.

This is a time to be inspired, to be heartened, to be energized, and to be invigorated. And we should never forget our proud history when we need a shot of inspiration or energy. Our history has been one continual story about standing strong in the face of adversity, about standing together.

This is our time, our chapter in history of this great union, a time when we are called to make our mark. We can do it if we stand together. We will do it if we stand together. Each and every one of us must leave this convention with our hopes high, our feet moving, and our hearts soaring. Let's get out there and make history. Thank you.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Barbara, for that fine, detailed and most timely report of what needs to be done.

Would the National Committee on Equity please come to the platform? The members of the National Committee on Equity are Gwendolyn Richardson, Staff Rep/Executive Board Member, Local 1180; John Wills, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 2202; Mary Garr, Vice President, Local 3310;

Keith Robinson, Vice President, Local 6310; Marlene Orozco, Member, Local 7777; Karen Kimbell-Hanson, Vice President, Local 9588; Beverly Davis, Executive Vice President, Local 13500; and Terez Woods, Member, Local 4309 and Chair of the Committee.

The Chair recognizes Terez Woods and it would help the recorders if each of you, as you read, would first give your name and local number.

DELEGATE TEREZ WOODS (Local 4309, Chair, Committee on Equity): Thank you, President Bahr. The members of the Equity Committee are prepared to give their report.

The National Committee on Equity recognizes that each year brings new delegates to our great Convention. In that regard, we want to take the opportunity to share with you the National Committee on Equity Mission Statement:

The mission of the National Committee on Equity is to develop and promote the CWA Civil Rights program. Our vision is to build a union wherein members of all cultures, religions, sexual orientations, gender, disabilities, ages, and nationalities feel welcome, respected and heard, and where the leadership reflects the diversity of our membership.

The duties and responsibilities of the National Committee on Equity are to:

1. Provide guidance and information to the districts and locals on the CWA Civil Rights program.

2. Keep the CWA Executive Board apprised of civil rights issues that affect our members and communities and, when necessary, offer a course of action.

3. Research, report and make recommendations or give direction to convention delegates on current civil rights issues.

The National Committee on Equity convention report lays the foundation for the CWA Civil Rights agenda for the upcoming year. Local Committees on Equity are encouraged to use the report as a working document to move the Civil Rights agenda in the districts.

The Employment Non-Discrimination Act - ENDA

Qualified, hardworking Americans are denied job opportunities, fired or otherwise discriminated against for reasons that have nothing to do with their performance or abilities. Employment discrimination based on sexual orientation, whether such orientation is real or perceived, effectively denies qualified individuals equality and opportunity in the workplace. Those who experience this form of discrimination have no recourse under current federal law or under the U.S. Constitution as the courts have interpreted it.

Employment discrimination strikes at a fundamental American value – the right of each individual to do his or her job and contribute to society without facing discrimination. Fairness in the workplace has been recognized as a fundamental right protected under federal law. Currently, federal law provides basic legal protection against employment discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, national origin, or disability, but not sexual orientation.

The Employment Non-Discrimination Act would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, providing basic protections to ensure fairness in the workplace for Americans who are currently denied equal protection under the law. ENDA does not create “special rights.” The bill explicitly prohibits preferential treatment and quotas. In addition, it exempts small businesses, religious organizations and the military, and does not require employers to offer benefits to same-sex partners of employees.

There is widespread bipartisan support for ENDA. AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, in a statement on ENDA, strongly urged Congress to pass this important civil rights legislation. He went on to say that the AFL-CIO strongly believes that discrimination based on sexual orientation is wrong and un-American.

Currently, only 11 states and the District of Columbia have laws prohibiting workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. They are: California (1992), Connecticut (1991), Hawaii (1991), Massachusetts (1989), Minnesota (1993), Nevada (1999), New Hampshire (1997), New Jersey (1992), Rhode Island (1995), Vermont (1992), Wisconsin (1982), and the District of Columbia (1977).

In the 39 other states it is still legal for employers to fire or punish employees based on their sexual orientation, despite polls that suggest most Americans believe a qualified and hard-working person should not lose their job because they are gay or lesbian. Each one of us must take action against discrimination because an injury to one is an injury to us all.

- Call and write your Senators at (202) 224-3121 and ask them to vote for ENDA (SB 1276), to become a co-sponsor if they are not one already, and to adopt an inclusive non-discrimination policy in their own offices.
- Call and write your Representatives at (202) 224-3121 or <http://www.house.gov/writerep> and ask them to vote for ENDA (HR 2355), to become a co-sponsor, if they are not one already, and to adopt an inclusive non-discrimination policy in their own offices.
- Call and write your employer and community business leaders and ask them to speak out against all workplace discrimination, to actively work for the passage of legislation like ENDA and to adopt an inclusive non-discrimination policy in their workplaces.
- Call and write your union leaders and fellow members and ask them to speak out against all discrimination, to actively work for the passage of legislation like ENDA and to make bargaining for inclusive non-discrimination policies in all workplaces and unions a top priority.
- Call and write your local newspaper and ask the people in your community to speak out against all workplace discrimination, to actively work for the passage of legislation like ENDA and to advocate for inclusive non-discrimination policies in all workplaces.
- Initiate and/or intensify efforts to promote respect for diversity and fairness and to shed light on acts of intolerance and discrimination throughout your community.

Civil Rights Legislation at the State Level

Each year the Committee on Equity recommends support for various bills introduced in Congress. Little progress has been made at that level, and we expect even less now that the Right controls the legislative and executive branches. While the Committee is pleased with the decisions in *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Lawrence v. Texas*, we cannot rely solely on the judicial branch to secure our rights for us.

We must turn more of our attention to the states where, in 2002, *The American Prospect*, a bi-weekly news and views magazine, reported that "Approximately 150,000 bills will be considered by the 50 state legislatures, and about 25 percent of them will become law – more than 75 times the number enacted by Congress." The courts and the new Republican monopoly

are aggressively pursuing a “states’ rights” agenda. Likewise, we should focus on the states in order to promote the workers’ agenda.

Now is the time to target state legislatures and ask them to introduce worker-friendly civil rights legislation. Legislation that would ensure workers’ rights to organize, protect privacy, end racial profiling, end discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, and to pass hate crimes legislation. There is much work to be done. In April 2003, Minnesota became the first state to rescind domestic partner benefits for state employees. Arkansas, Indiana, South Carolina, and Wyoming have no hate crimes laws.

By introducing legislation at the state level, lobbying, and building coalitions with other state civil rights organization, we could affect change faster than is possible in Congress. When laws are passed at the state level, Members of Congress are less likely to oppose legislation that has been adopted in their home states. In order to accomplish effective legislation at the state level, the Committee on Equity recommends that the CWA Districts and Sectors:

- Encourage the formation of amalgamated state councils;
- Provide basic and advanced training on legislation and political action to staff and locals;
- Offer clear guidance to and counsel legislative committees and lobbyists about the need to work toward our common goals;
- Commit significant staff time dedicated to the pursuit of state legislative and political programs and goals; and
- Support the CWA Legislative Department’s efforts to coordinate activities surrounding state legislation into programs that deliver national impact.

Save Our Courts: Understanding Our Judicial Nomination Process

At the 2002 Annual Convention, the National Committee on Equity urged delegates to take a look at our country’s judicial nomination process. Our report advised delegates that, under George W. Bush, 10 of the 13 Courts of Appeals could have a majority of right-wing Republican ideologues in place by 2004. New statistics indicate a strong possibility that all 13 of the Courts of Appeals could become saturated with a majority of judges steeped in such a philosophy.

This issue needs our continued consideration because many lower court decisions impact worker protections, religious liberties, environmental issues, human rights and civil rights. For many Americans, the federal judiciary is the first line of defense of our constitutional freedoms. Considering all that has been accomplished for workers’ rights and individual freedoms through the legislative branch of the government, now is not the time to have them taken away.

However, there is a growing faction of conservative lawyers and law students – the Federalist Society – that stands for a rollback of gains in workers’ rights, civil rights, the environment and privacy.

Today, the Federalist Society consists of about 25,000 conservative and libertarian lawyers, judges, law professors and students. Several of the top lawyers who helped George W. Bush win the Florida recount battle belong to the Federalist Society. The Society also has the likes of Kenneth Starr, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, Robert Bork and Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch as members.

At the White House Counsel’s office, ground zero in the judicial appointment process,

several attorneys under Alberto Gonzales are members of the group. It has become apparent that the Federalist Society will become the new gatekeepers for judicial nominees because many of their members serve inside and outside of the Bush Administration as legal advisors.

Until 2001, the American Bar Association's Committee on Federal Judiciary had been consulted in advance by every President concerning virtually every proposed Article III federal judicial appointment since 1952, and the U.S. Senate, through the Senate Judiciary Committee, had been provided with the Committee's evaluation of every federal judicial nomination since 1948.

The Committee's sole function was to evaluate nominees. It would evaluate the professional qualifications of persons nominated for appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States, Circuit Courts of Appeals, District Courts, Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, and the Court for International Trade. However, on July 3, 2003, the White House cut the Committee out of the loop.

George W. Bush is pulling out all the stops to imprint a conservative agenda on the U.S. judicial system. The Bush Administration has sent more than 160 nominations to the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate has confirmed 121 of them.

George W. Bush has been following the right-wing, court-packing plan that his father and former President Reagan began in the 1980s to fill Appeals Courts with judges who oppose workers' rights, women's rights and civil rights. George W. stated during his campaign that Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas were his favorite judges, sending a vivid message about his judicial role models and how his mind works. With lifetime appointments, these judges will sit on the bench for the next 30 years striking down our most fundamental constitutional rights.

Sisters and brothers, the Bush Administration is trying to remake America through lifetime appointments to the federal bench. Just think about it: With the right people strategically placed within our judicial system, the Republicans do not have to worry about who is the President or who is controlling the House or Senate. They will change and control this country regardless of who is in office.

Senate Democrats, realizing this is an assault on their electoral base, including women, minorities, workers and consumers are holding together impressively to stop the worst of the worst of Bush's judicial nominees. Senate Democrats are sending Bush a message that they have sufficient cohesion to stop any nominees in the image of Clarence Thomas or Antonin Scalia. Filibusters against Miguel Estrada and Priscilla Owen have prevailed, but our friends in the Senate cannot win the fight without our help.

Republicans are now accusing Senate Democrats of "obstructionism" for rejecting several nominees and carefully researching the views of others. They are trying to make it seem un-American to oppose or investigate a President's nominee to the federal bench, even though they have done it with vicious regularity themselves. The Republicans blocked 65 of former President Bill Clinton's nominees, while Democrats have only failed to confirm two of Bush's judicial nominees.

Republicans have launched an assault on the filibuster itself, calling it unconstitutional. Some GOP Senators are threatening a court case to challenge the filibuster's constitutionality.

These judgeship wars are about things that matter to us profoundly; the right to choose, affirmative action, civil liberties, equal rights, court-packing, extremism and the Constitution's granting the Senate the power of "advise and consent" on judicial appointments.

The National Committee on Equity urges CWA, at all levels, to join in the fight to stop the current administration's attempt to pack the courts. We encourage CWA locals to devote time and resources to educating our members on these judgeship wars that profoundly attack our Constitution, civil liberties, equal rights, and workers' rights.

Personal Politics versus Union Politics: The Story of Elizabeth

A woman prepares to start her day at work. She has a well-paid union job, good benefits, and can retire soon with an excellent pension. She enjoys her work and has seniority rights. She answers the phone "Good morning! This is Elizabeth. How may I help you?" A voice on the other end introduces a customer who is placing an order for new service and is qualified to receive assistance due to low income. When the younger-sounding customer comes on the line she introduces herself as Elizabeth as well. When asked where she worked prior to the job she has now, she replies she served in the military and has finally returned home after two tours overseas.

As the two Elizabeths talked that day, the young one told the not-so-young one how, in spite of working 40 hours a week and all the overtime she can get, she still does not make enough money to rise above the poverty level. The older Elizabeth asked the younger if she regretted her military duty. Young Elizabeth said no, she fought because she believes in her country. But she is disappointed in the policymakers who have created a system that has no place for her now that her service to her country has ended.

Two Elizabeths – both are working. One has some privileges – the other has none. The difference between them is a union. Two Elizabeths who have never met impact each other's lives. Both are dissatisfied. The younger does not know how to make her life better. The older realizes she's gotten away from doing work that was important to her, fighting so the young who will come after her can have the union benefits she has enjoyed.

Today, we face the most difficult times since the advent of trade unionism. Our numbers are decreasing and there is no point in looking for anyone to blame. The corporations we deal with are increasingly aggressive in their union-busting tactics. The political climate is blatantly anti-labor and pro-business.

Now, more than ever, we must separate personal politics from union politics if we are to survive. One way personal politics manifests itself is in voting based on a single factor such as family tradition, religious affiliation, a single hot-button issue, or a candidate's personal traits, i.e., race or gender. When we say union politics, we mean supporting legislation and candidates at local, state, and national levels who support trade union rights. This means policies that increase, not decrease jobs, respect our contracts, maintain our benefits, and ensure our work will remain in the United States. For example:

- Corporate downsizing in the industries we represent has had the following effect: loss of jobs and loss of income for families. These problems are compounded by the loss of sales and income tax revenues, which in turn results in cuts in funding for social programs that could have helped downsized members and their families.
- Many members vote for a candidate based solely on hot-button issues. But if that candidate's overall agenda is opposed to the union's agenda, then those members should seriously consider rethinking their support for such a candidate, particularly because of the likelihood the individual, if elected, will accumulate an overall voting record that will negatively impact or eventually eliminate their benefits and pay.
- As trade unionists, we must maintain a clear focus on what are the true issues of equity and fair treatment and not get sidetracked. Currently, the most accurate example of inequitable treatment of workers is the tax cut the richest five percent of Americans get compared to what the average person gets – not the Supreme Court's recent decisions on sexual matters and affirmative action policies in university admissions. Granted, some may be personally uncomfortable with these decisions, but it is imperative that as a union we stand united in our defense of the rights of all our members. Allowing the unfair

treatment of one member to go unchallenged today will become unfair treatment toward any one of us tomorrow.

- Currently, there are a number of bills pending on the rights of non-violent convicted felons. While many may feel this issue does not affect them, in some states, as much as 33 percent of the minority male population is removed from the voting population. The loss of this group that traditionally votes Democratic – and so votes labor – hinders our ability to elect candidates who will advance legislation that supports union families.

We greatly enjoy the benefits of union membership, as evidenced by our homes, cars and vacation pictures. As the face of our membership changes, we hear new voices that challenge such age-old union tenets as seniority. Many new workers assume their rights and benefits on the job come from management. At best, the one thing they associate to some degree with the union is the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Anti-union forces actively court this group by playing to their personal politics. We propose a three-part program aimed at moving trade unionists away from personal politics and toward union politics.

I. Education

With the continual turnover of our membership, it is important to educate our members on the history of not just CWA, but of the Labor Movement as well. Without understanding where we came from, we will find it difficult to move forward. Our future depends on an informed and politically active membership that is committed to the union.

II. Political Action 101

Political action among our members has to mean more than calling elected representatives during a push for an important bill the union is supporting. Many members who did not vote for labor-endorsed candidates admitted that it was not due to a strong objection to the candidate, but rather the manner in which they were solicited. To fully engage our members, we must give them more than lists. We must make concerted efforts to inform them of who and what affects their paychecks, working hours, and contract enforcement.

III. Organizing

At the June meeting of the National COE, President Bahr apprised us of the state of our union. There have been many wins in the President's, Executive Vice President's, and Secretary-Treasurer's offices in their fights to preserve our union, but we all knew there would be. Likewise, the District Vice Presidents and Local Officers maintain constant vigils. Mergers are contemplated, and card check opportunities will always be negotiated. The Labor Movement was built on the back of organizing and it will live or die on the back of organizing. There is still a vast untapped body of workers who are unorganized. But now the challenge is greater because CWA must be prepared to say not only "welcome" to our English-speaking new members, but also "Bienvenidos," "Nghenh hoan" and "Ahlan wa Sahlan."

Many of you are probably overwhelmed by what you handle on a day-to-day basis as it is, so you may ask why organizing should be something for you to consider. We can only reply, if not you, then who? Those of us who have been given so much, also have a greater responsibility. We inherited a vibrant and vital union. We are all here today thanks to the nurturing of someone else: a parent, a sibling, a mentor. We must honor the hard work of all those who came before us by ensuring that we pass on an even stronger union and develop a strong generation of new leaders. There is a young woman in Ohio whose name is Elizabeth.

She fought for this country and for all of us. She does not know a lot about unions. The older Elizabeth promised the younger that she would not be forgotten. And so, she tells that young Elizabeth's story today.

By working to inform our members – to educate our members so that they can vote for the union agenda, we have an opportunity to make a difference for millions of young women like Elizabeth. ONE BODY, ONE VOICE, ONE UNION. (Applause)

Political Patriotism or Constitutional Terrorism?

The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (USAPA) of 2001, is better known as The Patriot Act. The law, which vastly expands government authority while it reduces the checks and balances of judicial oversight, public accountability and the people's ability to challenge government, was passed, with minimal debate, by a panicked Congress just weeks after the September 11 attacks. Congress passed it in the most undemocratic process possible that was instigated by the Bush Administration's implications that members of Congress who voted against such a bill were unpatriotic and would be blamed for any further attacks. Congress and the Administration acted without careful or systematic effort to determine whether the changes would prevent any further attacks.

The extent of this new law goes beyond the necessary provisions for preventing terrorist attacks. The Act creates a new definition of "terrorist" and by doing so, has made many political activists in this country into terrorists. USAPA and other anti-terrorism measures undermine the rights of individuals not suspected of any crime and recklessly attacked the constitutionality of the First and Fourth Amendments. Thereby, they erode the Bill of Rights.

The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency now has the power to engage in widespread surveillance of protest groups or other Americans if they engage in conduct perceived to involve acts dangerous to human life or have the potential to influence the policy of foreign governments. The Patriot Act gives the Attorney General and the Secretary of State the power to detain or deport any non-citizen defined as "a domestic terrorist." Under this law, the fate of immigrants can be determined based on "reasonable grounds to believe" a non-citizen endangers national security, thereby granting the Attorney General power to order indefinite detention. It's just a matter of time before some ambitious prosecutor charges a controversial activist group with terrorism.

The Attorney General's reckless violation of due process currently has more than 500 detainees, the majority of whom are being held on charges unrelated to the events of 9/11. So far, the government has filed charges against 56 people for terrorism, but 41 of them had nothing to do with terrorism. They include Latinos accused of working without green cards at a Texas airport, as well as people who allegedly trespassed on the Navy's firing range in Puerto Rico. Immigrants who happened to be discovered during the course of a sweeping dragnet of the post-September 11 investigations have been jailed for many months. Not one of the 762 Arab and Muslim immigrants imprisoned has been charged with any terrorist activity.

Justice Department officials admitted to the Inspector General's office during independent hearings that many in the group of detainees were not connected to the September 11 attacks or terrorism. The FBI is basically following the classic guilt-by-association policy.

Increases in the government's ability to look at records held by third parties on an individual's activity allow the FBI power to force anyone to turn over records on their clients or customers. That includes doctors, libraries, bookstores, universities, and Internet service providers. Since passage of the bill, law enforcement officials have visited over 200 colleges and universities gathering information about students, particularly foreign students.

The principle that the government cannot access your property without your knowledge has long been recognized as part of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution. The Patriot Act

unconstitutionally amends the Federal Rule of Criminal Procedures to allow the government to execute searches without notification until afterward. The government now can enter a house, apartment or office with a search warrant when the occupants are away, search though and even seize property and not notify them until after the search is completed. This new “sneak and peek” rule can be used as part of normal criminal investigations that have nothing to do with fighting terrorism.

The new power, created by the Bush Administration’s pushing the Patriot Act into law, creates a climate of fear and repression, undermines judicial oversight of government surveillance of citizens and erodes the crucial checks and balance of accountability to Congress and the public.

The Administration currently refuses to release crucial information about the 500-plus detainees. Attorney General Ashcroft has adopted a new policy that allows agencies to withhold information sought under the Freedom of Information Act. The Justice Department’s aggressive stance challenges the core values of American law and will lead to the erosion of judicial authority. Congress and the American people must carefully scrutinize the Bush Administration’s reckless disregard for constitutional democracy.

The current legislation includes a “sunset” clause that requires Congress to decide in December 2005 whether the Patriot Act is worthwhile. It is imperative that Congress reconsiders the undermining of constitutional rights perpetrated by this legislation. They will have to question whether increased security outweighs the cost to constitutional guarantees of procedural fairness, free speech and privacy. Congressional leadership from both sides must resist implications that American citizens are unpatriotic if they oppose the current administration. Elected officials who disagree with this administration should not have to defend their patriotism.

We, the Communications Workers of America, must be resolved to petition Congress to oppose the renewal of the USA PATRIOT ACT, along with any pending legislation being considered to expand far-reaching provisions, such as the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003 (DSEA), nicknamed PATRIOT II.

The National Committee on Equity encourages CWA at all levels to continue to lobby for legislation on fair immigration policies in order to free those illegally imprisoned detainees held by the Justice Department. America can be safe and free. (Applause)

Organizing, Mobilizing and Coalition Building

Organizing new members has been one of CWA’s top priorities for the past 20 years. CWA leadership has recognized organizing as the foundation of our strength. In recent years, the number of immigrants coming to the U.S. to work has increased. The 2000 Census documented what those who live in urban areas across the United States already know; that the color of America is rapidly changing. One of the most significant forces underlying this change is the dramatic increase over the past three decades in the country’s immigrant population, especially Latinos, coupled with a moderate increase in the African American, Afro Caribbean and Asian populations and a much slower increase in the Caucasian population.

As we move forward in our organizing, we should be mindful of these new groups of workers entering the workforce. In many cases, employers have been able to use these new workers to prevent unionization. Sometimes those of us born in the United States react negatively to new workers because they often don’t speak our language well and we may be disconcerted by their foreign customs. A common remark made is “they’re taking our jobs.” Keeping in line with our organizing principles, we should actively seek to organize workers that are being abused by employers regardless of their ethnicity.

Furthermore, as union activists, we must be pro-active in making sure our members do not align themselves with those who would divide workers in the workplace or our communities. Through local Committees on Equity, we can help motivate others to recognize how minority-to-

minority relations are altering the dynamics of American race relations in general. We can play a major role in helping to educate our members about our new co-workers.

For example, many of us do not realize that although Latinos and blacks are referred to as "people of color," thereby setting both groups apart from whites, in the workplace they have much in common, although culturally different from one another. Depending on experiences in their native countries, many individuals of color consider themselves white, while the experiences of African Americans do not motivate them to consider these same individuals white. Such perceptions have the potential to impact relations within and between these groups as well as relations these individuals have with Anglo Americans. Local unions should develop

mobilization strategies to help bridge any gaps that may exist, for by embracing diversity, we strengthen our country, the Labor Movement and our union.

Locals can easily approach this by galvanizing communities around worker issues and using every available opportunity to educate and unite us as workers.

Coalition building is the cornerstone to any great organization. Successful organizations recognize that they do not have to be the leaders of the pack in order to be effective. Through the years, CWA has partnered with many grassroots organizations to advance issues that affect workers and coalition building is no different. We should reach out to those coalitions that are committed to new workers in our country.

The National Committee on Equity encourages CWA members to embrace, organize, mobilize, and build coalitions in support of our new sisters and brothers for they are the workforce of the future.

While we may have arrived in this country on different vessels, when it comes to workers' rights, we're all in the same boat. (Applause)

Why Affirmative Action?

Affirmative action refers to policies aimed at increasing the numbers of people from certain racial or social groups in employment, education, business, government, and other areas. In the United States, these groups, among others, include women, Blacks, Latinos, American Indians, military veterans of Vietnam and other conflicts, and the disabled or otherwise impaired. In general, affirmative action is intended to benefit groups that have suffered as a result of discrimination.

There are those who believe that while affirmative action was necessary 30 years ago, the playing field is fairly level today. That's like believing that negotiated benefits no longer need to be negotiated. Despite any progress that may have been made, the playing field is far from level. Women continue to earn 76 cents for every dollar earned by a man and blacks continue to have twice the unemployment rate of whites.

There are also those who believe that a large percentage of white workers will lose out if affirmative action is continued. According to figures published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, there are 1.3 million unemployed black and 112 million employed white American civilians. Therefore, the math proves to us that even if every unemployed black worker in the United States would displace a white worker, only one percent of the white working population would be affected.

Furthermore, affirmative action only applies to job-qualified applicants; therefore, the actual percentage of affected whites would be a fraction of that one percent. The primary causes of job loss among white workers are factory relocations and labor contracted outside the United States, computerization and automation, and corporate downsizing.

African Americans have a 375-year history on this continent: 245 under slavery, 100 under

legalized discrimination, and only 30 involving anything else. To expect blacks to show the same upward mobility as non-blacks is to deny the historical and social reality that black people faced then and now.

Job discrimination is grounded in prejudice and exclusion, whereas affirmative action is an effort to overcome prejudicial treatment through inclusion. The most effective way to cure society of exclusionary practices is to make special efforts at inclusion, which is exactly what affirmative action does.

Some criticize affirmative action as a superficial solution that does not address deeper societal problems by redistributing wealth and developing true educational equality. However, affirmative action was never proposed as a cure-all for inequality. Rather, it was intended only to redress discrimination in hiring and academic admissions. In assessing the value of affirmative action, the central question is merely this: In the absence of sweeping societal reforms – unlikely to take place any time soon – does affirmative action help counteract the continuing injustices caused by discrimination? The research suggests, unequivocally, that it does.

While this country saw victory in the recent Michigan Supreme Court case that addressed affirmative action in higher education, there are no laws, policies or programs that can make a long, historical legacy of discrimination disappear overnight.

The National Committee on Equity recommends that CWA leadership continue to support affirmative action through CWA programs like the Minority Leadership Institute and continue their efforts to encourage Congress not to weaken our affirmative action laws. (Applause)

Help America Vote Act (HAVA)

Given the fact that millions of American citizens were denied their basic right to cast a vote and to have that vote counted in the 2000 elections, the enactment of meaningful election reform has been one of the highest legislative priorities for labor and other grassroots organizations. After a day of chaos, a month of uncertainty and nearly two years of study and debate, Congress responded to the November 2000 election with one sweeping package – the Help America Vote Act (HAVA). Let me explain some of the beneficial provisions of the Act:

- Sets uniform, minimum standards for federal elections nationwide, including providing voters with the opportunity to check for and correct ballot errors;
- Ensures accuracy of state voter registration databases by implementing uniform statewide computerized lists;
- Provides provisional ballots that allow voters who are erroneously left off the voter registration lists to vote and be counted once their eligibility can be verified;
- Helps eliminate punch card and lever voting systems, and upgrades voting systems and equipment in every state; and
- Provides funding to ensure that voters with disabilities are able to cast ballots privately and independently.

While HAVA is an important step forward in improving election procedures and administration throughout the nation, it does contain several troubling provisions:

- Requirements that all persons seeking to register must provide the state with their drivers

license number or, in the event they do not have one, the last four digits of their Social Security number. Any persons not providing either will not be registered. Once a voter provides either number, the state will verify the accuracy of the data with the state's Motor Vehicle Department or Social Security Administration. This system is cumbersome and prone to error.

- The ID requirements of the Act fail to reduce its disenfranchising impact upon first-time voters. The ID requirement should be linked to the requirement that a state have a computerized voter list in place. Instead, while the Act requires mail-in registrants to meet the ID requirements in the upcoming 2004 election cycle, it gives states a waiver until 2006 to create statewide-computerized lists. As a result, voters in states without statewide lists will have to comply with the ID provisions each time they move within that state. The burden of the ID requirement will have a tremendous impact on renters who are likely to change residence more often than a homeowner would.
- Third, the Act invalidates the registration of any voter who does not check off a new, and easily overlooked, box on the registration form declaring that he or she is a U.S. citizen. This provision will directly affect many voters, including the elderly and other voters who may find filling out forms a difficult process. As a result, these voters will disproportionately be kept off registration rolls.

As we move toward the 2004 presidential elections, it is vital that each of us steps up our voter registration efforts. However, before you move forward, please review your state election guidelines and new HAVA requirements.

The 2004 Presidential election is quickly approaching us. The National Committee on Equity encourages and strongly urges all of the locals here today that as we move forward into 2004 it is vitally important for all of us to step up our voter registration efforts in our membership and communities. It is up to all of us to do our part to make sure we help and encourage every eligible person to exercise their right to vote. (Applause)

Finally, what we need to remember and must never, ever, ever, ever forget is the hard lesson learned in the 2000 election. (Applause) It must be at the forefront of all of our minds that we, the people, govern this land, as it is stated clearly in the Constitution of this United States.

Remember, brothers and sisters, in 2004 – we, the people, solidarity. (Applause)

CHAIR WOODS: Mr. President, the National Committee on Equity moves adoption of this report.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Jones.

DELEGATE BRENDA JONES (Local 4004): Thank you, President Bahr. Good morning to all. I would first like to take the opportunity to commend the Committee on a job well done. (Applause)

Sisters and brothers, I rise in support of the National Committee on Equity Report and strongly recommend adoption of this report. I would also like to commend you, President Bahr, for making the decision to move the Office of Civil Rights to the President's office.

Brothers and sisters, you can see the importance of the issues that face minorities in our great union. Therefore, I challenge and encourage those locals that do not have a Committee on Equity to form one. I also encourage you to go back home and get politically active. We Democrats must take back the White House. Thank you. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE MARGARET HENDERSON (Local 4310): Good morning President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, Executive Vice President Cohen, distinguished vice presidents, and my fellow union brothers and sisters, I rise to support this great Committee report, but I also need to issue you, each and every one, a challenge.

This Committee has put in countless hours of research and preparation on key issues that have a profound effect, not only on this union, but on our members, our families, and all working families, both here and abroad.

The vision that these individuals have should be shared with everyone. You must remember that things cannot be ignored around the world. They have put together for each one of you a guideline, a stimulation on education, mobilization, and voter registration in an effort to regain civil and political rights that we are losing daily under the disguise of fighting terrorism and patriotism, and they want to put new footprints in the sand to send out there.

You have got to move your families forward and the only way that you can do this is to be sure that there is equity for all. So I salute you, my sister Terez Woods, and I salute the rest of the Committee for boldly walking into history to give us all a better understanding of civil rights and the equity issues that affect all of us.

Improving the lot of all will create a future where justice and fairness will not be granted for those who buy it but for all of us who deserve it. So I challenge each and every union activist in this room to not only stand in support of this report, but to put the action items in this report in place when you return home. I heard that when the going gets tough, that the tough get going. Well, all you are tough, so how come you ain't getting going?

If you believe that you have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then you must also believe that you have to include liberty, justice, fairness, equity, and freedom for all. Join in today, because tomorrow might be too late. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

There is no other delegate desiring to speak on this report, so before us is adoption of the National Committee on Equity's report to the 65th annual convention.

All those in favor, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted unanimously. Join me in thanking the Committee for an extraordinary piece of work. (Applause)

The Executive Board of the union agreed several months ago to create a new reward to recognize the individual or group of individuals, a local or a district that demonstrated the use of political action to further the union's collective bargaining, organizing, or legislative goals. We call this award the Paul Wellstone ACTION Award in memory of the special relationship that our union had with Paul. His death is a tragic loss for working families and our union.

Paul Wellstone was a fighter, a fighter for a fair, decent America, a fighter for working families, but I think above all, there was recognition of his integrity, that what you saw was what you got.

Paul Wellstone, you remember, was the only one who had the guts to stand up in the United States Senate and vote against the Bush invasion of Iraq – the way Bush did it. (Applause) And I think what was incredibly important was the very next day, the Veterans of Foreign Wars endorsed Paul Wellstone for election, and I don't think it was as much for what he voted on, but rather because they recognized that this man was integrity from the top of his head to the tip of his toes, that he was all heart, and it was that which I believe caused the VFW to endorse him for reelection.

I personally will not forget the last time he spoke to us at our 2001 Convention in

Minneapolis. I think we have some film of that.

... A short film clip was shown of Senator Paul Wellstone delivering a fiery and dynamic address to the delegates of the CWA Convention in Minneapolis in 2001...

PRESIDENT BAHR: That was Paul Wellstone, not only speaking to us, but that was Paul Wellstone 24 hours a day. A non-profit organization called Wellstone Action has been established to carry on his work. We have with us this morning Jeff Blodgett, who is the Executive Director of Wellstone Action and served as Paul's campaign manager.

Jeff is representing the Wellstone family – we were hoping that we would have one of his sons here – and he will help us present the award. Please welcome Jeff Blodgett. (Applause)

JEFF BLODGETT (Executive Director, Wellstone Action): Thank you, President Bahr and dedicated members of CWA, for the special honor of representing the Wellstone family at this gathering of the union that Paul Wellstone had such a special relationship with.

President Bahr, I know of the close friendship that you and Senator Wellstone had. Paul Wellstone considered you a brother. The Wellstone sons, Mark and David Wellstone, wanted to be here today but they are both taking time for family vacations.

CWA was always there for Paul Wellstone, as Paul Wellstone was for CWA. In fact, one of his last big pieces of work as Senator was fighting Qwest's attempt to slash retiree benefits at the same time they gave a huge retirement package to their disgraced CEO. You remember that? (Applause)

Paul Wellstone was always fighting for, always standing up for the little guy. Paul Wellstone said this: "The future will not belong to those who stand on the sidelines. The future will belong to those who are willing to work hard for what they believe in."

So after the tragic event of last fall when Mark and David Wellstone convened a meeting of key people involved in Paul and Sheila's political life, it became clear that there is a responsibility and an opportunity to continue teaching others the distinctive and successful approach to politics that Paul Wellstone practiced.

Paul Wellstone won and held high political office and, by the way, he was going to win in 2002 as well. (Applause) He won because he integrated electoral politics, with union organizing, community organizing, and issue advocacy into a powerful combination of sustained base-building and success in elections.

That is what we have to keep doing if we are going to take our country back, so we have created an organization called "Wellstone Action." We teach the Wellstone model of political action in a two and a half day training program called Camp Wellstone. In the camps, people hone their skills in political action, attendees learn about running campaigns, doing more effective organizing, advocacy and fundraising.

There is also a track just for candidates running for office. We'll put on dozens of these camps around the country in the next year, all in battleground states where our kind of organizing and base building can make a real difference. We look forward to working closely with CWA as we take this training program around the country.

President Bahr, I come from Minnesota bearing humble gifts for you and honoring the strong relationship with Senator Wellstone. We have a bumper sticker and button from the 2002 campaign, a copy of Senator Wellstone's book, "Conscience of a Liberal," and the T-shirt we give to everyone who goes through the Camp Wellstone Program, our Camp Wellstone T-Shirt.

Thank you very much, President Bahr. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you very much, Jeff. Before I announce the winner of the first Paul Wellstone ACTION Award, I just want to take a moment to tell you, if I can, about the last time I was with Paul.

It was the Wednesday night before the Friday morning tragedy when our locals in the state of Minnesota held a Paul Wellstone rally in Minneapolis. I was out there for that rally and sat with Paul talking about the future. He was a guy that not only dealt with today, but what is it we can do today that makes for a better future. He wanted to know all of those things that CWA needed done, some of which he spoke about at the rally.

When I got the call on Friday morning, I mean – I can tell you, I was as devastated as if it was a family member because that is what Paul meant to all of us. So it should be no surprise that we are committed to keeping his legacy alive with this award. So in addition to what we are doing here today, we are contributing \$25,000 in the name of the winner of the first Paul Wellstone ACTION Award to “Wellstone Action” to help continue the work. (Applause)

Brothers and sisters, the first winner of the CWA Paul Wellstone ACTION Award is appropriately enough from District 7, Local 7026 of Tucson. Will the officers of Local 7026 come to the stage. (Applause)

In September of 2002, the Tucson School District Supervisory and Professional Employee Association voted 109 to 2 to affiliate with Local 7026, but the School Board denied the workers union recognition. There is no law that guarantees it.

The local campaigned vigorously last fall to defeat two of the board members who voted against recognizing the union and replaced them with two who committed to vote in favor. (Applause)

So the new School Board took office in January of this year and on February 11, by a four to one vote of the new board, Local 7026 won recognition as the bargaining representative for 348 school employees, and the workers have since won their first contract. (Applause)

I can't think of a better example, not only that exemplifies what Paul Wellstone was all about, but how political action, that one leg of our Triangle supports successfully the other two – organizing and then getting a

contract. This is exactly what we have been talking about all of these years and what the CWA Triangle really means.

I would like to read the inscription on the Paul Wellstone ACTION Award, “CWA-COPE honors the officers and members of CWA Local 7026 for engaging in the political process in the spirit of Paul Wellstone to further opportunities for working families and to benefit from union organization and collective bargaining, 65th CWA Convention, Chicago, Illinois.” Congratulations to Local 7026.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Jeff.

Would the Resolutions Committee come to the platform. The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR LILLIAN COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Charlie Braico, Vice President, NABET-CWA Local 54041, here in the host city of Chicago.

DELEGATE BRAICO: Would the delegates please turn to page 9 of the Resolutions Committee Report.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-6
Stop the FTTA: Good Jobs and Strong Communities, Not NAFTA
Expansion

Trade and trade negotiations have become an increasingly important part of the U.S. economy. Trade policies affect how jobs are leaving this country, how foreign workers come into the country to do our jobs, and how our wages are impacted by the competition of workers from around the world. No longer are just manufacturing jobs being hurt by NAFTA. Now, call centers and high-tech jobs are being moved around the world in search of the cheapest wages. Trade agreements are also affecting health care, public sector and services jobs.

The U.S. government is now negotiating to expand NAFTA (Canada, the United States and Mexico) to cover all the Western Hemisphere. This treaty would create the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by adding 31 more countries between the Arctic Circle and Argentina.

- FTAA is the wrong choice for jobs. NAFTA cost U.S. workers more than 750,000 good paying jobs and destroyed many communities. FTAA will spread NAFTA to the rest of the hemisphere and destroy even more U.S. jobs.
- FTAA is the wrong choice for democracy. The FTAA, like NAFTA, protects corporate profits ahead of decisions by democratically elected leaders, with corporations able to use secret courts to overturn U.S. laws.
- FTAA is the wrong choice for public workers. The FTAA would make it easier for governments to ship jobs overseas, undermine living wage laws and increase pressure on civil service protections.
- FTAA is the wrong choice for health care workers. Under FTAA, any professional standard that presents an obstacle to foreign health care companies or foreign workers will be challenged. NAFTA allowed hospitals to hire nurses on temporary visas with few protections. FTAA could create even more temporary visas for nurses as well as other health care professionals.
- FTAA is the wrong choice for immigrant workers. It will make it easier for employers to bring workers into the United States without protections and with the threat of deportation if they complain about conditions or wages.

The FTAA is opposed around the hemisphere by unions, workers, farmers, students, communities of faith, indigenous peoples and even governments. Ten million people voted against the FTAA in Brazil in September 2002, in a massive education campaign conducted by the Workers Party. The CWA has joined the AFL-CIO, affiliate unions, Jobs with Justice, and many others in collecting votes opposing FTAA. These votes are being collected as postcards or online and will be delivered to the trade ministers of the 34 countries when they meet in Miami November 20 and 21, 2003.

The AFL-CIO, Jobs with Justice, environmentalists, family farmers, students, communities of faith, and trade unionists from around the United States are planning to go to Miami in November to say "No FTAA." There will be concerts, teach-ins, rallies and parades to express dissatisfaction with the FTAA and the secret Negotiations.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America at all levels will continue to work to educate ourselves, our families, our communities, and our elected leaders about the dangers of the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America locals will continue to collect as many "Stop FTAA" postcard votes as possible. "No" votes, can be submitted on the printed postcards or online at www.cwa-union.org/international/ftaa.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will urge members, retirees, friends and allies to participate in the actions at the Miami Ministerial of the FTAA in November and say “No to the FTAA.”

Mr. President, the Resolution Committee moves the adoption of 65A-03-6 entitled, “Stop the FTAA: Good Jobs and Strong Communities, Not NAFTA Expansion.”

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has been made. Seconded from the floor. Mike 3, Delegate Crosby.

DELEGATE JEFF CROSBY (Local 81201): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Local 81201, most of us, I think, have an understanding or some understanding, based on the experience in our union, of the effect of free trade agreements like the FTAA on manufacturing jobs.

I know in our plant we are still today fighting the transfer of work from Ametek Aerospace Division to Mexico where workers are doing what we do for \$22 an hour for \$6 a day.

On September 6, IUE is having a national demonstration at Jonesboro, Arkansas, where we are losing work in this case to China from another GE plant and even defense work, as Barbara mentioned earlier, work we paid for out of our pockets, is being transferred overseas based on free trade agreements.

I hope people don't forget to sign the green letter and pass that forward. The big lie of the free trade economists is somehow the market, the free market is going to organize the economy in the world in a way that benefits everybody. Everybody is going to do what they do best.

Some unskilled jobs will go to the Third World, et cetera, and somehow the skilled jobs will stay here and everybody somehow is going to benefit. It's been ten or fifteen years that we have been fighting free trade agreements like NAFTA. Now, the FTAA in my local union. We've sent people to Brazil, to Columbia, sent people to Mexico.

Now, as Morty said earlier, not only are the high-skilled jobs being shipped overseas, but the division of labor is so unfair. And another thing we found was that people get shot for organizing unions in Columbia; they get laid off in the United States. They work for \$6 a day in Mexico. That is a division of labor that benefits only the people at the top, as General Electric walks around with \$15 billion a year. We need to fight this as we fought the NAFTA. (Applause)

Now, while most of us understand the impact of free trade on manufacturing, I would ask the brothers and sisters in the public sector to also look around the hemisphere as to what will be affected by the rules of the FTAA to see what is happening in the public sector.

In every country you look at, there is a bitter battle being fought, whether it's to defend public distribution, ownership of water resources in Bolivia, healthcare in El Salvador, or oil in Colombia. The top one percent of the people who benefit from the expansion of the NAFTA and FTAA, they don't need public schools because they can afford the best education for their children. They don't need public healthcare because they can afford the gold card in healthcare systems that most of us will never see.

They don't need public safety officers because they live in gated communities. They don't care if they have funds for police and firefighters. But we need them. We see an opportunity of public service for the public good. They see barriers to investments and barriers to profit and exploitation.

I hope as we go – and I'll be going down to the AFL-CIO and work next month in Miami on the FTAA demonstrations – I rise in the hope that workers from all the sections of the CWA will participate in the FTAA mobilization.

I rise with the leadership of the CWA who have shown up for the demonstration, and I rise in the hope that we will see many of you on September 6 in Jonesboro, Arkansas, and in November

in Miami. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Mike 3, Delegate Cooper.

DELEGATE ROBERT COOPER (Local 3808): I rise in support of this resolution. America is a nation of immigrants. This resolution should not be misconstrued as a closing of the door to immigrants coming to America because we are all immigrants. By the same token, we should not make it easy on employers to bring in individuals from outside of this country and not give them the same protections that you and I have as workers here in America. It is wrong. It is morally wrong to bring them in here to work. But at the same time, if they raise any sort of issues about their pay or how they are treated, they are threatened with deportation. That is wrong. That is wrong. That is wrong.

I urge you all to please support this resolution. FTAA should be defeated. Please vote "yes" for this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates care to be recognized on this resolution. Before you is Resolution 6. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Those opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes Vicki Pallan, Secretary-Treasurer of CWA Local 9575.

DELEGATE VICTORIA PALLAN (Local 9575): Thank you, Mr. President. Would the delegates please turn to page 10 of the Resolutions Committee report.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-7 **Girl Scouts "Unions in the Community" Patch**

The Communications Workers of America and the Girl Scouts of America have partnered to establish a "Unions in the Community" patch in the Penn's Woods Council in the Wilkes-Barre area of Pennsylvania. Working with the Greater Wilkes-Barre Labor Council's Community Service Committee and unions in the area, materials to support the patch were developed including required activities, a resources list to assist in the activities and a logo.

To receive the patch, young girls involved in Cadette and Senior Girl Scouts must complete seven out of 12 activities:

- Attending a union meeting
- Visiting a unionized workplace
- Visiting labor monuments or other historical sites related to the labor movement
- Reading a book or viewing a film about the labor movement or labor leaders
- Talking with union members or retirees about what the union means to them, including the advantages of being a union member
- Learning about issues of concern for workers, including management and union views of the issues
- Researching issues that lead to a strike, including if and how the issues were resolved

- Learning about child labor laws, including how and when they were instituted and the role organized labor played in their formation and passage
- Researching 10 terms used in labor relations and making a wage, benefit and working comparison of nonunion jobs in the same industry
- Participating in a union-sponsored community service project
- Identification of union logos and identification of union job sites in their communities, including what product or service is provided and what union or unions represent the workers, and discussing with a union representative key issues in their negotiations
- Learning about the role of music in the labor movement and social justice causes supported by organized labor.

The Girl Scouts organization has provided girls with knowledge, skills and leadership abilities for many years and is an important part of our communities and social structure. We recognize and applaud their important contributions. This patch is a fine extension of their work and provides a much-needed vehicle to raise awareness of labor history, labor activities and the value of union membership. Girls who participate in this project will one day enter the job market with a better understanding of our contributions and will be able to make an informed decision about participation in unions. For more detail on the Penn's Woods Council Patch, see <http://www.cwa-union.org/issues/women/girlscouts.asp>

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America believes the works of the Girl Scouts of America are a valuable part of our communities. We recognize the need for young people to be educated about the labor movement, our rich history and the role we play in supporting all workers in this country and throughout the world. We urge CWA local women's committees to partner with the Girl Scouts in their communities, using the Penn's Woods Council Patch as a model to develop a similar patch in their councils.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 65A-03-7, entitled "Girl Scouts 'Unions in the Community' Patch."

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion. It has been seconded from the floor. On Mike 3, Delegate Lisa Fazzini.

DELEGATE LISA FAZZINI (Local 13000): President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, delegates and guests: I would like to speak briefly in support of this resolution and provide a little history on its beginnings.

This "Unions in the Community" badge project came to us in Local 13000 earlier this year by way of a great group of people on the Greater Wilkes-Barre Labor Council's Community Services Committee who took the initiative to partner with the Penn's Woods Girl Scouts Council. Together they succeeded in developing twelve badge requirements and creating a special union patch that pictures Rosie the Riveter in the center with the words "Unions, Unity and Strength" around the edge of the patch.

Mary Loughlin, Local 13000 Unit 34 Vice President, brought this to the attention of our local's CWA Women's Committee and it was like a "gee whiz" moment because, like many of you, our committee was struggling and trying to find ways to promote the history of unions and more important the value of having a union to our youth.

All along there was the Girl Scouts organization that has been around for years and years and that has been influential in raising awareness on many different issues for girls worldwide. So it was a good fit.

I am here today to urge all of the delegates to support this badge project, take it back into your areas and promote it locally. Organized labor unions have played an important part in the history of this country. We have been influential in negotiating safe working conditions, benefits, fair wages, and protecting workers from unfair labor practices.

With the current decline in union density because of the loss of hundreds of union jobs, all of us need to find ways to promote the value of having a union and teaching youth that it is unions that help raise the standard of living so that generations to come and the Dick Gephardt's of the world and John Kerry's of the world and other public and private figures who stand before us can understand what it means to say, "I came from a union family," or more important, "I worked in a union job." Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Mike 3, Delegate Young.

DELEGATE MARGARET M. YOUNG (Local 2106): Brothers and sisters, I rise today in support of Resolution 65A-03-7, "Girl Scouts 'Unions in the Community' Patch."

As a former Brownie and Cadette, I can testify to the lifelong influence and value of the knowledge, life skills and leadership capability gained through Girl Scouting. In their report to this convention, CWA's National Women's Committee highlighted the growing numbers of women in the workforce and the need for CWA to seek out new ways to support organizing these women; and the need to introduce our young women to the concepts of collective bargaining and union solidarity as the means of improving their working conditions, their lives, and their prospects for the future has never been more urgent.

This patch program is an innovative way to give young women a meaningful, positive exposure to unionism, before their views have been jaundiced by the anti-union rhetoric of their prospective employers. It is a truly grassroots method of supporting organizing and collective bargaining and activating union leaders of the future at a very young age.

I urge the delegates of this convention to support Resolution 65A-03-7 and, upon its adoption, to return home and work actively with their Girl Scouts Councils to implement it. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegate wishes to speak on this resolution. Before the convention is Resolution 7. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The resolution is adopted. (Applause)

Would the Escort Committee – Don Trementozzi, President, Local 1400; Kerri Quinlan, Secretary, Local 1400; and Bridgett Meagher, Treasurer, Local 1440 – please bring Governor Dean to the platform.

... The delegates arose and applauded as Governor Howard Dean was escorted up to the platform...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Our next speaker earned a reputation as one of the most accomplished and effective governors in America during the years that he served as the chief executive of the state of Vermont.

Howard Dean left a legacy of achievements in creating jobs, balancing the budget, and expanding the social activism of government. During his tenure as governor, more than 41,000 jobs were created and Vermont's minimum wage was raised twice.

Governor Dean cut the state income tax twice, removed the sales tax on most clothing and reduced Vermont's long-term debt. He is a physician who previously shared a medical practice with his wife. Governor Dean strengthened the state's healthcare program so as to guarantee medical coverage for virtually every child in Vermont age 18 and under. He also expanded

programs to help seniors afford prescription drugs. In addition, Governor Dean signed into law one of the strongest managed-care consumer protections in the United States.

I can tell you that he stays right up on CWA. A couple of months ago, I got on a plane in Washington going to Atlanta and as I was looking for my seat, I heard somebody call me. The Governor was already on board sitting in the last row and he yells, "Congratulations."

I said, "What did I do?" Well, he was one up on me. He had seen in the paper something that I should have known before it got in the paper that the ski patrollers had affiliated with CWA. Now, being from Vermont, I can understand, Vermont being a great skiing state.

A week ago last Sunday, I was driving back from New York and I got a call on my cell phone – which was Cingular, not Verizon. (Applause) And he really led with his chin. He says, "Is this a bad time to get you?"

I said, "Well, I have been in this car for five hours." And I'm bumper to bumper. I probably have another several hours. But we did have a chance to talk, and he actually met my wife over the telephone.

So, it is indeed a pleasure for me to present an activist in the best tradition of the Democratic Party, a proven friend of our union, a candidate for President of the United States of America, our good friend, Governor Howard Dean of Vermont.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

THE HONORABLE HOWARD DEAN (Governor of Vermont): Thank you, Morty. Morty and I have known each other for a long time, since I was Chairman of the National Governors. He was very helpful in getting a lot of Democrats elected. I thought I would be helpful to you. I would like to present the President of this union with my switch card pledge that says you can switch to any carrier you want if you can't get a settlement with Verizon. (Applause)

That's not the good news. The good news is we have 329,000 people who are working for us around the country, and we have a petition up on our website which encourages our 329,000 people around this country to switch too. (Applause) So we are going to have a little fun with this one and hope you get a contract before 329,000 people have to switch their telephone service.

I want to thank Morty. He has been terrific. I want to thank Barbara Easterling, who has been a great friend and a great help to me for a long time, and I want to thank Larry Cohen. I also want to thank somebody many of you know who is not here anymore; but I am sorry she is not, she has been a great friend to me over the years, and that's Loretta Bowen. You may remember her. She has been wonderful and really helpful to me. (Applause)

This election is going to come down to a couple of things, but it is going to come down to one really critical issue that we are going to talk about over and over and over again.

We need jobs in America. Mr. President, we need jobs. We have lost three million jobs – two million manufacturing jobs – since this President has taken office. We need jobs, Mr. President.

It's not just that we have the highest unemployment rate in nine years. What about the under-employment rate? What about people who used to make \$50,000, or \$60,000, or \$70,000? Now they are working for \$25,000 or \$30,000, anything to keep food on the table. Mr. President, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. (Applause and cheers)

News from the Congressional Budget Office today: \$480 billion deficit next year. This President has managed an economic miracle. He has transformed the largest surplus in the history of the United States of America into the largest deficit in only two and a half short years. We had better not give him another year and a half. This is time for the one-way bus ticket to Crawford, Texas. (Applause and cheers)

Now, we are going to have a little fun at the President's expense. We are going to have a

big noon rally right here on the rooftop terrace. We invite you all to come. And I know you are going down to a place we just came from with the Hotel & Restaurant Workers. I hope you will be supporting them at five o'clock this afternoon. I know you will.

We have to have a Democratic candidate that does not believe the way to beat George Bush is to be Bush-Lite. (Laughter) We have to have somebody who is going to stand up for the right of workers to organize, not just in the union halls, but all over this country, to people who are not members of unions, because the middle class in this country is shrinking.

Let's talk about economics. I want to balance the budget. If you balance the budget in this country, you create a climate of investment where people invest in America and create jobs again, and you also create a climate where we can have social justice.

In our state, we balanced the budget. We put aside a lot of money. We paid off a quarter of our debt. And today, when the downturn hits, we are not cutting higher education; we are not cutting K-12 education; we are not cutting health care; we are not cutting help for cities and towns. If you care about social justice in this country, you have to balance the budget, because the very time that people need the most help is the time when revenues are turning down.

And we are not just talking about poor people. We are talking about middle-class people who are seeing the class size in their public schools get bigger and bigger, and middle-class people who can't send their kids to college because the government cuts PEL Grants in order to send \$3 million to Ken Lay and the boys down in Texas. We can do better than that. (Applause)

We need to start by repealing the President's tax cuts, and the reason we need to repeal the President's tax cuts is, let's think about what has happened to your taxes since the President's tax cuts, right? Maybe some of you got a check for \$600. Maybe some of you got a check for \$400. Maybe you got a check for both. How much has the college tuition gone up? How much have your property taxes gone up because the President chose \$3 trillion of tax cuts, including the interest, instead of funding Homeland Security, and keeping fire and police and first response? (Applause)

The President thinks he is going to make a stronger economy by beating up on working people. The truth is that in my state we have a minimum wage that is going to be \$7 an hour by the end of next year. We have little Davis-Bacon in my state. We have prevailing wage. We are not a right-to-work state. (Applause and cheers) Our economy is a lot better than the economies of a lot of places that are.

If you want to improve the economy in this country, how about giving working people enough money so they can spend a little of it downtown in the local stores, so they can afford to stimulate the economy? This tax cut went to the wrong people, not the right people. (Applause)

In my state, everybody under the age of 18 has health insurance, 99 percent are eligible, 96 percent have it. Everybody under 150 percent of poverty, that's all working poor people in my state, have health insurance. If you are a senior, you are under 225 percent of poverty and you get help with your prescription drugs.

If we can do that and balance the budget in a small rural state, which is 26th in income in the United States of America, surely the most powerful and wealthy society on the face of the earth can join the British and the French and the Germans and the Japanese and the Israelis and the Canadians, the Irish, the Italians, the Swedish, the Norwegians – all of them have health insurance for every single citizen.

I am tired of being a second-class citizen in this country. I am tired of being a second-class citizen in the industrialized world. I want health insurance for every single American.

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

And we are going to get health insurance for every single American. We are going to do it the way we did it in Vermont. And we are going to enable people who work in jobs that are not

union to get unionized, because we are going to have card check in this country so Wal-Mart cannot union-bust anymore. (Applause and cheers)

And we are going to ban captive audience meetings. We are going to change the National Labor Relations Board and give them a 90-day time limit to hear appeals so they cannot drag out things forever once you have won your card check. (Applause and cheers)

And we are going to change the North American Free Trade Agreement and the WTO so we have labor and environmental standards with every single trade agreement, both prospectively and retrospectively. And we are going to stop the outflow of manufacturing jobs, and we are going to stop moving information-based jobs offshore by letting people know who is answering their calls. (Applause)

I heard a great rumor. This is only a rumor and I don't know if it is true or not, but I am sure the CWA has the mechanism to find this out. I heard that when you call George Bush's campaign to give him a donation, those donations are taken in India. It wouldn't surprise me. Check it out and let's find out if it is true or not. (Applause)

We need jobs in this country. Again, we need health insurance. We need a foreign policy that can make America proud again. I think most of you know that I am the only leading candidate who did not support the President's war in Iraq. (Applause)

Let me tell you why. I supported the first Gulf War. One of our allies had been invaded. I thought we had a responsibility to come to their defense. I supported the war in Afghanistan. Three thousand of our people were murdered and they meant to do us more harm than that, and I think we have a right to defend ourselves in the United States of America.

But in this case, the President told us that Iraq, Saddam Hussein, was about to make a deal with Osama bin Laden. It turned out that was not true. The President told us that Iraq was buying uranium from Africa. It turned out that was not true. The Vice President told us the Iraqis were about to get the atomic bomb. That turned out not to be true. The Secretary of Defense told us he knew exactly where those weapons of mass destruction were, right near Tikrit and Baghdad, and that turned out not to be true.

As the Commander in Chief of the United States military, I will never hesitate to send our troops anywhere in the world to defend the United States of America. But as the Commander in Chief of the United States military, I will never send our sons and daughters and our brothers and sisters to die in a foreign country without telling them the truth about why they are going.

... The delegates arose and applauded and cheered...

The truth is, we need a different foreign policy. The President says he is so tough on defense. Yes, he is awful tough on defense. He found \$3 trillion to give Ken Lay and the boys so they could write those \$2,000 checks to his account, but he couldn't find enough money to inspect the cargo containers that are coming into this country every single day.

He found \$3 trillion of our money and raised our property taxes to give Ken Lay and the boys to write those \$2,000 checks, but he couldn't find money to buy the enriched germanium stock of the former Soviet Union which we are entitled to buy under cooperative threat reduction. If that stuff gets in terrorists' hands, then we really have a national security problem.

He had \$3 trillion to spend on tax cuts, but he didn't have any money to give Chicago and Illinois and the states and cities around this country enough money for homeland security, for fire and police and for first response.

He talks awful tough. He is about to be the first President to allow North Korea to become a nuclear power, because he doesn't like the president of North Korea, so he won't talk to him. I think it is time to end foreign policy based on petulance and start talking to people so we don't have to go to war to resolve our differences. (Applause)

Mr. President, we need a new foreign policy. We need a new jobs policy. We are not going

to have jobs by investing in Corporate America if they move their jobs offshore. We need to invest in small businesses, because small businesses create more jobs than big companies and they keep their jobs here in their communities.

We need to build our infrastructure. Imagine if you had \$3 trillion back, what just a fraction of that would do if we are building roads and bridges and schools and Internet communications with broadband in every single rural community in the entire United States of America, and renewable energy so we can renew our electric grid and stop depending on foreign oil.

This President talks so tough about defense, but our oil money goes to governments in the Middle East and is recycled to fund terrorist groups and fund the teaching of hatred to small children in the Islamic world, teaching them to hate Americans, Christians and Jews.

We can do better than that for a defense policy. How about standing up to the Saudis? Give us that 28 pages of that report that you said was classified that showed that they were helpful to the people who blew up 3,000 of our people. Let's be tough on defense, Mr. President. Let's have a real defense policy, Mr. President. (Applause)

Because what they say in Texas about this President is true. When it comes to defense, this President is all hat and no cattle. (Cheers and applause)

Now I am going to tell you how we are going to beat George Bush. The first way we are going to beat George Bush is not to try to be like him. You cannot beat George Bush by trying to be Bush-Lite. And I believe too many people in my party for too long have caved in and out of fear for high poll ratings and have been terrified by Rush Limbaugh and all those people beating up on unions.

Yes, sir, we are afraid to stand up to the right wing. Let me tell you something. The way to beat George Bush is to give 50 percent of the people in this country who have given up on voting a reason to vote again. That's how we are going to beat him. (Applause)

We are not going to beat him by being a little like him. We vote for some of the tax cuts, maybe not all of them. We support the war, we support, "No child left behind." Is there anybody here on a school board? Yes. Call it the "No school bill left standing."

Is anybody here a teacher? The teachers call it the "No Behind Left Bill." This is an unfunded mandate which decides they are going to run our schools from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue instead of letting local school boards run them.

And what are we doing? The Democrats voted for half of this stuff. We have got to start behaving like real Democrats again and stand up for what Harry Truman put in the 1948 Democratic Party platform – health insurance for every single person.

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

The way to beat George Bush is to be proud of who we are. (Applause) The way to beat George Bush is not to run away from our base, and let's go after the conservative swing voters and our base will come with us. How about standing by the people that have supported us over all these years – women, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, the Labor Movement, the trade union movement of the United States which built the Democratic Party?

Let's not forget who got us here. You dance with the one that brought you. Then we will go after the conservative swing voters and we will win. We will win, but we need your help. (Applause) And the way we are going to win is not to try to be like the President and hope that nobody notices. Maybe we will get a half a million votes from him. The way we are going to win is to bring three or four million new people into this process, and we have already started doing it, and we need your help.

Over the last quarter, we raised more money than any other Democratic candidate, and that is a great thing, but that is not the important thing. The important thing is that 93,000 people gave us money, and most of those people have never given money to a political campaign before, and

the average gift was under \$80.

The way you beat a guy who can get all those \$2,000 checks is to simply get hundreds and hundreds and thousands of people to give small donations. We are going to get the big money out of politics whether the McCain/Feingold bill gets upheld by the Supreme Court or not, and we are going to do it by reaching out to union members and teachers and average Americans who day-by-day see their living standards slipping, wondering where their health insurance is going, wondering how they are going to pay for their kids' clothes, how they can give their kids a better life than they have.

I want a campaign and administration based on hope, not a campaign based on fear anymore. (Applause)

And so we have 329,000 people with us. We are going to have 450,000 by the end of this quarter. We are going to have a million by the end of the year, and we need your help. We need you to go on the web at www.deanforamerica.com, or call us toll free at 866-DEAN4US. Send us your e-mail. We promise we will not spam you except at the end of the quarter when we are trying to raise tons of money, but we are bringing people to this process who haven't voted.

I was at a fund-raising breakfast in San Diego at 8:00 in the morning, which is sacrilege for Californians, and there were people from the Green Party and people from the Democratic Party, but there were also McCain people there, there were Perot people there, and there were even some Republicans there who are getting terrified of what this President is doing for their jobs and their health insurance.

We are going to build the biggest coalition this country has seen, and I need your help, because you can reach a lot of people that we can't reach. You can get on the street. You have got a lot of people there, and we are going to need your help, and we are not going to come to you and ask for a lot of money at the end of this. We are going to ask for your help now so that we can do this together and build this grassroots movement together and take this country back. This is our country. It doesn't belong to the right wing or Republican Party, and it certainly doesn't belong to John Ashcroft and his people. (Applause)

So we are going to build this country, we are going to build this country into what it was. When I was 21 years old, we had just finished coming into the tail end of the Civil Rights Movement. Martin Luther King was dead. Bobby Kennedy was dead. We had lost a lot.

We had struggled but we had the feeling at the end of the Civil Rights Movement that we were all in this together, that it wasn't just important for us to have health insurance in Vermont or for you to have it in Illinois; that you had a responsibility as an American citizen and a responsibility to make sure we had good health insurance for people in Texas where they just cut 230,000 kids off health insurance, and in California and in Vermont and in New York City, too; that it wasn't enough to have good schools in Illinois and Vermont or your home state or your community; that you had a responsibility as an American, and so did I, to make sure we had good schools in Alabama and Mississippi and in Harlem and in Oakland, California, as well. (Applause)

I want our country back. I want the country we were promised back again, the country that we grew up with. I want the country of hope, not the country of fear; the country where white and black and brown vote together, and we vote our economic interests and we cast aside the divisive issues.

People ask me, "You're so liberal, Howard. How are you going to win in the South?" You know how we are going to win in the South? We go down to South Carolina to get the Republican South voters who have voted Republican for a long time, for 30 years, and I say to them, "What has George Bush done for you? Tell me what you have to show for it?"

There are 103,000 children in the state of South Carolina. Most of those children are white. The legislation has just cut \$70 million out of the public school system because George Bush's economy is ruining every state's budget in the country. Most of these kids in the South Carolina

school district are white.

Has your job gone to Indonesia? Have you had a raise in the last five years? Tell me why you have voted Republican? What have the Republicans ever done for you? Because when white people and black people and Latino people vote together, that's when we make social progress in this country.

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

You see that flag? You see that American flag in the corner up there? That flag doesn't belong to George Bush and the right wing of the Republican Party. It belongs to us, and we are going to take it back. (Prolonged applause)

I'm tired of being divided. The President ran as a uniter, not a divider. That was not true, like many of the other things he said. The President used the word "quota" to describe the University of Michigan's affirmative action program. Well, even the Supreme Court – the most conservative Supreme Court ever – said that the Dred Scott decision didn't agree with him on that one. The University of Michigan does not now nor has ever had a quota system. The word "quota," as every politician in America knows, is a race-loaded word which is designed to frighten people that think they are going to lose their jobs or their place in a university to a member of the community.

This President played the race card, and for that reason alone he deserves a one-way ticket back to Crawford, Texas. (Applause)

I'm tired of being divided by gender where the President thinks he knows more about health care needs than women in this country do. I'm tired of being divided by gender. The President attacks Title IX, which lets my daughter have the same sports programs in high school that my son had.

I am tired of being divided by sexual orientation where the President says what a grand fellow Rick Santorum is, or says Chief Justice Antonin Scalia ought to be the Chief Justice of the American Supreme Court.

We can do better than that, Mr. President. We are all in this together. I want my community back. (Applause)

The biggest lie is told by people like me to people like you at election time: "Because if you vote for me, I'll solve all your problems." The truth is, that the power to take this country back is in your hands, not mine. Abraham Lincoln said, "The government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth."

You have the power to take this Party back and make it something again. You have the power to take this country back and realize Harry Truman's dream, and we have the power to take the White House back in 2004, and that's exactly what we are going to do. Thank you very much.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length as Governor Dean held his hands up in the air, joined by President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, and Executive Vice President Cohen...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you so much, Governor Dean, for those inspiring words. We look forward to working with you in the days and months ahead. Thank you for being with us. (Applause)

Delegates, please be seated. Governor Dean just told us that he will join us at a rally in front of a Verizon Wireless store someplace in Vermont on a day to be announced later – for Verizon Wireless management to keep guessing where and when. (Applause) So, he will be there. (Applause)

Now, let me just say something about Verizon Wireless. This is an ideological battle. Ten

months of pay and expenses for what Verizon is paying these 20,000 scabs for hanging around could fund these 52 people until every one of us leaves this planet. So this is not an economic issue. This is clearly Verizon Wireless wanting to remain nonunion. And the shame is that a guy who was a member of CWA who up until a few years ago used to wear his Local 1101 jacket with pride and would go into the garages to say hello, and rose to become the Chair of Verizon Corporation, tolerates this kind of conduct.

This is the demonstration that took place yesterday here in Chicago when 500 of you demonstrated for a contract now at a nearby Verizon Wireless store.

... Showing of news film clip ... (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Actually, we have only been practicing. I hope you have signed up on this pledge sheet to carry this fight to Verizon when you are home. When you sign up, you commit to an assignment. We will e-mail you a flyer to print and surprise Verizon. We won't give any more details here or it won't be a surprise.

So sign up, pass them down to the end of the tables, and the Sergeants-at-Arms will pick them up. Be there and help the 52 New York Verizon Wireless and the 78,000 sisters and brothers throughout Verizon East. We are counting on you.

Now, the next speaker is not a guest. We are all part of the House of Labor. In fact, we talk a lot about 1989 when he was leading that strike against Pittston and we had the 17-week strike against NYNEX, both largely over the same kind of issues on health care.

Several times a week I was going into the Department of Labor and he was coming out, or he was coming out and I was going in. What is so terribly important is that, even though it was a Republican administration, the Secretary of Labor was someone that each of us, he and I, felt we could go in and discuss a problem and get help, unlike what we see today. There is no one anywhere in this administration you can go to for help, or even get a sympathetic ear. So we need to do it ourselves.

I can't say enough about the cooperation we have gotten from President Sweeney and Secretary-Treasurer Trumka in this Verizon fight. Rich is the Chair of the AFL's Strategic Approaches Committee. That is a committee of members of the Executive Council whose role it is to provide the support of the federation to those unions who need it at any given time. Let me just briefly tell you – and I didn't say it in my address yesterday – the details of the plan.

You remember I said that the purpose of a picket line and strike is to divert, curtail and eliminate as much as you can the revenue flow to that struck employer. We found a way – because for the first time competition is here in the local network, at least in five of the twelve states, with a union carrier who are our members, where we could accomplish the same and even more by having the kind of strategy that, (A), they didn't expect, and (B), to this day, three weeks later, they are not able to deal with.

So what Phase I of the plan is – because you want to control this as much as you can and then have the ability to move traffic away from Verizon at a place that you designate, and then if the plan so calls for it, to bring it back after the dispute is over – Phase I would be to move traffic in this form: All of the state federation offices in the five states, all of the Central Labor Councils, all of the Building Trades Councils, all of the allied affiliates, all the union staff officers, their international officers, all of which have been identified.

And then, in these five states there are 4,200 local unions, each of which has one or more phones, each of which is a customer of Verizon. Also in these five states, belonging to unions of the AFL-CIO are 3.7 million union families.

One of our money managers who follows Verizon and follows the telecom industry said that just the 3.7 million contribute \$800 million annually to Verizon. So when you say that, plus all of these various thousands of offices I mentioned, it is approximately one and a half billion – with a "B" – dollars of revenue that we have the ability to move before we even get into any other

activity.

This was something that the company has not been able to deal with. It has boggled their minds. They are paying \$4 million or \$5 million a day keeping these scabs around because, "Verizon, we could still strike if you let them go."

As you heard me say, it was Rich Trumka and Larry Cohen on that conference call a couple of weeks ago that Verizon accessed illegally and recorded, and who I hope someday – I don't know if they will go to jail but maybe we can get enough money in a fine, because we are suing and we want punitive penalties. Somebody asked me, "Why are you suing for \$254 million in punitive penalties?" Well, it's a nice round number. But that's just what we need to double the money in our Members' Relief Fund. (Applause)

So, it's a distinct personal privilege for me to introduce a very dear friend of mine, a friend of all workers, a friend of this union, one of the greatest trade unionists that this labor movement has ever seen. Please join me in welcoming Rich Trumka.

... The delegates arose and applauded as AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Rich Trumka came to the podium...

RICH TRUMKA (Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO): First of all, Morty, I want to thank you for that tremendous welcome and for being here with you, and inviting me to be here with you. I have to tell you that after listening to a couple of the speakers, the presidential candidate who just came on, and the ones before them, it's a great day to be an American, to hear people who are running for President say that they are going to help us kick Verizon's backside. What a great day. (Applause and cheers)

You know, I thought a little bit about a story I just heard, Morty, and I thought I ought to share it with everybody here. I'm sure the membership of this great union would appreciate it. John Ashcroft was giving a civics lesson to a bunch of grade school children. And after the lesson was over, he said to everybody, "Now, boys and girls, you can ask me any questions that you want to ask me. And a little boy raises his hand and Ashcroft calls on him. He says, "Yes?"

"Sir, my name is Billy, Mr. Ashcroft, and I actually have three questions for you. The first question is: How is George Bush the President when Al Gore got more votes than he did? The second question is: Why do you call this the Patriot Act when it takes away all of our civil rights and human rights and union rights? And where are all the jobs that George Bush promised us?" At that instant, the bell went off and Ashcroft rushed outside.

About 25 or 30 minutes later, they all came back together, and Ashcroft calls the group together again and says, "You know, boys and girls, I am very sorry that we got interrupted by the bell. But I will now take any questions that you may have."

And a little girl stands up and says, "Mr. Ashcroft, my name is Sally, and I have five questions for you. The first three questions are the same as Billy's. How could George Bush be President when he got fewer votes than Al Gore? Second of all, why do you call this the Patriot Act when it takes away all of our rights? And third, where are all the jobs that George Bush promised us? Fourth, why did the bell go off a half hour early? And where is little Billy at?" (Laughter and applause)

You know, Morty, I wanted to comment briefly on Verizon because it is such an important struggle for all the Labor Movement. Given the current economic and bargaining climate, I have to tell you, it took a tremendous amount of courage to stand up to that corporate giant and to do it with the strategy that runs against the grain of many time-honored traditions, chiefly the concept of "no contract, no work."

It certainly was a tradition in the Mine Workers. And when I was leading our union, we had a difficult time convincing our troops to follow the teachings of our great founder, President, and industrial union giant John L. Lewis.

Now, Lewis certainly was not bashful about striking. But his credo was to find out what the boss wanted you to do and then do the opposite. That is what the Verizon strategy has been all about. It was obvious from the beginning that they wanted to force you into a strike, and they used every half-truth in the book to set it up as an unjustified and unpopular strike with your members. But you overcame that. You told the truth. You led with courage. And I know one thing: I know that when it comes to winning, CWA is going to win at Verizon, and with that you are going to give the entire Labor Movement a tremendous boost. (Applause)

This is a smart, self-confident, stand-up union, and all, we the Labor Movement and me, will stand with you at any time, at any place, because you are a winner. You are led by winners. And I have to tell you, Morty, it feels damn good to start winning again. (Applause)

Now, I bring you greetings from my partners at the AFL-CIO, President John Sweeney and Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson, and from our entire Executive Council. Morty is, of course, a vice president of the AFL-CIO and a member of our Council, and I am sure that all of our officers join me in thanking him and his wise counsel for his uncompromising civility and for his brilliant leadership.

Whenever we are confronted with a critical challenge, he is always the first to stand up. We stood together just a month ago outside the Department of Labor protesting the Bush Administration's attack on overtime pay. And thanks to Morty, the George Meany Center and the National Labor College are growing physically as well as programmatically and intellectually, and every working family in our Movement is in your debt.

But personally, Morty, I want to thank you for your friendship. I want to thank you for your strength and your vision. And I want to thank you for always being there. I want to thank you for living every single day the principles of a real trade unionism that we all talk about and espouse. You live them every day and are a shining example to all of us. Morty, I want to say this personally. I love you, brother. I love you for everything you are and everything you stand for. (Applause)

And, I also want to thank Barbara and Executive Vice President Larry Cohen for their support and their leadership, not just for this union but for our entire Labor Movement. Nobody is a bigger champion in strategic approaches and nobody works harder at putting workers' assets to work for working families, and nobody is a bigger backer of the AFL-CIO, and nobody works harder at helping their brothers and their sisters in other unions grow than Barbara. And Barbara, I want to thank you for being not only a great union leader, but for being one of the classiest acts in the Labor Movement. Thank you. (Applause)

And to my cohort over here, nobody, of course, works harder and more brilliantly at the art of organizing than Larry Cohen. He is unique among the major organizers in our Movement. He shares knowledge. He shares credit instead of hogging it. He is a team player. He works for the entire Labor Movement. He is not afraid to try innovative organizing approaches and make them work.

One of our organizing directors was fond of saying, "There is no easy way," and I agree with that. But thank God we have Larry Cohen looking for a better way. Larry, thank you. (Applause)

You see, brothers and sisters, I am so glad that CWA is out front and teaching us how to win again, because we are facing the most challenging year in our history. I believe that our Movement and our country are at an historic crossroads where the directional signals don't read "left or right." They don't read "north or south." They simply read "up or down." And I am convinced that if we do not elect a new President of the United States in 14 months, our Movement will go down and the rest of the country will soon follow.

You see, after only three years under the Bush Administration, we are already on a very low road. Our economy is in a ditch: 6.2 percent unemployment, the worst job market since the Depression; eleven million people out of work or working part-time; three million jobs lost in just three years and 90 percent of them good-paying manufacturing jobs; record deficits for trade

goods, almost \$500 million; record bankruptcies last year; record mortgage foreclosures last year; record job loss; and record budget deficits right now.

Every day we get a new announcement. Eastman Kodak says it will cut 6,000 jobs. Boeing says it will cut 5,000 jobs to get through the worst aviation downturn in history. Pillowtex Cannon files for bankruptcy and 6,500 hard-working union members are dumped like so much roadkill alongside the road.

And our unions are under relentless attack. Big business groups and ideologues inside and outside our federal government have us fixed in their sights and they are firing away at us.

Today, even our most basic protections are being assaulted. On the one hand, we are being attacked by a Labor Department that calls slashing the overtime earnings of eight million workers an overdue "technical correction." And on the other hand, we are confronted by a Homeland Security Act and a Patriot Act that are violating the human rights and the civil rights, the union rights and the privacy rights of workers, while providing very little security.

And on the third hand, in the midst of corporate meltdown, the solution of this administration is to put more regulations and more useless, endless reporting requirements on the Labor Movement. Reporting requirements that will cost us \$1.1 billion. In one case, an international union's report will be 25,000 pages long.

You see, the freedoms that we cherish the most – our rights to dissent, to speak truth to power, to form and join unions, are being tarnished by the values we loathe: selfishness, callousness, greed.

The rules of reason in our democracy have been reversed. We are trapped alone in what should be an international war against terrorism. We are enslaved by an economy that rewards only the rich. And we are governed by a chief executive who regularly stoops to interfering in union negotiations, freezes funds for worker protection programs, eliminates collective bargaining rights for hundreds of thousands of federal employees – a president who is the most anti-worker, anti-union, anti-working family President in modern history.

So what happens, brothers and sisters, if George Bush gets reelected and our unions go down instead of up at this critical intersection in our history? Well, my belief is that our nation follows, just as surely as darkness follows daylight. Our unions are the single most effective way that workers can lift up themselves and our families and our economy. You see, the rising tide that lifts all boats doesn't come from the pull of the sun; it comes from the productivity and economic participation of workers, just like us.

You know that our unions are the most important tools that we have for building and maintaining strong communities. And our communities are where our values are nurtured, where the American Dream either blooms or withers, where hopes are born or where dreams die. Even more significant, our unions are the most important political weapon we have for keeping our country democratic, our government steady and progressive, and our marketplaces open and competitive.

Without union members in strong resistance, the wealthy, the corporations and the conservative ideologues would pull us even further and further, and further to the right and create a perverted system where greed overwhelms need, where dollars replace ballots, where monopoly overwhelms competition, and where censorship replaces debate.

So how do we respond to these threats to our labor movement? What do we do? How do we move our country off the low road that we are being taken down and put it back on the high road that workers and our families deserve to travel?

Well, brothers and sisters, I believe that we have to respond in three ways. We have to ratchet up our efforts to control corporate abuse and power. Corporations simply have too much of a hold on our marketplaces, our workplaces, and our government. We must hugely increase the money and time we are devoting to organizing new members because we cannot continue to

do more and more with less and less. And we must regain control of our federal government by focusing, fighting, and removing George Bush and his allies from office once and for all. (Applause)

Now, thanks to the activists unions like CWA, we have done a good job of keeping the heat on corporations that abuse shareholders and employees; that renege on paying their fair share of taxes by incorporating offshore, and pay their executives outrageous salaries.

You know, Morty, every time I think about the shenanigans that these corporations are doing to avoid paying taxes, I think about my mother. My mother is an 83-year-old widow of a coal miner. And my mother lives on Social Security and one-half of a coal miner's pension check. My mother does not have an IRA, and she does not have a 401(k), and she does not have any investments that give her interest, or clip coupons, or get dividends. She lives on Social Security and one-half of a mineworker's pension check.

But my mother paid more taxes in the last four years to the federal government than 52 percent of the American corporations in this country. I have to tell you something, brothers and sisters: That is a system that has stood on its head. And I promise you, as long as one drop of warm blood flows through this body, I want to fight to change it and make it fair so that everybody has a secure retirement, everybody pays their fair share, and Corporate America stands up to the plate and starts paying their fair share of what they owe. (Applause and cheers)

With your help, this past year alone, workers' pension funds have filed over 380 shareholder proposals at S&P 1000 companies, seeking reforms in executive compensation, ensuring auditor and director independence, and looking for ways to stop those corporations from moving offshore.

And I believe that we are also doing a good job of organizing. You see, for the last three years we have brought more than 500,000 new members into our unions – now that's a huge increase in organizing – and we have done it in spite of weak labor laws and rampant union busting.

I need not tell you that organizing more members is our ticket to greater political and greater bargaining power. You see, in the 2000 elections, we were 26 percent of voters at the polls, so it doesn't take a math genius to figure out that with even 14 million members instead of 13 million, we would have won.

And, I have to tell you, our opportunities for organizing have never been greater because despite the adverse situation that we are temporarily in, the stock of our Labor Movement has never been higher. Unions have the highest approval ratings we have had since 1967.

Two-thirds of all Americans of all persuasions say that they approve of unions, and they approve of what we are trying to do. (Applause) Nearly 50 percent of workers say they would vote "yes" to join a union if an election were held in their workplace tomorrow, and that's the highest in decades.

And Morty, when we elect a friend and put him in the White House we are going to give those 50 percent of the people a chance to vote "yes," and give them the protection of a union contract, the security that comes with being a union, and the dignity that comes with being union. (Applause)

Standing between us and those 40 million workers, of course, are thousands of employers who are willing to do anything to prevent them from organizing. So we are combining our organizing and political efforts and fighting back on every level to protect the freedom of workers to join and form unions.

This summer, we have conducted roundtable discussions between workers who are struggling to organize and every presidential candidate who has, or will, come before you, and demanded the candidates agree to publicly support the right to organize. At our Presidential Candidates Forum earlier this month in Chicago, right here at Navy Pier, all nine Democratic

candidates showed up and all nine of them pledged to champion the freedom of workers to join and form unions. What a great day for America. All nine candidates said, "Unions are good. Join unions." (Applause)

We are also making "Voice@Work" the theme of thousands of Labor Day rallies and "Labor in the Pulpits" sermons this year; and at the urging of CWA, we are launching a member education program about what happens to workers who try to organize, because if we are going to educate the public, we have to start educating our own members. This fall, we are staging a series of actions to build momentum for Labor 2004.

I know that on September 14, CWA is launching its "Labor 2004" drive in St. Louis, and you can count on the AFL-CIO to be there with you. I promise you that.

More important, you can count on us throughout the year and through 2004 to bring a friend to the White House.

Then in late September and early October, we are going to be supporting the Immigration Freedom Rides to ensure that all workers in our country have the right to be united with their families, the right to achieve full citizenship, and the right to join a union.

Then on November 20 and 21, we will be delivering millions of ballots opposing the Free Trade Area of the Americas and protesting at the FTAA Ministerial Meeting in Miami. FTAA is NAFTA times ten. We need all of your help, so please sign one of those ballots.

And finally on December 10th, on International Human Rights Day, we will inaugurate a massive campaign to educate and mobilize community leaders and the public behind our efforts to end suppression of workers' rights here in the United States. At the same time, we are already gearing up for action in sixteen "battleground states" where the presidential election will be decided.

Our country cannot afford a repeat of 2000 in 2004. George Bush is a known quality. He took the trust we placed in him and bashed it with an anti-union, anti-working family sledgehammer. We cannot allow that to continue and so for the next fourteen months we are asking every leader and every member of the AFL-CIO union to get involved and work harder than ever before.

To get together to take back our pride. To get organized to take back our future.

To get angry and rise up and take back the White House so that we can once again live in a nation where every worker has the right to a good-paying, full-benefit job, where every family is protected by affordable, accessible health care, where every man, woman and child can look forward to a secure retirement income, where every worker can exercise their right to join a union, and where every American has the right to debate the issues of the day, to dissent from decisions that are made – without hesitation, without intimidation, without retaliation, not just in times of peace, not just in times of plenty, not just at the right time, not just at the appropriate time, but any time, and every time that we so decide. (Applause and cheers)

It's time, brothers and sisters! It's time to stand together. It's time to fight together. It's time to organize together. It's time to vote together. It's time to win together!

It's time. It's time to take back our country together. God bless, and keep up the fight.

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

PRESIDENT BAHR: I kind of get the impression that he means what he says. (Laughter)

Rich, thanks so much for being with us. We will be with you every day right up to Election Day, and take back the White House, take back our country, and move ahead together. Thanks again, Rich. (Applause)

Would the Retired Members' Clubs' Board come up?

Not only because of the role that our retired members play in virtually every aspect of union business, but also in recognition that if it wasn't for the retired members, the sacrifices that they have made – and this group is representative of all of those who came before us – then certainly we would not be enjoying all the things we do today.

So we have decided, beginning with this year, to not only give the recognition from here but also to have the president of the retirees address this convention.

The Retired Members' Council is a strong organization, but it needs your help to become even stronger than it is today. If your local does not already have a retiree club, we urge you to work with the Council to form one. As former officers and activists, the retired members are well aware – I am giving Eddie Creegan's speech. I thought you gave me this to introduce you. You can go back and sit down, Eddie. (Laughter)

Let me just introduce Eddie Creegan. He is someone I've known for some forty years, I guess, or longer. As an activist in New York Tel, as a member of 1106, as president of Local 1106 in Queens, he has now transformed the energy he had as an active worker to being an active retiree leader.

Just as an example, in support of the Verizon bargaining, just about when bargaining began, Eddie asked me to come up to New York to be at a retirees' meeting. Well, being an old organizer myself, the way you check how many people showed up, you count the number of chairs and then deduct the number of empty seats. Not only were there 600 seats, but there were 600 retirees sitting in those seats and it seemed to be about another hundred all around the room. That is the kind of work that Eddie Creegan does.

So it is indeed a pleasure for the first time, and something we will do at each convention, to hear from the chair of our Retired Members' Council, to introduce Eddie Creegan.

ED CREEGAN (Chair, Retired Members' Council): First of all, I would like to thank President Morty Bahr, Executive Vice President Larry Cohen and our mentor, Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling for extending the opportunity to the Retired Members Council Executive Board to make this presentation to the convention.

To begin, I would like to take this opportunity to have you meet your eight district representatives and your at-large representative and their alternates. We have already had three days of meetings here in Chicago prior to the convention.

I would ask them to please stand as I call them. First of all, I am, as Morty mentioned, National Chair and I represent District 1. My alternate from District 1 is Audrey Buchanan-Swan. Audrey is from New Hampshire. She had to leave and go home. She was called home because there was a death in the family.

I would like now to go to District 2. The board member from District 2 is Mike Vivirito, and his alternate from District 2, Robert Rickman. (Applause)

From District 3, the board member is James Starr and the alternate from District 3 is Fuzzy Finch. (Applause)

By the way, they are both from Georgia. Fuzzy is also available for Christmas parties, if you want him at that time. (Laughter)

From District 4, the board member is Bonnie Murphy and her alternate, a name that I keep messing up – I hope I do it right this time – the alternate is Anne Variano Macko. She is from Ohio and Bonnie is from Wisconsin. (Applause)

From District 6, board member from Texas, Bobby Brown, and his alternate and former member of the CWA National Executive Board, Tommy Parsons. (Applause)

From District 7, from Minnesota, board member Ann Cummings. (Applause) Her alternate from Arizona and Minnesota is Lorraine Miller. (Applause)

From District 9, the board member from California is Addie Brinkley. (Applause) I think Addie is going to run against me. (Laughter) At least I hope she does. (Laughter) Her alternate from District 9 is Chuck Latimer, also from California. (Applause)

From District 13, Pennsylvania, board member Jack Caldwell. (Applause) His alternate, from Pennsylvania, is Ray Myers. (Applause)

From our Merger-Partner Sector, board member Joanne Bruch is from Wisconsin, and board member Bob Jordan from Massachusetts is an alternate. (Applause)

Now, I would like to thank Helen Gibson and her staff from our National Headquarters and Barbara Easterling's assistant, Carmine Turchi. They are constantly working with all of us.

I would like to give a brief report on behalf of your Retired Members' Council. First, I would like you to take the time later to read a letter on your table that I put together about the RMC and the possibility of starting local clubs. On the other side of the letter is a list of all RMC board members from each district for your information.

I have some very good news and some very bad news to share with you. The very good news is that all of you will probably live to be a retiree. The very bad news is that most, if not all, of you will live to be a retiree. (Laughter) If that statement doesn't make any sense, wait until you get to be retired, a senior, or ask anybody who is one, and you will sure find out.

Isn't it amazing that we spend our entire union lives fighting to achieve a just wage and good benefits only to be threatened and abused once we retire? Companies like Lucent, Enron, WorldCom and many other greedy, selfish, manipulating, lying corporate executives have shown the world what we have known for many years. Those in positions of power do everything they can to take extraordinary care of themselves and they do not have the least interest or concern for those who now work or did work for them. And once you retire, you are considered an easy target.

I do not have the necessary time to fill you in on all the details, but it is important for all of you active union leaders to understand that it is very evident that all employers will either now or in the near future be making a major effort to erode retiree medical benefits.

Retirees brought you CWA in the first place and fought all the battles with and before you. We have every right to insist that you protect your retired members to the same degree that you protect your active members at the bargaining table.

I am not just speaking for CWA; I am also speaking on behalf of IUE-CWA, Lucent, and other retirees. They face the same problems that CWA retirees who worked for former Bell operating companies face. If you read about companies such as General Electric, the retirees have many of the same problems as dealing with a company such as Verizon. We also have retirees in many other sectors both public and private with major problems. Inadequate or no pension plans, inadequate or no medical coverage and it goes on and on.

The problems are so varied throughout CWA the question becomes what can we do to help each other, both active members and retirees. Well, there is one thing every employer has in common, they all have a political agenda.

In the public sector the top employers get elected and in the private sector they are politically involved either pushing or opposing legislation. Many employers are also concerned with public relations. These are two of the areas where the CWA retiree movement, combined with the Alliance for Retired Americans, can be a very powerful force.

We have eighteen national retiree leaders along with 129 clubs that are willing to become a force that can help you and the retirees, but we need all of your help to accomplish this end. Instead of 129 clubs, we should have at least 500 clubs. Once retirees have a club, you will find out that they love it. They get to socialize with people they worked with all of their lives and, more important, they stay informed and involved. If you are willing to start a club, your two district

representatives will help you.

Both active and retired members have many difficult battles ahead of us. Totally unaffordable prescription drugs, diminishment of Medicare and medical coverage, privatization of Social Security, and a total anti-union, anti-senior legislative agenda including a national right-to-work law, an anti-union stacked NLRB and so on.

On behalf of all CWA and IBEW Verizon retirees affected by the existing bargaining, I would like to express our deep appreciation to President Bahr, Executive Vice President Larry Cohen and District Vice Presidents Larry Mancino, Vince Maisano and Pete Catucci, and also our bargaining committee chairs and members for totally living up to their commitment to the retirees to protect our medical benefits.

If the bargaining committees and our leaders allow the company's position to stand, tens of thousands of pensions would have been totally wiped out by the enormous increase in medical cost in four to ten years. You came through for us big time and we thank you. (Applause)

As President Bahr reported, Verizon has sued CWA for using the unique expression "Hello, can you hear me now." Well, thanks to our union, Verizon North retiree benefits are totally secure for the next five years. This means we have five years to prepare for the next attack on our retiree benefits. We will prepare, not just for Verizon North retirees but for all Verizon retirees and all CWA retirees in the public and private sector.

Because I cannot use the expression "Verizon, can you hear me now," because I cannot afford to be sued on pension, I will use a different expression and say, "Hey, assholes, can you hear me now?" (Laughter and applause) I don't know if I was allowed to say that, Morty, but too late. (Laughter)

This applies to all employers that try to abuse retirees now and in the future. If they call me an asshole, I will sue them. After all, that's my expression. (Laughter and applause)

In conclusion, I would like to say we will never support a legislator just because he or she is pro-senior and willing to support a retiree agenda. They must also be pro-union and totally support our union's agenda. It is important that everyone understands that all retirees insist on two things and will not accept less. The first is that we be treated with respect. The second is that we receive just treatment.

It is also important that everyone understand that we are not just retirees, we are and always will be union retirees. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Brother Creegan always had the knack for saying things very clearly.

We need you all to take a minute, if you have not already done it, to do a Verizon sign-up sheet and send it down to the front of the table. Please do it.

The Chair recognizes the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. Would the delegates please turn to page 11 of the Resolutions Committee Report and look at Resolution 65A-03-8.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-8 **CWA Health Care Education Program**

CWA has long endorsed five key principles for national health care reform: universal coverage, comprehensive benefits, affordability, fair financing, and quality care delivery. We have worked toward these goals in three key arenas: at the bargaining table, in legislative arenas and in our communities. We are continuing our work with the National Coalition on Health Care, which has grown to include over 100 member organizations including the AFL-CIO and other labor unions, corporations, faith-based groups, and provider organizations. Likewise, through our

work with Jobs with Justice, CWA has continued to bring issues of health care justice to the forefront in fights for workers' rights. At the state level, CWA has been active in support of legislation that will expand access and control costs.

In spite of our best efforts, current trends in health care are moving away from, not toward, our goals. Health insurance coverage is shrinking. The number of uninsured has reached 43 million, and the number is growing. Last year 1.4 million U.S. workers and their family members lost health coverage, in part due to rising unemployment, and in part because the cost of health insurance is rising. According to the Center for Studying Health System Change, the cost of health insurance began rising in the double-digits in 2001, is expected to increase 15 percent this year, and will continue in the double-digits for the near future.

Fueling the cost-surge are a number of factors: advances in medical technology, loosening of restrictive managed care practices, hospital consolidation, shortages of nurses and other health care workers, and continuing increases in prescription drug utilization and prices.

Also contributing to our high-cost health system, the U.S. for-profit health care system consumes billions of dollars that do not purchase direct health care services or treatments. A notable portion of all premium payments for private health insurance is diverted to pay for marketing, advertising and profits. Most U.S. health insurers have seen record profits in recent years because they raised their premiums. United Healthcare, for example, reported record profits in July 2003, which were built on a "medical loss ratio" of 80.7 percent, down from 81.6 percent the year before. This means that out of every premium dollar, the company spent less than 81 cents on health care, shaving a penny off the rate of spending in the prior year. In the topsy-turvy world of for-profit health care, that is good news to investors, but for purchasers, it means we are paying more and getting less.

These trends in health care costs are occurring within a struggling economy. While health costs swell in the double-digits, unemployment is rising, wages are flat, corporate profits have been depressed, and state and local governments contend with fiscal squeezes. Hospitals are also feeling the squeeze from reduced funding due to cuts in Medicare and Medicaid reimbursements and negotiated discounts provided to commercial health insurers.

High unemployment and declining revenues are encouraging responsible union employers to rethink their health insurance packages. Rather than offering leading-edge benefits to attract and retain workers, employers are looking to cut benefits so that they can compete with employers who either do not offer health benefits or who offer inferior benefits. In every set of negotiations CWA has been involved with this year, health care has been a flash point.

On the other side of the equation, health care workers are under assault as well. CWA members who work in the health care industry find their working conditions steadily declining as management shifts available dollars to administration, marketing, and profits, rather than guaranteeing that health care facilities are properly staffed with adequate numbers of trained personnel in order to deliver quality care.

For more than a decade, CWA has espoused a national health insurance system as the most cost-effective means of achieving our five principles. As the current crisis brings urgency to the need for reform, we must be open to new options for achieving our goals. It may be that our principles are met through a multi-faceted approach, by building upon existing programs that work. The most successful health care programs are those that have been built upon concepts of risk-sharing, pooling, community, and solidarity. Programs like Medicare, Medicaid and group health plans have been instrumental in assuring access to needed care for their plan participants. It may be that our principles are met by enacting legislation at the state level that leads to universal coverage. CWA, the AFL-CIO and other labor unions have been actively working with state legislatures for passage of legislation that would provide health care for all or expand health care coverage for some. Some states where activity is taking place include California, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wisconsin.

Given the seriousness of the crisis, and acknowledging the political realities, CWA must

recommit itself to working for national health care reform. We cannot afford, nor should we allow, the forces opposed to our goals to stifle progress.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America believes that access to health care is a basic human right. We call on Congress and state legislatures to revitalize efforts to assure universal health coverage.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will continue to call on Congress to take a first step toward updating Medicare by implementing a prescription drug benefit that covers all Medicare beneficiaries and CWA will oppose efforts to privatize Medicare.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will take an active role in any fight against Medicare and Medicaid cuts that may threaten benefit reductions for seniors or that may jeopardize the ability of health care facilities to deliver quality care.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will make health care a priority in its legislative and political agenda. CWA will judge candidates' position on health care according to the union's five principles.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will develop an education program, drawing on expertise from within our own locals representing health care workers, as well as other union resources, with the goal of raising membership awareness of current trends and developments in health care, and emphasizing the consequences of inaction. The program will focus on the extent of the health care crisis and its impact on access to health care, the quality of care, and the effect on health care workers' wages, benefits and working conditions.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-8 entitled, "CWA Health Care Education Program."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate DeVinney.

DELEGATE PATTY DEVINNEY (Local 1168): I am a nurse and president of Nurses United, CWA Local 1168, representing 4,500 healthcare workers in Buffalo, New York. I stand in support of this resolution. Over the last few years, I have stood before you in support of resolutions on health care reform.

But, I ask all of you: Has bargaining for health care benefits gotten any easier? And for all of your precious premium dollars and cents, has your quality of your health care gotten any better? I know it has not.

It is as clear as can be that we as union members can no longer solve our health care problems at our bargaining tables. It is also obvious the Bush Administration will only make matters worse. It is no longer enough to pass resolutions in support of the concept of health care reform; we need an action plan.

So, my fellow union brothers and sisters, I urge you to take note of the action plan in this resolution. This resolution calls for our union to develop a training program to educate our members on the intentional and irrational fragmentation of our health care system.

As a nurse working in the depths of the ever-expanding hole of profiteering, I can tell you that the health care system is all about money. The notion of efficient, effective and humane health care does not exist.

I support this resolution. We must educate our members to understand where our precious health care dollars are going. We need to educate our members that most recently 9,000 physicians signed on to a proposal for a real national health program in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. This plan is also financially backed up in the most recent issue of

the *New England Journal of Medicine*. This is big. Think about the power. Educated physicians, health care workers and the Labor Movement working together.

Right now, your health care dollars are going everywhere – everywhere except to the provision of health care. It is unacceptable. Let us as an entire union follow the money. Once we understand the flow of money, the concept of health care reform will become real to all of us.

Once we all internalize and embrace true health care reform in our hearts and souls, we will be able to do the one-on-one mobilization that is essential to create a national health system in our country. And what better time to mobilize and educate our members while Bush continues his very dirty deeds?

Once this action plan is implemented, I urge all CWA locals and the national union to add health care workers to the top of their organizing targets. Health care workers need the strong union representation of CWA. As Morty said...

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE DEVINNEY: ...the more diverse we are, the stronger we are.

Health care workers are your best allies in addressing the issues in health care, and they will make the connection between your health care plans and premiums with the actual provision of your health care.

Support this training program. No doubt it will take a lot of work to create the system to provide health care, quality health care to every member of our community. We must move forward. We must reach out. We must train our members. Now is the time. Please support this resolution with me. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE MICHAEL FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): Good morning, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Good morning, Mike.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: I realize that the health care workers have not been in our union nearly as long as some of the people who were on the podium previously; however, I would like to know if we have any retirees in the health care sector.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Yes. You are entitled to a second question, Mike.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: If we do, I would urge them to participate in the Retired Members' Council. Historically, last year, we seated that council by election rather than appointment, and I would urge and would ask, of course – this is a question, Mr. President – I would ask if the Executive Board of this union would go on record as supporting the participation of those retired health care workers along with the retired workers and the rest of the union? Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That's a very good point, and we will follow up on it, Mike.

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Kalmijn.

DELEGATE JELGER KALMIJN (Local 9119): I rise in support of this resolution, "CWA Health Care Education Program." We are calling for universal health care, but we are not only calling for universal health care. Universal health care is a universal right. It is a human right. It is the right to live; it is the right to live a healthy life. It is not the right to live healthy only if you can afford it.

Over the last year, our sisters and brothers in IUE took the challenge in defending health care benefits. They went on a two-day strike to fight for no increase in their health care costs. It was a courageous fight. It was a fight that our members got involved in. It was a victorious fight.

We will do the same with Verizon. We will try to do the same with every one of our

employers.

I work at the University of California. In the next years, these struggles will become more difficult whether you work at General Electric or Verizon, SBC, or the University of California, like where I work.

The health care crisis is getting worse in the coming years. We are looking at double-digit increases in the prices once again next year. Employers will seek to pass the costs on to us. They will seek to cut our coverage when we go into bargaining again in the coming years.

Health care workers who are members of CWA, like the 2,000 health care workers in my local who are pharmacists, social workers, clinical lab scientists, will be doubly affected. We will be affected by de-skilling, where they ask people without licenses to do the work we do. We will be affected by workload increase, where even though we are extremely dedicated doing a professional job, it is completely impossible because we have too many patients to see, too many people to follow up with. We can't do the work that we have committed ourselves to doing, as our providers seek to consolidate and cut to save money.

So, what we are talking about here is not only a question of health care costs, but a question of health care quality, because as we who are health care workers try to do our jobs and can no longer do them the way we want to, it will affect everybody who goes into health care. You will not get the kind of care you want. This crisis goes from the top to the bottom. It goes from the point to where we are fighting as a union not to pay for health care costs that all these deadbeat employers should pay for when we get sick or our family members get sick and we have to a hospital to seek care.

We need to take action for universal health care now. We have no choice. It is not a question anymore of if we are going to go for universal health care; it's a question of whether we are going to have health care at all, or whether most of our people are going to have health care that is worth anything.

So, I want to rise strongly in support of what Sister DeVinney said, we need to no longer just pass resolutions on health care, we need to take action on health care.

I want everybody to read carefully the action items on this resolution and take them home with you, because we need to go out and talk to our members one-on-one about health care. We know that when health care amendments come up in our state legislature, insurance companies are going to be out there trying to twist minds saying it cost too much, it is impossible, we've got state budget crisis, we can't afford this.

We need to tell people we can't afford not to do this. We need to talk to every one of our members. We know they often don't understand the complicated issues around health care. It's not complicated anymore. It's a question of whether we get health care or we don't get health care, and that's what it is all about.

We need to go back to our members and tell them. We need to have brochures; we need to put educational articles in our newsletters. We need to go to our PTA council, we need to go to friends, and we need to talk to everybody about health care because we know this is going to come up in state legislatures.

I come from California. My local has members in New Mexico. Both of those states have health care initiatives that are coming up that are some kind of universal health care or single payer proposals....

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE KALMIJN: We need universal health care. We need to go out there and tell our people about this because when they do come up for a vote, there's going to be a fight and we had better be ready; the insurance industry is making a lot of money off this stuff, and they are going to do all they can to defend it. We need to push our legislators; our legislators can't take a

free ride on this. We should not support a single candidate who is not for universal health care – ever. (Applause)

They need to not just come up and talk about it; they need to do the walk in every way possible for universal health care.

I know different states have different programs. They need to get out there – and whatever is realistic in your state – it needs to happen now. We have no choice. As health care workers – as those who need health care – we have no option.

Finally, I want to say we work with a lot of our employers. Our employers, rather than going and pushing for universal health care, feel they can just come after us and make us pay for the increased costs. This is irresponsible. They come to us whining and saying, “oh, these costs are increasing,” but when we go and say we have a solution, let’s get universal health care so those deadbeat employers who don’t provide any health care benefits have to pay their share, it’s decided by the employers that we don’t get the health benefits because they have to pay their share. They don’t do.... (Applause)

... The microphone was cut off...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Delegate Kalmijn.

... The following remarks were submitted to the Stenographers for inclusion in these Proceedings...

DELEGATE RONALD D. HONSE (Local 4319): Health care in America is in crisis. As the only major industrialized society without national health care, we must rethink our policies and react to the need of the American people. Americans working or unemployed, rich or poor, Afro American, white or Hispanic, all deserve the dignity of being able to provide health care for their families.

We live in a country where universal legal rights and access to attorneys has been an accepted policy for decades. Yet, we allow seniors to be forced to make decisions on whether they will eat this week or buy the prescription drugs that they need to remain healthy.

Our agenda has been simple: establish a single-payer national health care policy for all Americans. Yet, the ability to meet legislation that accomplishes this goal has been stifled. What we must not do is allow meaningless legislation to be touted as a solution when the only thing it is, is a façade.

Make no mistake about it, much of the legislation commonly referred to as health care reform is anything but. It is time we take the battle to the states. One by one we must tear down the barrier to universal health care until national health can become a reality.

Prescription drug prices are one of the fastest rising areas of health care. The average American endures two to three prescription drug commercials while watching a typical evening of television. Why? Only licensed physicians can write prescriptions for the drugs we see advertised. The reason is that the giant drug companies know that if they tell us we need it, we will tell our doctors we need it and the prescription will be written.

It is unconscionable that the current administration pushed a tax cut for the wealthiest Americans, waged a war in Iraq, awarded multimillion-dollar contracts to their cronies to rebuild the war-torn country yet cannot see the light and pass meaningful, comprehensive legislation to make health care a right as it should be instead of a privilege, which it is becoming.

With the economy depressed, with no real recovery in sight, tens of thousands of Americans lose their health care as they move from jobs to the unemployment line. Over 40 million Americans are currently without health care, and another 60 million underinsured, and these numbers are growing every day. This is more than unjust. It is an immoral national embarrassment.

As more and more people join the ranks of the uninsured, additional costs are passed on to those employers that maintain health insurance for their employees. These employers, many organized, will also benefit from a national health insurance policy that assures universal coverage for all Americans. Hopefully, these employers will wake up and join us in the fight to establish an efficient universal health care delivery system before the current system collapses on itself.

The sad part of this is that there are many drugs that are just as good or better than the ones being advertised but their patents have expired and drug companies cannot eke out the same enormous profits from generic drugs as they can those under patent protection. So, we pay for the advertising as well as the drugs.

The health care crisis is also embodied in the strategy of trained medical nurses, technicians, and other health care workers. Understaffing at many medical facilities has placed enormous pressure on the health care workers in these facilities and compromises patient care and safety. The issue must remain the highest priority. We must ensure that young mothers have adequate prenatal care; that children are properly immunized; and seniors have access to health care with adequate prescription drug coverage.

Unemployed workers are fortunate to have the benefits we do, but they are fragile. In every negotiation session, management of companies, large and small, private and public sector alike are attacking our health care benefits from passing on costs to trying to eliminate coverage for retirees. It is time to awaken the sleeping giant before it is too late. It is time to make politicians accountable for their vote. Person by person, state by state, we must mobilize with our partner in faith-based organizations and community coalitions to afford real change in our health care delivery system, change that will mean that every American has access to the health care they deserve.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before the Convention is Resolution 8. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The chair recognizes Vicki Pallan.

DELEGATE VICKI PALLAN (Local 9575): Would the delegates please turn to page 13 of the Resolutions Committee's report.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-9

Training For Public Safety Preparedness

There is a national concern over the state of preparedness of front line public safety officers to fight a war on terrorism. Local public safety officers are expected to respond to acts of terrorism, in many cases with inadequate training or equipment.

Local public safety is the front line defense for our citizens in the war against terrorists. Despite this reality, many public safety officers lack the training and equipment to adequately fight terrorism.

Also of concern are workers in "at-risk" industries and first responders. The events of September 11, 2001, have shown the wide range of workers that can be in danger from terrorist attacks, not only public safety officers, but also workers in "at-risk" industries and first responders.

Department of Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge has called for the creation of public/private partnerships to provide better homeland security, but that is not happening. The Communications Workers of America can help fill this gap by defining the kinds of partnerships that are appropriate and effective. Because of our diverse membership, CWA is uniquely positioned to support the development of security training that respects the rights of the individual workers while strengthening their awareness of the increased threat of terrorism in our country.

CWA's tradition of pro-active involvement can help to prepare our communities, first responders and workers in "at-risk" industries for this current threat.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America joins the National Coalition of Public Safety Officers supporting the creation of public/private partnerships to provide anti-terrorism training, information about homeland security and faster emergency alerts to its members and to the people of the United States.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-9 entitled, "Training for Public Safety Preparedness."

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded from the floor.

On microphone No. 3, Delegate Moran.

DELEGATE KELLEY MORAN (Local 9111): Thank you. President Bahr, Secretary-Treasurer Easterling, Executive Vice President Cohen, the California Organization of Police and Sheriffs, COPS, offers this resolution for homeland security, the CWA's homeland security plan.

The Bush Administration talks a big game about homeland security, but for those on the frontlines of public safety, our CWA members, little progress has been made.

While this administration is spending huge sums in gathering intelligence and stripping our civil liberties, virtually nothing has trickled down to provide essential homeland security training and information to CWA members within the public safety sector, nurses, health care workers, airline workers, and communication workers.

Our members deserve the right to be educated and trained for our protection on the job. Local 9111 and NCPSO have been leaders in providing homeland security, anti-terrorism training and information to union members and the public. We need partnerships with government and private industry to help provide the training and information to protect our CWA members who then can help safeguard the American people. The CWA will do our part in leading the effort. We ask that government and private industry do their part.

Please join District 9, NCPSO, and Local 9111, in sending a message to Washington, D.C. Let's put the home back into Homeland Security. Thank you. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE BOB SMITH (Local 9400): Sisters and brothers, I also ask adoption of Resolution 65A-03-9, "Training for Public Safety Preparedness."

As union representatives, we have worked to protect our members on the job. This resolution expands that duty. We need to protect our members, their families and our communities and we also need to protect our freedoms and our civil rights.

Yes, we need to be safe. Yes, we need to protect against terrorism. Remember Russia had the Motherland and Germany had the Fatherland. Unless we get involved with training and implementation, this homeland could lead to the same results – virtual imprisonment of our citizens.

Let's get involved. Let's protect ourselves. After all, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Yesterday at our district meeting, I announced my retirement as Secretary-Treasurer after 25 years, an elected officer for 37 years. This will be my last of 37 conventions. With the adoption of this resolution, I know that 37 times I have been a part of something very important to our membership. Thank you for listening. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MICHAEL J. FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): I was just thrilled about talking to the parliamentarian that I picked up the phone by accident. I would like to congratulate the brother on all the years he did and hope one day he gets to be a retiree and gets the respect that retirees deserve.

I move to close debate.

PRESIDENT BAHR: A motion has been made to close debate. It's not debatable. All in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign.

... The following remarks were submitted to the Stenographers for inclusion in these Proceedings...

DELEGATE BILL HENNING (Local 1180): I rise in support of this resolution. As the delegates may recall, Local 1180's offices are nine blocks north of where the World Trade Center once stood in New York City. Our offices became the Red Cross relief center to Ground Zero following the criminal terrorist attacks.

Firefighter Peter Vega from Brooklyn Ladder Company gave his life in the rescue attempt. He was a student of labor studies who I taught at City College's Center for Worker Education. Nearly all of us know someone who was directly touched by this despicable act of terrorists.

However, we reject the Ashcroft strategy embodied in the Patriot Act and the attempt to further encroach on our constitutional rights. Take another look at the report of our National Committee on Equity. I want to make a few points about the dangers of the renewal of the Patriot Act and its bastard child, Patriot Act II.

The Patriot Act II has serious implications for labor. In one section it creates a new crime of "providing material support or resources" for carrying out an act of "terrorism." However, because the definition of "providing material support or resources" is so vague, it could be used to prosecute many actions legally available to labor unions as part of their efforts to protect their collective bargaining rights. After greatly expanding this definition, the Act provides enhanced penalties for "providing material support or resources." The effect is that employers would have enhanced tools to threaten, intimidate, and prevent labor unions from asserting their rights and protecting their members.

During the ILWU collective bargaining in 2002, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld all but made this very accusation of "terrorism" by stating that an ILWU strike would not be in the interest of "national security." Further, under this definition, labor organizers could be convicted of domestic terrorism even if they don't have the intent of being intimidating or coercive. The definition states they can be convicted even if it only "appears" that they fit into this loose description. Appears to whom?

The recent anti-war demonstrations at Port Oakland were met with excessive force by the police. Protesters and ILWU Local 10 members standing nearby were shot in the face, neck and body with wooden dowel bullets and concussion grenades. If someone had died in this melee, the anti-war organizations could have been labeled as "terrorists" for causing the death. If law enforcement agencies suspected that the union cooperated or was involved in any capacity with these organizations, they too could be labeled "terrorists," subjecting the leadership and members to surveillance, arrest, and seizure of union assets.

In virtually every nation of the world, resistance to the effects of the globalization of capital has evolved into broad social movements that are linked together. Opposition to the privatization of public property and services is a central part of this resistance.

The recent U.S. war on Iraq saw the rapid growth of global anti-war, anti-U.S. empire movements with real solidarity between Americans and people in other nations – both within labor, and between labor and other groups.

We believe the Patriot Act and the proposed Patriot Act II are designed to suppress this

collective resistance. Labor needs to act now to defeat Patriot II and repeal Patriot I in its own interest and the interest of the American people.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before us is Resolution 9. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. The resolution is adopted. (Applause)

It now gives me a great deal of pride to recognize a member who didn't just get angry about a grave injustice, but she spent many years fighting to correct it.

Allene Carter is a steward in Local 9400, a unit of police dispatchers in Los Angeles County. She also is a crusader who says her union training gave her the skills and drive to restore the good name of her late father-in-law, United States Army Sergeant Eddie Carter.

Sergeant Carter was a bona fide World War II hero serving in the segregated black infantry unit. He single-handedly overwhelmed eight Nazi soldiers in 1945 while saving the lives of many of his own men.

Sergeant Carter was eager to continue his military career. When he tried to reenlist in 1949, the Army rejected him on the basis of secret charges of disloyalty that had no basis in fact.

He was crushed, and it took the government 50 years to finally apologize to his family and to honor him posthumously with the Congressional Medal of Honor. I believe it was President Clinton who did that.

Allene Carter didn't leave it at that. She wanted to know why her father-in-law had to suffer so greatly at the hands of the government. She spent years researching his story and now she tells it in a beautifully written book, "Honoring Sergeant Carter: Redeeming a Black World War II Hero's Legacy."

Please join me in recognizing Allene Carter. Allene, we are proud of you – and she is seated, I think, in the guest section.

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

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Easterling for announcements.

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: We'll do lost and found first. In the District 3 meeting room, these are not, I don't think, very good sunglasses. They don't look bad. They were found in the District 3 room.

We have two cell phones. One that was found out near where the buses are and the other was in the hall, so anyone who lost a cell phone can come up and check on those too.

Don't forget the letter you have in front of you to President Bush that the IUE-CWA is asking you to sign in order to save the defense manufacturing jobs is to be signed and forwarded to the end of the table. We'll pick those up on the break.

The Customer Service Professional Marketing and Operators Conference is going to be held in Fort Worth, Texas, on September 24 through 27, so please try to make every effort to attend.

Anna Rivera, CWA Local 1177, you won the raffle at the Sage Group. You will need to return to that booth in order to pick it up.

During this lunch hour, there will be a District 2 presidents' meeting for all locals having members working at Verizon. The meeting rooms are 314 and 315. This is a reminder that this is the last day you can make a contribution to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. You should go to the Principle Financial Booth and make your contribution and that will give you an opportunity to have one more ticket in the barrel. We are going to be doing that drawing this afternoon.

PRESIDENT BAHR: I know every time Barbara gets up here there are people who want to say "Gee, when I grow up, I want to be just like her." She gets that from Beijing, anywhere in South Africa. We want to show you something else about Barbara that you're not aware of.

Would you let it roll, please.

... A film was shown about Barbara Easterling's involvement with the Pediatric AIDS Foundation ... (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: We stand in recess until 1:30 p.m.

... The Convention recessed at 12:00 noon...

TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention reconvened at 1:30 p.m., President Morton Bahr presiding.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Will the delegates please take their seats. The Convention will come to order. Those coming in please take your seats quietly.

Will the Escort Committee bring Senator Lieberman to the podium. The Escort Committee includes Mark Krumm, Local 1103; Fred Parlato, Local 1290; Paul Hongo, Jr., Local 1298; and James Joyce, NABET-CWA Local 51016.

... The delegates arose and applauded as the Hon. Joseph Lieberman was escorted up to the podium...

PRESIDENT BAHR: I should be standing here this afternoon about to introduce the Vice President of the United States (applause) because we all know that the man I am introducing was elected Vice President of the United States. (Applause and cheers) Fortunately, for working families, Senator Lieberman was reelected to the United States Senate, and there were no hanging chads or butterfly ballots in Connecticut to keep him from his rightful seat.

Senator Lieberman is a long-time friend of CWA and a long-time personal friend of mine. At my request, Vice President Gore agreed that Joe's first stand-alone speech after being nominated for Vice President in 2000 would be at the CWA Convention. Those of you who were there know that he came and electrified the Convention with his upbeat and animated talk. He told me many times about what a great boost he got from speaking with you, and the energy that came in return.

Senator Lieberman is in his third term in the U.S. Senate. He became a household name in the 2002 Presidential campaign, but he has long been known in his home state and in Washington as a thoughtful, principled leader who reaches across party lines to try to find common ground. He speaks his conscience, which is all too rare in politics today.

In the wake of September 11, Senator Lieberman has been one of Congress' strongest voices on security issues. I might add also that during that long battle on the Homeland Security bill, one of the examples he used with President Bush was that the workers who reinstalled, or reinstated communications in a matter of five days at the New York Stock Exchange and had the New York stock market up and running without a glitch were members of the Communications Workers of America, and working under their union contract somehow did not make you less patriotic. (Applause)

But he understands that true security is not only a matter of national defense. It means creating opportunities for all Americans to thrive and prosper. He has consistently voted with our union and the Labor Movement, on economic and workers' rights issues. He supports economic policies that spark business growth, encourage innovation, expand markets for American products, and keeps the government's books in balance.

Joe also is a champion for the ordinary investing consumer, fighting to ensure that public and private watchdogs meet the highest standards of independence and integrity. He has long worked to expand quality and affordable health care to all Americans and safeguard Medicare and Social Security for future generations.

He is not Vice President, as he rightly should be, but he hopes to be President. I might add that he was a very early signer onto the Senator Kennedy letter calling on Verizon to do justice, and give justice and a good contract to its employees. (Applause)

So I am proud to introduce Senator Joe Lieberman to the 2003 CWA National Convention.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH LIEBERMAN (U.S. SENATE, D-CT): Thank you. Thanks, Morty Bahr. Thank you, Barbara. Thanks, Morty, for your gracious introduction, for your leadership, for your friendship. Dear friends, there is not a more effective, honorable or respected labor leader in America today than your own Morty Bahr. I'm proud to have you as my friend. (Applause)

I remember that convention in 2000, the CWA Convention, an electrifying moment for me. I will never forget it. I would be remiss if I did not thank you not only for the reception you gave me that day in California, but for the tremendous support CWA members across America gave Al Gore and me in 2000.

You know, without that kind of support, Al and I might actually have lost that election. We are not going to lose this one, are we? You bet we are not. (Applause)

I was privileged, thanks to the guts of Al Gore, to break a barrier in American politics. I remember saying then what I'm proud to say again, that your own great Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling also broke a barrier and serves with enormous distinction as a great labor leader, a woman labor leader in the United States of America. (Applause)

Let me give a special greeting to CWA's Connecticut Local 1298, SBC, Cingular Wireless, Woodbury Telephone, and CSC, and President Paul Hongo who is here and walked me out. It is great to see each and every one of you. And, I'm proud to fight with you and I want to tell you I'm ready to stand by you on contract negotiations with SBC coming up next April. You can count on me. (Applause)

I know there are some CWA members who work for the government, but I also know most of you work in the private sector. I want to say to you, however, that I consider you all to be public servants. The public depends on the work that you do in so many ways.

That is why today I want to give a special thanks to those of you who helped the Northeast get back to work recently after the big blackout; just as you courageously helped us recover from the brutal attacks of September 11, in which I know you lost some members of the CWA family.

That is why I particularly want to take the opportunity to tell you now that today Senator Hillary Clinton, a couple of hours ago at a press conference in New York, and I, here today, are speaking out about an infuriating act of irresponsibility by the Bush Administration against the workers who helped New York City recover from the September 11 attacks and against all New Yorkers who live in the vicinity of Ground Zero.

Here is what we are angry about. Last week an Inspector General's Report was issued which concluded that the Bush White House had ordered the experts at the Environmental Protection Agency to keep quiet about the concerns the agency had about the continuing dangers to public health from air pollution caused by the attacks of September 11. Can you believe that?

According to the Inspector General's Report, the White House ordered EPA to announce publicly, to tell New Yorkers that the air was safe to breathe, even though the experts at the EPA had said that there was not adequate evidence to assure that the air was safe to breathe. The White House actually instructed the EPA to add reassuring statements and to delete warning statements from their original report.

So what does that all mean? It means that when people were deciding whether to move back into their residences around Ground Zero or go back into their offices and workplaces, or send their kids to school around Ground Zero, the White House concealed the full truth. Now that

is – and people talk about scandals in Washington and elsewhere – in my opinion, scandalous behavior by the George W. Bush administration. (Applause)

So today Senator Clinton and I have sent a letter to President Bush essentially saying, "Shame on you, Mr. President, and shame on your Administration."

Why in God's good name did the White House do that? The Inspector General – not any Democrat – the Inspector General actually suggests a couple of reasons: national security concerns, though it's not explained why. And then what else? The desire to reopen Wall Street. That put people in danger, including those who work on Wall Street.

Unfortunately, the American people have come to expect this kind of secrecy and deception and refusal of this administration to use the power of government to protect the public health and safety. The people of New York deserve better after September 11. The workers who sacrificed to repair and rebuild the city deserve better after September 11. (Applause)

If Senator Hillary Clinton and I have our way, they will get better protection from their government in the days and months ahead.

Dear friends, I'm running for President to bring fairness and integrity back to the White House. I'm running for President to restore prosperity and security to our country. I am an independent-minded Democrat. That means that I'm committed to doing whatever it takes to secure a better future for the people of this great country.

I have no doubt that we can do better than we are today. No doubt that we can restore the confidence and hope in the future that millions of Americans have lost in the last three years. If we rise to the challenges, serious challenges of these times, with new ideas and new leadership, we can once again make America both strong at home and strong and respected and liked, not just feared, around the world. (Applause)

Now, Bill Clinton and Al Gore understood that. That is exactly what they did for eight great years. They understood you can't rely on the old answers from our party or our country's past. We need a progressive and forward-looking agenda that will bring a brighter future to our people to create new jobs again.

We badly need a new and more innovative and less ideological approach from the government in Washington. We need a President who understands how to rev up the great engine of American innovation.

That is what I want to talk to you briefly about, how we can make America one nation of innovation again and thereby create high-wage jobs for all our people, and why we must do that hand-in-hand with organized labor.

Let me say the first step that we have got to take to get back on the path of prosperity and progress is to get a sharp stone out of our shoe. That stone is the painful economic policy of none other than George W. Bush. His policies aren't fair. They are not effective. They don't create opportunities or economic security for America's middle class or those working hard to get up into it.

You know it and I know it: The middle class is reeling today, with 3.2 million jobs lost, 2.5 million in manufacturing alone, the largest loss of manufacturing jobs in a three-year period since the end of the Second World War. More than 1.3 million people in this great land of opportunity in the last three years have fallen out of the middle class into poverty.

Wages are creeping up on the average, but healthcare costs are surging way beyond the increase in wages. College costs are rising dramatically, but college scholarships and aid from the federal government under Bush are falling.

Our national debt is growing and retirement security is collapsing. Incidentally, just today the Congressional Budget Office is getting ready to put new projections out about the federal deficit. This year \$401 billion. Next year, \$480 billion.

You know who is going to pay that deficit back, a lot of which has built up because of tax cuts given to people who make over \$250,000 a year? It's you and me and our children and, unfortunately, maybe our grandchildren.

You know, sometimes I get the feeling that it's as if the middle class in America keeps asking the White House, "Can you hear me now? Can you hear me now?" I'm going to come back to that in a minute. I have a question for the Verizon leadership. I'm going to come back to that in a minute.

You know what the answer from the White House is? More tax cuts to drive up our debt and kill jobs for our people – old economic ideas unsuited for a new economy.

Oh, I've got it; you mean I might get sued like Larry did. Well, it would be a pleasure to be in the same prison cell with Larry. (Laughter and Applause)

The Bush economic policy is a little like trying to fit an old cable into a new port. You can push and you can push, but, Mr. President, it just doesn't go. That's why in November of 2004 you are going to go. (Applause)

On the first day that I'm privileged to enter the Oval Office in January of 2005 as President, I'm going to have in my hand an aggressive agenda, a principal plan to rejuvenate our economy. It's no mystery where it's going to come from.

I'm going to build on what Bill Clinton and Al Gore did, not ignore the lessons we learned from them. We are going to ease the tax burden on the middle class. We are going to use smart tax incentives to encourage new spending by companies on information technology, on telecommunications to create jobs. We are going to make new public investments in infrastructure; old but still necessary, like roads and bridges; and new like broadband access to high-speed Internet.

We are going to invest in education and healthcare, and job training and research and development, which really do more than the Bush tax cuts, to create a growing economy and a hope for the future.

And, on the other side, George W. Bush is still living in the economic dark ages. You know, in the past couple of weeks, at least around where we live, everybody has been asking, "Where were you when the lights went out?" In this White House, the lights never went on. They have been in the dark from the beginning. (Applause)

And, may I say that is especially true of this President's view of the place of unions in America. They treat unions like the enemy. Their NLRB enforces that outdated, antiquated law like it was enforcing a criminal law to stop people from exercising those rights that they have.

In my opinion, unions are the great ally of government in doing what the Declaration of Independence said we are supposed to do, to help people secure the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

America has given much to the world, many great inventions, but probably second only to Democracy itself – the greatest invention and contribution was the American middle class. We are never going to have a strong America unless we have a strong middle class, and we never would have nor will we continue to have a strong middle class without a strong organized Labor Movement. That is what unions are all about. (Applause)

So I am here to tell you that innovation and unionization go together. They must go together. Innovation is all about creating opportunity and helping people up into the middle class and to stay there. Unions have exactly the same goals. The fact is we can't afford not to have organized labor help us march to the next economic frontier.

We must, in our country, reward work. We must not reward second-class corporate citizenship. So, for instance, it is unacceptable when in the face of WorldCom's corporate crimes, the largest corporate fraud in American history, larger than Enron, the Bush Administration kept

giving WorldCom government work. The GSA was right to stop WorldCom from getting new government contracts. They should have done it sooner.

But let me tell you something, when I am President of the United States, the federal government will not cut deals with companies that cut legal or ethical corners. You have my word on that. (Applause) My administration will demand the highest ethical standards, the highest values from any business that wants contracts from our government, and that will include treating their workers fairly.

You and I both know there is a lot at stake in these fights today. Corporations are picking up their operations, they are moving overseas. They are leaving American workers in the dust. We are bleeding manufacturing jobs today. You know that, but here is a chilling prediction I saw the other day, that in the next fifteen years American employers are expected to move more than 3 million white-collar service jobs out of this country.

While all this is happening, what is President Bush doing? He basically seems to be sitting at his desk smiling and saying, "What, me worry?" You know, the middle class is worried. They are worried about their future and their children's future. When I am in the Oval Office and America is bleeding jobs, I am going to say loud and clear, "That is unacceptable." I am going to do something about it. (Applause)

As President, when China or anyone else violates our patents or copyrights, I am going to haul them into international courts of trade and force them to pay for that. When they manipulate their currency to have an unfair price advantage over American-made goods, I am going to demand the leadership of those foreign countries play fair. And if they don't, I will find a way to take action against them. (Applause)

I am going to do everything in my power to keep American jobs here in America and to make sure America's workers are treated fairly. To bring this closer to home, that means saying loud and clear today that a company like Verizon, which made \$4 billion in profits last year, can afford decent wages and benefits for its workers. (Applause) That includes the 52 unionized workers at Verizon Wireless. Don't let them pressure you to yield on the principle. (Applause) Don't let them use this as an example to frustrate the onward movement of American labor to fight to protect the middle class.

I commend you and your leadership for working around the clock to reach a settlement with Verizon's management. I know negotiations like this are not easy. I want to say loud and clear from this podium to the folks at the leadership of Verizon, "Can you hear me now? Pick up the phone and call Morty. Call Barbara. Come to a settlement for all of Verizon's workers, wireless and otherwise, and then go on as a company united to grow to the benefit of yourselves and your workers." (Applause)

This battle you are in over the 52 or 51 – I see two numbers, Morty – they hired somebody, OK! – those 52 are part of a larger battle. That's why I have such admiration for your steadfastness here. The fact is there is a coordinated effort to reduce the number of unionized workers in the United States of America. And, as I said a moment or two ago, that would be bad for America.

We in Washington owe you more than moral support. And here is what I intend to give you: When I am President of the United States, I am going to lead an effort to reform our labor laws. We are going to bring down the obstacles to organizing that Republicans have been putting up for years, and that should include the right to card check procedures (applause) for people who want to join union. (Applause)

And I want to just make it clear – we are friends here and I have a lot of friends in the Labor Movement –that I take that strong position not so much for the Labor Movement as a movement, but for the people who will benefit from union membership in the tough economic years ahead when our economy is going to be facing challenges like we have not faced in a long time, who desperately need membership in unions to protect their own piece of the American dream.

Dear friends, two days from now, as you probably have seen in the media, we will commemorate the 40th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's march on Washington. A remarkable man. I was privileged to be in the crowd that day, marching behind not just Dr. King, but great labor leaders like A. Phillip Randolph, whose idea it really was to hold that march.

The march is generally remembered as it correctly should be, as a march that led to great advances in the Civil Rights Movement. But, it wasn't only about civil rights. That march, August 28, 1963, was called the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and that march goes on today in the work that you do for your members, in the work that we can do through government to create again the kind of opportune economy that will not only build hopes, but realize them for the American people.

Dr. King said once that the moral arc of the universe may be long, but it bends towards justice. You are soldiers in a march for justice. Keep on marching. Stay strong. Don't lose your faith. Know that what you are doing is not only right for your members, it is right for their employers, and it is right for the United States of America. And you deserve to have a president who will not block your way, but march along side you so that each and every American will have a true opportunity to realize and live out the American dream.

Thank you very much. God bless you. I look forward to working with you.

... The delegates arose and applauded and cheered...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you so much, Senator Lieberman. You honor us with your presence, and we look forward to working with you in the months ahead. (Prolonged applause)

We now are moving to our COPE Awards Program. As we have discussed many times already in the last day and a half, political action is clearly one of the three important legs of the CWA Triangle. The political action leg of the Triangle must always be as strong as collective bargaining and organizing.

We launched COPE Month in 2001 to jumpstart our fundraising efforts. It was a successful effort, notwithstanding the events of 9/11. As successful as it was, we must do more because the needs are greater. Our objective is to instill a year-round culture of COPE fundraising in every local union, not just one month a year. Because COPE Month achieved what we intended, we no longer see a need to continue it, but we strongly urge every local to have an ongoing, continual special fundraising campaign.

Our first of the September 2002 COPE Month Awards goes to the two locals that raised the most dollars on an annualized basis. This is a one-time special recognition award. First place goes to Local 1101 that raised \$34,008. (Applause) And, second place to Local 9400 with \$15,730. (Applause) Will the presidents or other representatives of these two locals please come to the stage?

I would ask both locals to stay where they are on the platform because these two locals also signed up the most members; in first place was Local 1101 with 654 new members; and second place, Local 9400 with 288 new members. (Applause)

So, Mike Hartigan – I don't know if there is anyone here from Local 1101 or whether they are in the back. These are significant accomplishments.

Now I want to recognize the two districts that raised the most money on an annualized basis. In first place, District 6 with \$69,036.50. (Applause and cheers) And in second place, District 7 with \$45,886. Would Andy and John please come forward, and would you both remain on the platform.

The two districts that had the most members contributing, first place was District 1 with 788 members; and second place, District 6 with 582 members. (Applause)

Now, I am extremely proud to report that in 2002 we raised a new record amount of COPE

money. We collectively, all of us, raised \$2,575,865. (Applause and cheers) This is \$778,188 more than the previous year.

I want to remind you that the best way to raise COPE dollars is to use the tools and the training that are available through our organizing and mobilization programs. The national office will provide materials necessary to enable you to talk to your co-workers about COPE and about incentive gifts to encourage them to participate in the union's political action program. Your continued participation and the work you do in signing up new members will ensure that our goals are achieved.

An essential part of our fundraising program, here again, is the fine work being done by our CWA Retired Members' Clubs. They are ready, willing and able to assist your local in any state or local election campaign. Use them. They are our greatest resource.

During last year, 35 retiree clubs met their COPE quota of one dollar per member per year. At this time, I request that a list of these clubs be placed in the Convention record.

RETIRED MEMBERS' CLUBS

	<u>LOCAL</u>	<u>PRESIDENT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
	1104	Elliot Galant	E. Meadow, NY
	1123	Arthur Hess	Syracuse, NY
NY	1126	Thomas Appler	New York Mills,
	1301	Charles Daly	Walpole, MA
	1365	Betty Levasseur	Sundown, NH
MD	2101	Michael Vivirito	Middle River,
MD	2105	Vernon Trumpower	Williamsport,
Springs, FL	3106	Barbara Brian	Green Cove
	3310	Levenia Sorrels	Louisville, KY
	3372	Sherry Wilson	Lexington, KY
	3603	Betty Gardner	Mt. Holly, NC
	3611	Tommy J. Goodwin	Raleigh, NC
	3802	Elaine W. Huff	Harrison, TN
AL	3902	Jean Bennett	Birmingham,
	4320	Marvel Wright	Columbus, OH
	4340	Anne Variano Macko	S. Euclid, OH
	4640	Joan Jensen	Sarona, WI
	4900	Art Koebel	Indianapolis, IN
	6118	Herman Tidwell	Diana, TX

	6132	T.O. Parsons	Austin, TX
	6201	Bobby Brown	Jaslet, TX
	6290	Larry Lazinovsky	Ennis, TX
	6314	Virgil Koechner	Tipton, MO
	7011	Lorraine Miller	Belen, NM
	7505	Pat Fyler	Rapid City, SD
CA	9410	Becky Richardson	San Francisco,
	9423	Lorraine Wetle	Sunnyvale, CA
CA	9510	Ron Renish	Costa Mesa,
	9586	Frank Berumen	Norwalk, CA
	13000	Jack Caldwell	Pittsburgh, PA
	13031	Anthony Conte	Altoona, PA
	13501	Carol Coultas	Pittsburgh, PA
NY	14170	Mel Manheimer	Queens Village,
	14406	Hubert Smith	Springfield, IL
FL	14503	Sam Attard	Satellite Beach,

PRESIDENT BAHR: I want to thank all the locals and staff who participated in our COPE fundraising efforts in 2002. Without your support and hard work, we would not have had as successful a year.

The President's Club is the highest level of giving at \$520 a year. That's \$10 a week. We have 413 members in the club. You can identify them by the distinctive watch they wear, and they always have their left arms up above their heads. (Laughter)

Within the prestigious CWA-COPE Quorum program, among the various Quorum programs, we have 31,395 COPE Club members, 4,091 Gold Quorum members, 1,505 Platinum Quorum members, and 756 Triple Quorum members. Those of you who are not members, I hope you would consider joining one of these quorums. The list of locals that achieved 100 percent of their COPE quota in 2002 was distributed this morning and will be incorporated into the Convention proceedings. Let's give yourselves a good hand for the wonderful job that was done. (Applause)

**CWA'S 65TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
2002 CWA-COPE PROGRAM
100% LOCALS**

LOCAL PRESIDENT

- 1002 Dorothy V. Roskelly
- 1006 Carolyn L. Freeland
- 1009 Daphne Clark

1010 Michael Massoni
1013 Steven C. Womack
1020 Elizabeth A. Christy
1022 Patricia A. Chronic
1023 Linda M. Kramer
1034 Carla Katz
1037 Hetty Rosenstein
1040 Carolyn Wade
1051 Gary Allen
1058 Kenneth D. Bishop
1060 Douglas L. Brown
1061 Bruce G. Fabian
1062 Brian P. Reilly
1067 Earlene, Thompson
1071 Ian T. Semmel
1076 Jeffrey Nadler
1077 Kelly N. Fields
1078 Michael F. Lepkowski
1080 Joan Tapia
1081 David A. Weiner
1082 Donald Rice
1083 Jane Barry-Triano
1084 Doris Walker-Rice
1085 Richard A. Dann
1086 Judith Street
1087 Barbara J. Johnson
1088 Sharon E. Plath
1089 Ronda Wilson
1100 Gail Murcott
1101 Joseph F. Connolly
1103 Robert McCracken
1105 Keith Edwards
1106 Anthony W. Caudullo
1107 Anthony Caprara
1108 George C. Welker

1109 Anthony Matarazzo
1110 G. Finnigan-Einterz
1111 Fritz J. Clark
1113 Joan H. Noonan
1115 Michael J. Williams
1118 James P. O'Hare
1120 Glenn A. Carter
1122 Janis Borman
1128 Thomas M. Allen
1141 Marianne Perry
1150 Laura R. Unger

LOCAL PRESIDENT

1152 Mary Mazzeo
1153 Marie L. Algieri
1168 Patty DeVinney
1177 John J. Blasi
1180 Arthur Cheliotis
1250 Dane A. Deleppo
1298 Paul J. Hongo, Jr.
1301 George R. Alcott III
1395 Thomas V. Lane
2001 Claudia K. Mathews
2002 Frank DeRiso
2003 Jeffrey Lewis
2004 Ronald L. Gaskins
2006 W. H. Teets Jr.
2007 Richard D. Mabrey
2010 R. L. Cooper
2011 James J. Mazzie
2100 Gail Evans
2101 Maria Bury
2105 Brian K. Bibbee
2106 Gary A. Young
2107 Denise A. Bums
2108 Robert W. Campbell

2109 Charles F. Fouts Jr.
2150 Elaine Wolf
2201 Roy G. Shumaker
2202 Louis J. Scinaldi
2203 Chareatha L. Patton
2204 Guy W. Angell
2205 Jerry Rogers
2206 Eugene C. Bloxom
2222 Stacie M. Adams
2252 Sean Linehan
2272 Robert W. Catrow
2275 Linwood M. Grimes
2276 Harold E. Leedy
2277 Russell S. Wells
2300 Daisy Brown
2381 Marion M. Dabney
2382 Helen C. Williams
2385 Gary J. Harding
2390 Jon J. Nairns
3101 Russ Neill
3102 Royce J. Ulibarri
3103 Bryan Bell
3104 James M. Donohue
3105 Patti Peres
3106 William Lyn DeLoach
3108 Pamela S. Lawson

LOCAL PRESIDENT

3109 Christina B. Smith
3110 John J. Holdsworth
3111 Peggy C. Ward
3112 Linda M. Sorrells
3113 Robert P. Headrick
3114 Frederick Croon
3115 Samuel J. Bake
3120 William J. Tracy

3121 N. L. Daniels
3122 William I. Knowles, Jr.
3140 John Tyler, III
3151 Sandra K. Peters
3174 Dan H. Ryals
3176 Robert B. Campbell
3177 Robert G. Ewing
3178 Richard McKinnon
3180 Harry Davis
3201 Roger L. Todd
3203 Danny Eades
3204 Mary S. Curry
3205 Terri Wilkins
3207 W. H. Wilson
3209 Sam Berry
3212 L. N. Wofford
3215 William C. O'Dell
3217 Ronald P. Ennis
3218 W. A. Turner
3220 John M. McInnis
3250 R. A. Ouellette
3263 Eddie Christian
3301 Chad Howard
3304 Thomasson Smith
3305 Jeff Wolfe
3309 Kevin L. Polk
3310 Joanne Smith
3312 James T. Griffey
3313 Gary A. Shewmaker
3314 Richard Long
3315 Alan W. Yewell
3317 Chester Hogston
3321 Wayne E. Owens
3371 Phillip D. Coldiron
3372 Michael A. Garkovich

3402 Ronald Hernandez
3403 Walter J. Bagot
3404 Sandra C. Kemp
3406 Judy Bruno
3407 Elizabeth H. Verret
3410 Michael Fahrenholt
3411 Donald Floyd
3412 Danny C. Naquin
3414 Jon G. Bartlett
3450 Roy E. Jones, Jr.
3490 George E. Mayl
3504 Herman V. Junkin, Jr.
3509 James C. Rainey, Jr.

LOCAL PRESIDENT

3510 E. D. Chisolm
3511 Kim K. Sadler
3513 David M. Wicker
3514 R. G. Trammell
3516 James J. Hudson
3517 Carl Ray Oliver
3518 Oscar Denton
3519 Richard C. Scruggs
3601 Curtis L. Shew
3603 Carolyn Overman
3605 Richard F. Honeycutt
3606 D. E. Harrell
3607 J. M. King
3609 Douglas M. Ivey
3610 Ricky Wike
3611 Paul C. Jones
3613 Charles Ireland
3615 William M. Benton
3616 George Melton
3650 R. R. Bartlett
3673 Thomas Pool

3681 Ronald X. Knight
3682 Alton Hanford
3683 Donald K. Tyner
3684 Warren D. Livingston
3685 Robert H. Harris
3695 F. D. Haskett
3702 Joe K. Thomas
3704 Rick J. Slattery
3706 Debra C. Brown
3708 D. A. Poston
3710 Patty E. McLeroy
3716 M. E. Parks
3719 F. B. McKerley, Jr.
3802 David C. Grow
3803 A. Dale Greene
3804 Terry E. Wright
3805 Debbie S. Helsley
3806 Mike Bennard
3808 Richard S. Feinstein
3871 Eddie Hicks
3901 H. T. Carter
3902 Sonja N. Abbott
3903 Gregory S. McAfee
3904 W. H. Walker, Jr.
3905 Mary P. Layton
3906 J. M. Hughes
3907 Carl G. Adams
3908 Robert L. Cotter
3909 Wesley Champion
3910 L. R. Palmer
3911 Terry J. Pitts
3912 Robert Dyl
3950 A. G. Jones
3971 Randy Kuhn
3972 Ray J. Richardson

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4004 B. J. Jones
4008 James R. Charbonneau
4009 Gregory Streby
4011 Patrick J. Ingles
4013 Philip S. Truran
4017 Gary Odom
4025 Max Engle
4034 John J. Egan
4035 Paul Bush
4039 Jeffrey Ampey
4040 B. R. Johnston
4050 David Skotarczyk
4090 Michael F. Klein
4100 W. J. Irvine
4101 D. G. Osim
4103 Richard A. Short
4107 Janet Rich
4108 Bill Martin
4109 Tom Sanderson
4202 Gayle Gray
4209 Marlene George
4214 Betty J. Moore
4215 JoAnna R. Gerrib
4216 Mabel Huff
4217 Byron Capper
4250 Steve Tisza
4252 Lanell Piercy
4270 Jeffrey Flesner
4300 S. P. Pagani
4302 Sherrie Sallaz
4309 B. J. Mallory
4310 MarRaret Henderson
4318 Dane Clark
4319 Ronald D. Honse

4320 Jack Huber
4321 Frank Mathews
4322 Terry Riddlebarger
4323 William D. Rice
4325 Donald G. Holbrook, Jr.
4340 Edwin Phillips
4351 Keith Adams
4352 James E. Corkins
4354 Kim A. Wilburn
4371 Tami Drollinger
4372 Karl Akers
4373 Charles Hughes
4375 James Turner
4377 Lynn Kruse
4378 Larry A. Ridgway
4385 Robert P. Yonley
4386 Leonard E. Smith
4390 Arthur L. Wiskoff
4400 Timothy M. Donoghue
4401 Alyce E. Davis
4470 Ella L. Mohr
4471 William E. Rathgaber

LOCAL PRESIDENT

4473 Johnnie Kidd
4474 John C. Bassett
4475 Gerald Calvert
4486 William A. Kirk
4488 Roger A. Brooks
4510 Charles Burk
4527 Patricia D. Cramblett
4530 Diana K. Sharp
4546 Robin Schenault
4603 George R. Walls
4611 Michael Goebel
4620 James G. Donlevy

4621 Mark R. Purdy
4622 Roger K. Neubauer
4630 Sharron A. St. John
4640 Kathryn H. Brenden
4641 Craig C. Rogaczewski
4646 Tami L. Turnipseed
4670 Ron Vechinski
4671 Michael Oliver
4672 David L. Stachovak
4674 Edward J. Zych
4675 Edward Shell
4690 Larry Shepler
4700 Patrick G. Gorman
4703 Paul Freiberger
4711 Tracy A. Greentree
4730 Bennita S. Booher
4770 Ronald Anderson
4773 Edward Lowdenslager
4780 Roland J. Michael
4790 Peter E. Vukovich
4795 Joyce A. Perkins
4800 Mary A. Decker
4818 Justin Hawkins
4900 Larry Woods
4998 Daniel Danaher
6009 Jerry Butler
6012 David F. Ratcliff
6015 Bill H. Torbett, Jr.
6016 Barry Gardner
6101 Wallace Franklin
6110 Gerardo Alonzo
6113 David A. Rawson
6118 Sandra G. Montgomery
6127 W. C. Everett
6132 Luz Riley

6137 Becky K. Moeller
6139 Ronn L. Harmon
6143 Madelene Robertson
6150 Larry E. Ihfe
6151 Billie Gavin
6171 Michael Simmons
6174 Glenda G. Turnbo
6178 Edward Archuleta
6182 Elva Cardenas

LOCAL PRESIDENT

6200 Angela Guillory
6201 Denny Kramer
6202 Alice Andrade
6203 Jack Maxey
6206 Brian T. Goonan
6210 Brent D. Trammell
6214 Glynne R. Stanley
6215 Joseph D. Williams
6222 Claude Cummings
6225 Stephen A. Williams
6228 Ronnie Gray
6290 Lawson L. Wooten
6301 Sandra L. Grogan
6310 Tony Ellebracht
6311 Tim K. Skinner
6312 Tim Schieffer
6313 Steve R. Wood
6314 Bryant D. Liddle
6316 Jeannine M. Thomure
6320 Michael Neumann
6325 Gary Hough
6326 Stephen M. Schaedler
6327 Barbara J. Leuty
6333 David A. Litzenberger
6350 Robert K. Huss

6372 Ralph 1. Nesler
6374 John Parrish
6377 Earline Jones
6390 Tom W. Breidenbach
6395 Dwight L. Spencer
6401 Jason P. Bums
6402 Ethel Montgomery
6406 Larry D. Eberle
6407 Kandace Lehmann
6410 David W. Hubler
6411 Richard S. Gentry
6450 Judy A. Sterns
6500 Johnna R. Carlon
6502 Ricky P. Belk
6503 Michael Koller
6505 Randy B. Jumper
6507 Nancy Baker
6508 Emily Wiggs
6733 Sidney E. Searcy
7001 Ralph Araiza
7009 Craig L. Cleaveland
7011 Jude McMullan
7019 Joseph A. Gosiger
7026 Linda Hatfield
7032 Dennis Nielsen
7050 Marianne Minarsich
7055 Lawrence G. Sandoval, Chair
7060 Ellen A. Rojas
7072 Estella Madrid
7090 Dennis E. Aycock
7101 Burnell Frieden
LOCAL PRESIDENT
7102 Stephen C. Penland
7103 Kenneth J. Mertes
7107 William C. Mayland

7108 Linda L. Schaffer
7109 Gayle G. Tellin
7110 Francis J. Giunta II
7115 John K.Graham, Jr.
7117 Anita K. Purcell
7171 Dennis Dunbar
7172 William Zeigler
7173 John Nedved
7175 Carolyn Sallis
7200 Kathleen Coleman
7201 Steven M. Lewsader
7202 Thomas M. Eaton
7203 Gerald J. Finn
7205 Anthony Schmitz
7206 David Stoltman
7212 Dave J. Clement
7214 Terri L. Newman
7219 Chester Nettestad
7220 Harold J. Dupree Jr.
7250 Shari Wojtowicz-Schalwig
7270 David L. Evans
7272 Michelle J. Nelson
7290 A. C. Mumm
7301 Stephanie J. Reidy
7303 Dee Olson
7304 Daniel Byars
7400 Linda L. Hemmerling
7401 Alan R. Ogg
7470 Dennis Martin
7471 Brad L. Fisher
7476 Ronald Berland
7500 Rozanne Dubois
7504 Robert Kroell
7505 William L. Glover
7601 Michael Rea

7603 Brent Duvall
7610 John J. Gabica
7621 Dirk Marsden
7670 David S. Moore
7704 Kent C. Anderson
7705 Lee B. Linford
7708 Velma J. Patton
7716 Larry P. McCormick
7717 Thomas W. Costello
7743 Charles R. Fisher
7750 Arnold Schenck
7777 Duncan J. Harrington
7790 Charles L. Mitchell
7800 Brenda A. Roberts
7803 Ken Horn
7804 Clayton R. Bowlby
7810 Bill D. Jenkins
7812 Ken Harding

LOCAL PRESIDENT

7814 Newell Binde
7816 Ronald Gause
7817 Mark E. Slouber
7818 Mary M. Boehnke
7901 Madelyn Elder
7904 Rodger E. Bauer
7906 Kenneth Saether, Sr.
7908 Marty Hickman
7955 Linda Rasmussen, Chair
7990 Michael J. Taylor
9400 Micheal J. Hartigan
9404 Carol Whichard
9408 Nadine Cox
9410 Kingsley W. Chew
9412 Cookie Cameron
9413 Barbara J. Welling

9415 Valerie Reyna
9416 Pamela Suniga
9417 Barbara J. Spradlin
9418 Lynn Johnson
9419 Jimmy D. Frederickson
9421 Greg C. Ball
9423 Louis H. Rocha Jr.
9426 John J. Blake
9430 Ellie Benner
9431 Rick A. Delao
9432 Glen D. Casillas
9490 Terrance Staples
9503 Dan R. McCrory
9504 Bob La Roche
9505 Kathy Requejo
9509 Linda F. Imsande Sexton
9510 Nita Moreno
9511 Kenneth R. Crafts
9573 Sue Gallegos
9575 Janine Romano
9586 April L. Lloyd
9587 Claudia McGonigal
9588 Mike Crowell
13000 Edward T. Carr
13100 Patrice Mears-Swift
13101 W. Speakman, IV
13500 Sandra Kmetyk
LOCAL PRESIDENT
13550 Karen Gatto
13552 R. J. Woleslagle
13570 David Wilson
13571 Carol A. Hons
13572 Todd Trotter
14156 Arthur Deianni
14170 Wayne Mitchell

14215 John F. Sams
14322 Colavito Howard
14330 William D. Weaver III
14341 Richard Davis
14348 George W. Crews
14404 Joan Forman
14406 Kevin Hamrick
14427 C. L. Thompson
14430 Robert C. Maida
14431 Michael Phelan
14434 Joseph A. Kelly
14446 James R. Fisher
14514 Thomas Cowman
14516 Douglas Willis
14549 Robert A. Santner
14616 John J. Ebeling
14630 Arthur J. Telles
14705 Lester E. Stevens
14709 Randy Conner
14710 Mary Teitzel
14734 Ronald Black
14737 James K. Griggs
14740 Tim Lindeborg
14752 John C. Mullen
14759 Norman L. Sorenson
14803 Gary Knauff
14817 Michael Dodds
14840 Eric Evans
14900 Ernest Knox
14921 Jerry K. Ahue
33229 Bruce Engle
34009 Robert Driehaus
34179 Amy L. Bahr
51016 Eugene J. Maxwell
54046 George N. Hester

54412 Linda K. Dielman

59057 Gena Stinnett

PRESIDENT BAHR: Before I announce this year's award winners, I want to ask all the winners to gather for a photo session just off the stage to my right when these proceedings are over.

The first award is presented to the local that contributed the most CWA-COPE dollars last year.

The winner of the award this year is making new history in our union because for the first time since the inception of the COPE program, a local from District 9 has won top money honors. We are pleased to present this Special Local Award to Local 9400 whose members contributed \$69,163.50. (Applause and cheers) Will Mike Hartigan come forward and accept this award. (Presentation - Applause)

The next award goes to the local that contributed the highest percentage of COPE dollars in 2002. We are delighted again – and this is almost by rote every year – to present this award to Local 1301, which raised 9,732.50 percent of its quota. (Presentation - Applause)

The next award is the District Sweepstakes Award that I present to the district that raised the highest percentage of its quota by the end of 2002. Again, it seems by rote, the winner is District 6. (Applause) And you all raised 287.1 percent of your quota. Again, congratulations to Andy and the locals in District 6 and the staff.

The next award is presented to the local that achieved the highest percentage of membership participation in the checkoff program last year. This Special Local Checkoff Achievement Award is presented to Local 7072 that achieved 100 percent of its membership on checkoff. Congratulations to President Estella Madrid, and Vice President Johnson will accept the award for her. (Applause)

The next award goes to the local that had the largest number of members signed up on PCC checkoff in 2002. This award goes to 1101, which had 3,846 members signed up on COPE-PCC checkoff last year. (Applause) So again, congratulations to the local, the officers and the members.

Now we present the Distinguished President's Award for outstanding achievement in raising voluntary – or so-called "free" – dollars. This award goes to the local that met its quota with the highest percentage of voluntary dollars in 2002. Again, it is a pleasure to present this award to Local 1301, which raised 9,732 percent of its 2002 quota. Congratulations, again. (Applause)

The next Distinguished President's Award is presented to the local that met its quota with the most voluntary dollars in 2002. This President's Award goes to Local 9400, which raised \$69,163.50 – all voluntary contributions. (Applause) Again, congratulations, Mike, and the members of Local 9400.

We will now present the Achievement Awards to the various COPE levels. The local that had the most members in the COPE Club is Local 1101 with 1,481 members. Again, we congratulate that local and its members. (Applause)

The district with the most members in the COPE Club is District 1 with 7,102 members. (Applause) Vice President Maisano, as you know, is in New York as we speak here. He is in meetings with Verizon Wireless.

Now we will present two CWA Gold Quorum Awards. The local with the most members in the Gold Quorum is Local 9400 with 293 members. Again, Mike Hartigan, congratulations. (Applause)

The district with the most members in the CWA Gold Quorum is District 3 with 993 members. Congratulations to Vice President Jimmy Smith, the staff, and the locals. (Applause)

Now for the two Special District Annual Achievement Awards. The first of which is presented to the district that achieved the highest percentage of membership participation in the CWA-COPE PCC check-off program in 2002. We are delighted again to present this award to District 6. (Applause and cheers) You had 14.80 percent of your membership on check-off. Congratulations to all of you. Congratulations, Andy.

The second Annual Achievement Award goes to the district that raised the most CWA-COPE dollars in calendar year 2002. So don't go away, Andy, because you did it again with \$461,203.49. (Applause and cheers)

Now I will present two Platinum Quorum awards. The first goes to the local that had the most PQ members in 2002. This award goes to Local 6222, which had 72 members. (Applause) We congratulate Claude Cummings and the members of Local 6222. (Applause)

The second Platinum Quorum award is presented to the district that had the most PQ members. It is getting monotonous. Andy Milburn come down again. You had 333 members. (Applause) Congratulations again to all of you.

The two Triple Quorum awards are next. The first goes to the local that had the most Triple Quorum members last year. With 105 members, I am pleased to present the award to Local 1301. (Applause) Will Brother Pomroy come back again? (Applause)

The second award is presented to the district that had the most Triple Quorums. Andy, come on down. (Applause and cheers) They had 209 members by the end of 2002. (Applause)

We will now present our two President's Club Quorum awards. The first award goes to the local that had the most members in 2002. This award goes to Local 9400, which had 138 members. Congratulations to Mike Hartigan and the members of Local 9400. (Applause)

The second President's Club award is presented to the district that had the most members participating. We are proud to present this award to District 9. Congratulations, Tony Bixler, the staff, and the locals. (Applause and cheers)

The Executive Board voted to create special awards that are not presented every year. These awards are given to recognize significant contributions to our COPE program. The Maxine Lee Award – Maxine Lee was a staff person from District 6 – is presented for pioneering achievements in fundraising. The last time this award was presented was in 1998. For outstanding achievement in fundraising for 2002, I am proud to present the Maxine Lee Award to the officers and members of Local 1101. (Applause) Terry Daly is accepting the award.

This award really recognizes the innovative fundraising and commitment of the entire local to build their political program. Since August 2001, Local 1101 has more than doubled the number of COPE contributors at the one dollar weekly minimum.

Local 1101 finished the year with more members contributing one dollar or more every week than any local in the union. It is an outstanding achievement. On behalf of the entire union, Terry, thank you. Convey our thanks to Eddie Dempsey and everybody else back home. (Applause)

I just want to make a comment or two about this. When you look at the accomplishments in District 6 year after year, keep in mind that four of the five states in District 6 are right-to-work states. This demonstrates that when you work hard at a CWA program and you know the real meaning of what, in this case, COPE is all about, to be able to achieve just under 15 percent of the members in that district on COPE check-off is an extraordinary feat.

Certainly, if they can do it in these right-to-work states, those of you who are in non-right-to-work states certainly have an opportunity to do the same thing. That is our challenge to everyone. I am not going to preach about the amount of money that is going to be needed by our union between now and November of 2004. You all know it. Unless we begin to sign people up in the last four or five months of this year, we will not realize the money; because there is a month

or two lag time by the time you sign them up, by the time it gets into the payroll department of the company, by the time they make the first deduction and the money turns around, several months go by. Time is not on our side with President Bush raising almost a million dollars a day.

I would just also suggest this: We still have on payroll deduction members who signed up many years ago when this was all new – giving ten cents a week, twenty-five cents a week, less than a dollar. We can almost double the amount of money that we have announced here today by simply getting those who are already contributing to raise their contributions to a dollar.

It would seem to me that is one of the places where we ought to concentrate. But even though I have asked you to join one of the quorums, that is not really where my thrust is. Sure, we get the extra money. But we want the dollar, the two dollars a week, whatever the case may be, to be more than a couple of dollars out of that member's pocketbook.

I honestly believe when that member is spoken to as to why you, the steward, want that person to sign this deduction card and you explain that the buck a week or two bucks a paycheck, whatever the case may be, will make that person more politically conscious; it will make that person a better union member. You will have a better chance of that person being registered to vote; and a better chance not only to have that person come out to vote on Election Day, but more apt to follow the lead of your endorsement.

There is an awful lot at stake, rather than just a buck a week. So, I will leave that with you, hoping that all of us together when we come back next year on the eve of the election, that we have topped by a substantial amount not only the dollar amount but, more than that, that we have thousands of additional members on payroll deduction.

We are just under ten percent unionwide. I don't think anybody could argue that if we all did a little bit more, and we come back here in a year in Anaheim, that we can have 20 percent of our members on payroll deduction. That is not a bogey that you can't realistically hit.

So, I leave that with all of you, with my office ready to help you any way we can. We go out and we do workshops; we go out and meet with your stewards; we will do whatever it takes to build our program, because the better our program is, the better we are going to be able to elect labor-friendly candidates, and that is what we are all about. Thanks. (Applause)

I want to introduce the Secretary-Treasurer for the Pediatric AIDS Foundation program.

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Thank you, Morty.

I am going to take a moment of personal privilege. On August 2, Local 9586 honored me for my efforts on behalf of the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. But as that was the deadline for the Verizon contract, I was unable to attend the luncheon. The President, April Lloyd, carried that award to this Convention, and I asked her to join us on the platform so she could present that award to me. April. (Applause and cheers)

DELEGATE APRIL LLOYD (Local 9586): I am the president of Local 9586, and I am also the chair for District 9, Southern California Council for Community Services. We jointly did a luncheon, which happened to be on August 2, and we were honoring people who have been very dedicated to the Labor Movement with regard to community services.

Our district, under the leadership of our Vice President Tony Bixler, has always been an advocate for Pediatric AIDS, so that was one of the charities of choice we chose this year. So, we had our luncheon, but Barbara was not able to be with us. And it is an honor today that I present her with the award that we would have given her on August 2.

The first one is a certificate of recognition from the California State Assemblyperson, Ed Chavez. (Presentation - Applause)

We also have a certificate of recognition from the California State Assemblywoman, Judy Chu. (Presentation - Applause)

And a special congressional recognition from Congresswoman Hilda Salis. (Presentation - Applause)

And from Southern California Council Community Services, we would like to give her the inspirational award. We find that because of Barbara's inspiration, it has given us the ability to move forward like she has. And it is a unicorn, which symbolizes hope and faith, and it reads, "Barbara Easterling, CWA International Secretary-Treasurer, Inspirational Award." (Presentation - Applause)

One last thing. For our luncheon we were able to raise \$6,680, and we would like to give it to Barbara to present to the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. (Presentation - Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Thank you. Thank you so very much. (Applause)

We have a treat for you today. We have a couple of people who have come to talk to us a little bit about the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, and our first speaker is going to be Ricky Webster. It is a real pleasure to introduce him to you. He is thirteen years old. He acquired HIV through mother-to-child transmission at birth. Since the day he was born, Ricky has exhibited tremendous courage and perseverance. Ricky often speaks on behalf of the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation about the importance of raising awareness and resources for AIDS research. He is, indeed, a true inspiration and we are honored to have him here with us today.

Ladies and gentlemen, Ricky Webster.

RICKY WEBSTER: Hi. My name is Ricky. I'm not running for President. (Laughter and applause)

I am here today to thank you for your help with all the money you donate to the Foundation. It helps kids all over the world that have HIV or AIDS, to live a better life and helps them through their tough times.

The doctor said that I would live just until I was six years old. I wouldn't have a good life. I would just live a very short life. But I'm thirteen now because of all the money you have donated.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

So thank you a lot. I've had a blast this year helping with the Harley Davidson auctions. So I guess I'll meet you later if you are willing to talk to me. So thanks a lot.

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

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Ricky kind of tells us why it is so important that we do what we do for the Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

Now we have another big treat for you. It is my pleasure to introduce the Emmy Award-winning host of "Survivor," Jeff Probst.

In addition to being host of several television shows, an accomplished movie director and television correspondent, Jeff is the Collegiate Spokesperson for the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. He was instrumental in creating the partnership between the Foundation and the hit show "Survivor" several years ago, which has helped to raise over \$500,000 through eBay auctions.

Jeff travels across the country to speak on behalf of the Foundation and we are so happy that he is able to join us today in Chicago. Please welcome Jeff Probst. (Applause)

JEFF PROBST: It's tough to follow Ricky. The best part is, when I got here this morning, he said, "I just wrote the best opening line. You're gonna love it." It came off so well.

I'm here on behalf of Kate Carr the CEO of the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatrics AIDS

Foundation, but she is in South Africa at the annual Call to Action meetings that go on there. So, it is my privilege to be here today.

As you mentioned, I got involved actually through my mom who knew somebody on the Board. I started going to some dance marathons that Elizabeth Glaser does. When we were filming in Africa with "Survivor," Mark Burnett, who is the executive producer of the show, said, "You know, we have to do something. We have to start taking the success of the show and leaving something behind at each place." He said, "I want to do something tied into AIDS."

And I said, "I've got the perfect organization."

So we developed this relationship that, silly as it sounds, by selling the props, the things made of bamboo, and somebody's old T-shirt, has raised nearly half a million dollars, which is nothing compared to what you guys have done, which is why we are here today.

I am sure everybody is familiar with the need for money, and then you meet kids like Ricky and you get to put a face on it. That happened with me going to Africa and just really seeing the devastation that its hold has taken all over the world.

I know you guys have been a long-time supporter of this organization. For those of you who are familiar with the organization, I will tell you they kick ass. They spend every single dollar that goes into the funding and support and education. It is up to 300 Call to Action sites now in seventeen countries. And I know you do not have to give any money to an organization. But when you do decide to give some money, you do not have to give it to the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. There are tons of people who need help. I want to tell you, from my very firsthand experience, you are giving the money to an organization that utilizes it very well.

So that's it really. I think all I need to say is just that I think Elizabeth Glaser wants you to know that they appreciate thirteen years and \$5 million. When I went over to Africa, one of the things I learned about was the need for the drugs for mother-to-child transmission. This money goes out to – the actual tablets are given to the moms; to education; to support; and it spreads out all over the world.

So thank you very much. I know we have a big Fat Boy to give away in a minute, and that is soon to come. Thank you. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Thank you, Jeff.

We have now reached that part of our program when we present the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation Awards. This year, 484 locals participated in our "Charity of Choice" program, contributing a grand total of \$439,703.99. (Applause) I want to personally thank each and every one of you who made that possible and urge you to keep up the great work.

CWA is still the Foundation's largest single donor. We are proud of that, but we can be even more proud if we get to 100 percent participation.

So much has been accomplished, but there is still much more work to be done. Please make the effort this year to contribute to CWA's charity of choice, the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

Now to the awards. The Ariel Glaser Award, which is an award that is named after Elizabeth Glaser's daughter, is presented to the local that contributed the most money in 2002. This year this award goes once again to CWA Local 9400, for a contribution of \$75,342.

... The delegates arose and applauded...

Our next award is the Hope Award, which is presented to the local that achieved the highest percentage of their quota. In 2002, that figure was 1200 percent and was given by one of our newly merged partners, IUE-CWA Local 84727. Our thanks and congratulations go to all the members of Local 84727 for their dedication and support. Mike Bindas will accept the award. (Presentation - Applause)

And now for what we have been waiting on for a year – the motorcycle event. Let me, first of all, call upon Bill Evans, who is the manager of the Union Alliance Principal Financial Group, and ask him just to make a few remarks.

BROTHER BILL EVANS (Manager, Union Alliance Principal Financial Group): Thank you and good afternoon. Well, I need to tell you that we have been looking forward to this day for a long time and in a few minutes, one lucky CWA member, retiree, or employee will win a 100th Anniversary Harley Davidson Fat Boy motorcycle.

This has been a great experience for us and we have had a lot of fun going around the country promoting the giveaway and at the same time encouraging giving to support the important work of all your charities.

I want to share a few statistics with you from the program. We received approximately 18,000 entries through the mail which represents a little over \$181,000 in gifts to over 230 charities. Here at the Convention, we teamed up with the Pediatric AIDS Foundation and have collected, in just the last couple of days, an additional \$9,000 in last-minute entries. So right around \$190,000, which we think is great. (Applause)

That's a lot of money but, you know, we know that this represents just a tiny fraction of the total giving that goes on by your membership. It was nevertheless inspiring to get a glimpse of just the wonderful spirit of generosity exhibited by the working people of your great union. You can surely be proud of all you do. (Applause)

Obviously, an undertaking such as this takes a great deal of involvement on the part of a lot of people. I want to thank today the members of the CWA Executive Board and all your staff people for all the wonderful support you provided. I want to thank all the leadership at the local level for getting the word out, helping us encourage people to participate. I want to thank Kate Carr and everyone at the Pediatric AIDS Foundation who assisted us in so many ways, to my own team members and financial reps throughout the country who have worked so hard to make this thing a success.

And finally, to each and every one of you whose name is on a ticket back here in the raffle drum, my hat is off to you and I wish all of you luck in the drawing. Thanks again. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Now I really want to thank Principal Financial as well, because it took a lot of work to do this, and there are so many state laws that are involved in it that it really curtailed to a great extent what we could have done. But we had to abide by those, and so they did.

You need to know that this is not their first venture with us in the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. Prior to this year, over the last three or four years, they have raised over \$20,000 and given it to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation through CWA.

And in case you haven't heard already, any Pediatric AIDS Foundation contribution that was made during this promotion during the year 2002 by any of your members was credited to your local, and the same is going to be the case for any contributions made this year. They will be credited to the 2003 contributions.

I am well aware that that required a great deal of extra effort on Principal's part, so we are very grateful for that and, of course, grateful for their contributions.

Finally, let me call on Jeff Probst who is going to draw the winning ticket for the Harley Davidson Fat-Boy motorcycle. I get to read it, though.

... Cries of "Let Ricky do it"...

We should let Ricky do it. If his arm can reach to the bottom, we are going to let him do it. Okay. He says he can. Okay, Ricky. And he is not looking in the barrel.

... Drum roll accompanied by applause and cheers as the winning ticket was drawn...

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: He's got one. It is in District 7. It is not John Thompson. (Laughter and cheers) It is in Local 7303. It is Steve or Lana Lynde, Williston, North Dakota.

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

She is coming up. It is Pat Berlin who is from the members' local. The winner is not here, but she swears she will take the key back to that motorcycle. (Laughter)

Thank you all very, very much. It was a great, great year for us. Thank you. (Prolonged applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Will the Appeals Committee come to the platform. Let me just say, while they are coming up, the winner is also a steward in the local. (Applause)

Let me just share a couple of things that went through my mind as I sat here. Those of us who were at the Convention in Toronto about 12 years ago or so, when we heard Elizabeth Glaser and became involved in her cause, we really have had our lives changed. I served on the Board for almost 12 years. I got off this year and Barbara took my place.

It is not often that we have the ability to actually see the work that our voluntary contributions deliver. With Pediatric AIDS, we have been able to see that, where we now have the ability to block the transmission of the HIV virus from mother to newborn. We were part of that development.

We have for almost ten years sponsored a scientist who works full-time on nothing but HIV research for pediatrics, because when we were involved, when we first got involved, there was no research being done for children. The medications that existed ten years ago did not work on children. And so we have made a big difference.

And I just want to give you two anecdotal stories. When we started, we met what were Elizabeth's kids – two, three, four-year-olds – and their longevity was not very long at the time. And I remember going into the Pediatric AIDS office in Santa Monica. It was in June. And one of Elizabeth's kids had sent a thank you card to the staff of the Foundation which simply said, "I just graduated high school," and listen to this, "you can hear my mother's fingers uncrossing." Just think of that. The power of just that statement from that one kid.

And then I had the experience where Elizabeth asked me to come out and do a news conference, and in this order, Oscar de la Hoya was first, who at the time was light-weight champ; then one of my idols back in Brooklyn, Sandy Colfax. So first Oscar spoke for the press and then Sandy Colfax, and then a 14-year-old boy from Staten Island, New York, named Joey, who told how he got the virus. And I had to follow a kid who ended up by saying this, a 14-year-old kid: "I am going to spend the rest of my life going around school to school to school, telling the kids about safe sex."

Now, how in the world do you follow a 14-year-old who just laid that out? But these are some of the experiences we've had. What we have done we know has given new life to this young fellow that we saw here.

Now what more can we do? We all hope that when our time is finished, we have made life a little better. I think in the very best sense, what we do with the Pediatric AIDS Foundation does not only make life better and the quality of life better, but we give longer life to children who otherwise would not have that opportunity, not only here but around the world. So thank you for all you do. (Applause)

Let me introduce the Appeals Committee.

... As the members of the Appeals Committee were introduced, the delegates responded with a single clap of recognition...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Ramona Stalls-Martin, Vice President, Local 2201; Tim Donoghue, President, Local 4400; Barbara Leuty, President, Local 6327; Mark Rocha, President, CWA Local 7102; and Edward Carr, President, Local 13000, Chair of the Committee.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Carr.

DELEGATE EDWARD T. CARR (Local 13000, Chair, Appeals Committee): Thank you, President Bahr.

The Appeals Committee convened August 21 through August 24, 2003, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of receiving and disposing of appeals in accordance with the CWA Constitution and the Internal Appeals Procedures of the union as established by prior convention and the Executive Board

The Committee was available to meet with interested parties on August 23 and 24 between the hours of 2:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. Outside of these hours, the Committee was available by appointment.

I would like to thank the Committee members, Barbara Leuty, Ramona Martin, Mark Rocha, and Tim Donoghue for their hard work and the time they have devoted to these appeals. Also, the Committee thanks Doug Thompson, Administrative Assistant to the District 2 Vice President, and Dave Palmer, Area Director, District 1, Upstate New York and New England, for their support and assistance.

The chair recognizes Tim Donoghue.

DELEGATE TIMOTHY M. DONOGHUE (Local 4400):

APPEAL NO. 1

On July 2, 2003, Leroy Jackson appealed the Executive Board's decision that NABET-CWA Local 59053 was correct in refusing to process a recall petition filed by Jackson against Local Executive Board member Michael Pearman.

The Local refused to process the recall petition because it did not contain the dates of the alleged violations under Article XXI of the Constitution and because the recall petition did not contain a specification of the offenses under Article XIX of the CWA Constitution.

Article XXI clearly states that a petition for recall "shall contain a description of the offense or offenses as specified in Article XIX, Section 1 and the approximate dates thereof." A review of the petition filed by Jackson shows that the petition did not contain the approximate dates of the action taken or not taken. In addition, the petition contained only a vague description of the offense such as allegations that Pearman placed "individual needs ahead of numerous members."

We agree with the decision of President Bahr and the Executive Board that the description of the offenses was too vague and the dates were not on the petition. After carefully reviewing the file, the Committee agrees that Local 59053 was correct in refusing to process the petition and recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and that the appeal of Leroy Jackson be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the Committee's recommendation.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: No delegate wishes to be heard. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendations indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Committee.

CHAIR CARR: The Chair recognizes Mark Rocha.

DELEGATE MARK ROCHA (Local 7102):

APPEAL NO. 2

On January 28, 2003, Vicky Thomsen, former executive vice president of Local 3140, appealed the decision of the Executive Board to uphold the local trial court and local membership's decisions finding her guilty of violating the CWA Constitution. Thomsen was charged under Article XX of the Constitution with violating Article XIX Section 1 (d) by hiring a locksmith to gain entry into the local office, including the inner offices of the local president and secretary-treasurer. Thomsen was also charged with violating Article XIX Section 1(i) in that law enforcement was called and issued a "Trespass Warning" against her because she was "not authorized to enter the building."

A trial was scheduled for July 23, 2002. At Thomsen's request the trial was delayed and rescheduled twice. The trial was ultimately held on August 14, 2002.

Despite being notified of the newly scheduled trial date, neither Thomsen nor anyone acting on her behalf attended the trial.

The trial court proceeded as planned, all witnesses were sworn, and a trial transcript was made. The trial court found Thomsen guilty as charged and suspended her from membership for three years. An appeal of the trial court's decision was heard at a local membership meeting on September 18, 2002, and was denied.

Thomsen appeared before the Appeals Committee to present her case. Local 3140 was a new US Airways local at the time these events transpired. Thomsen was the elected executive vice president and had been very active in the US Airways organizing campaign. Thomsen now admits that she used poor judgment in using a locksmith to gain entry into the local office. After review of the entire record in this matter, and speaking with Thomsen and Local 3140 President John Tyler, the Appeals Committee recommends that the trial court, local membership and Executive Board decision be upheld, but that the penalty be reduced to suspension for the period of time from August 2002 until today.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You've heard the recommendation.

... The motion was duly seconded ...

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Ryan.

DELEGATE ELLIS D. RYAN (Local 3140): I stand before this great body to request that the decision of the trial court to suspend Ms. Thomsen for three years be upheld. Ms. Thomsen voluntarily relinquished keys to the local with the understanding that she was only to enter the facility under the accompaniment of another officer. Yet, on Super Bowl Sunday the only call received was from a local business owner next door, observing a locksmith entering the local.

A statement from the locksmith stated Ms. Thomsen had arranged his services two days prior under the guise that she had lost her keys.

Ms. Thomsen made a mockery of the entire trial process, first, by asking for a continuation on several occasions, and then by not showing up for the hearing, and, finally, once the trial court ruling was issued, she attempted to intimidate the membership and the Executive Board into overturning the decision by threatening to file suit against the local and the National.

She currently has a civil suit pending against our former president of the local.

While we respect the Appeals Committee and its purpose, we feel as a local we followed the Constitution to the letter, and request that this body overturn the Appeals Committee's recommendation. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Craver.

DELEGATE DALE O. CRAVER (Local 3140): I stand here to ask you to let the members of 3140 be heard. They have spoken and made it loud and clear on what their decision was as they have gone through the process, and their decision through the appeals process.

All they saw was someone trying to intimidate them with words of a lawsuit as they worked their way through. The words were never spoken. That was done in poor judgment to them. Vicky Thomsen chose not to say those words to those people, and they are the membership.

The membership is asking the governing body to help them to let their words ring loud and clear and echo through the hallways here. This local, like all locals at CWA, is run by the membership, for the membership, and that's the way it should be. (Applause)

I ask everyone here to stand up, stand up next to CWA, US Airways Local 3140, and let their words be heard. They have made their decision. They went through the due process. They followed the Constitution in every way. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MICHAEL J. FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): I move the question.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Motion has been made to close debate. It is not debatable. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

Before us is the Committee's recommendation that in effect modifies the length of the suspension, from three years until today. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is defeated.

Now let me ask someone from Local 3140, if you would just come to the Motions mike and move that the original penalty be sustained, that would be the motion before the convention.

DELEGATE JOHN TYLER III (Local 3140): I move that we sustain the original decision of the membership.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the motion.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Seconded from the floor. I think we are ready for the question. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is carried. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Appeals Committee.

CHAIR CARR: The Chair recognizes Barbara Leuty.

DELEGATE BARBARA J. LEUTY (Local 6327):

APPEAL NO. 3

On June 26, 2002, Albert Lee Cobb, a member of Local 3204, appealed the Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate his termination grievance.

Cobb had two-and-one-half years of service (NCS Date 10-5-98) with BellSouth when he was terminated on July 31, 2001, for failure to follow instructions and misuse of company time. After incurring a cell phone bill in excess of \$600, the grievant was instructed not to use his cell phone excessively, and not to use it for long distance. During the following five weeks, he used his cell phone for 44 hours, including long distance calls at a cost of more than \$500. The record

also shows that Cobb had received a previous suspension for failure to follow instructions, inappropriate behavior and misuse of company time.

The appeal does not rebut the Executive Board's conclusion that an arbitrator would conclude that the company had just cause to terminate Cobb's employment. Having fully reviewed the record in this case, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Albert Lee Cobb be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the committee's recommendation.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: No delegates at the mike. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation of Appeal 3, please raise your hands. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. Committee.

CHAIR CARR: The Chair recognizes Tim Donoghue.

DELEGATE TIMOTHY M. DONOGHUE (Local 4400):

APPEAL NO. 4

On June 8, 2003, Richard Olah, a member of Local 1090, appealed the Executive Board's decision regarding the election of the president of Local 1090. Olah challenged the election to the local election committee alleging that the then-incumbent president campaigned on union-paid time and that two candidates had jointly developed and sent virtually identical campaign letters. The local election committee, Vice President Mancino, President Bahr and the Executive Board have all denied the challenge.

Candidates for union office may send out campaign literature in whatever manner they see fit. The fact that two candidates sent out virtually identical letters is not reason to overturn the results of the election. In fact, the Department of Labor rules specify that a union may not censor the statements of candidates in any way.

The allegation that the president campaigned on union time is equally without merit. The record shows that Olah and another candidate accepted an invitation by the incumbent president to drive both of them to the post office to mail their campaign literature. The election committee agreed to this arrangement and asked the president to deliver additional mail to the post office. Included in this additional mail was the president's own campaign literature. Olah claims that this amounts to campaigning on union-paid time. We do not agree with Olah's claims and find that the local president was simply delivering mail to the post office and not campaigning.

Olah also challenged the election to the Department of Labor, which also found no merit to his claims.

Having carefully reviewed the file in this case, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Richard Olah be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the Committee's recommendation.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is no delegate at the microphone. All those in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. Committee.

CHAIR CARR: The Chair recognizes Ramona Martin.

DELEGATE RAMONA MARTIN (Local 2201):

APPEAL NO. 5

Greg Armstrong, a member of Local 3204, has appealed the Executive Board's decision not to arbitrate his termination grievance.

Armstrong was employed by BellSouth as a service technician. At the time of his termination, he had approximately one-and-one half years of service. Armstrong was terminated for repeated failure to follow safety practices. He had been previously suspended twice for the same infraction.

While Armstrong asserts his innocence, there is nothing in the file to alter the Executive Board's decision that an arbitrator would conclude that BellSouth had just cause to terminate his employment.

The Appeals Committee, having fully reviewed the record in this case, recommends that the Executive Board's decision be upheld and Greg Armstrong's appeal be denied.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You heard the Committee's recommendation. On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Wolfe.

DELEGATE JEFFREY W. WOLFE (Local 3305): Does the Committee know the safety violations this gentleman was charged with violating?

PRESIDENT BAHR: The Committee?

DELEGATE MARTIN: Yes, we do.

DELEGATE WOLFE: Could you tell us?

DELEGATE MARTIN: One was--

DELEGATE WOLFE: Otherwise that was going to be my second question.

DELEGATE MARTIN: He was charged with -- he left the keys in his van while he was on a job. He left it running while the keys were in the van. That was one of them. And he was out of the van. And the other one was regarding his test meter. He didn't have that on him. He also did not have his safety glasses with him.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Okay. There is no one else at the microphone.

On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Wolfe.

DELEGATE WOLFE: I work for BellSouth and it seems like to me BellSouth has been getting us an awful lot on safety here lately, and it doesn't seem like this man done too awful much to be fired over.

Now we just had a person fired here back for not carrying his VTD with him, which tells him his voltage is not on. We won that in arbitration.

It seems like everything is fine with BellSouth if they have got an emergency and you can break every damn safety rule they got, but then all of a sudden, (cheers and applause) and then all of a sudden, if you leave your truck running, they want to fire you.

I would like you all to appeal this and give this man an arbitration case. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 4, Delegate Jones.

DELEGATE GLENN F. JONES (Local 3204): I was the vice president of Local 3204. I was the vice president that represented this employee in the grievance process, and I saw where the company completely harassed this employee, completely looked at this employee to seek out to fire this employee. The company could not prove anything to show merit that they saw keys in his truck.

The supervisor went out there and literally put a second set of his in this employee's truck,

but yet they could not support that and show that this employee had done anything wrong.

So I say that this needs to be looked at again and be re-appealed. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: There is no other delegate willing to speak or desiring to speak.

On Microphone No. 5, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MICHAEL J. FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): Thank you, Mr. President, in the decision not to arbitrate this man's case, was the motivation the length of service?

DELEGATE MARTIN: No, sir. It had to do with the number of years he had been employed and the amount of suspensions he had. He had two suspensions.

PRESIDENT BAHR: You are entitled to a second question, Mike.

DELEGATE FAHRENHOLT: So that means that if a person is accused by BellSouth, tried by BellSouth, found guilty by BellSouth, we simply agree with that?

PRESIDENT BAHR: I think you are taking advantage here of this Committee. That is not what anybody in our Committee said. She just didn't say that. Your first question was, was the length of service taken into account? They said yes, in connection with the fact that he had two previous suspensions.

You have used up your two questions, Mike.

No one else is at a mike. Before us is the Committee's recommendation on Appeal No. 5 – hold it. Okay, yell out. I guess there was somebody else on the mike. On microphone No. 4, Delegate Lilja.

DELEGATE ROBERT P. LILJA (Local 1104): Thank you, Morty. It seems to me that we don't have a gangster here. I would like everybody in the audience who works outside, who has ever left their keys in their truck with the motor running, to stand up.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Don't do that. Somebody might be watching. (Laughter)

DELEGATE LILJA: Now, I hope there is nobody in the audience from labor relations, from any of the companies, because we would all get fired. I mean, this guy didn't do anything wrong, nothing that anybody in here wouldn't do or hasn't done already. And not to arbitrate his case is a crime. (Applause) He deserves his day in court. Just because BellSouth has some chicken shit safety program, (cheers and whistles) it shouldn't take away anybody's job. That is all I got to say. Arbitrate his case. (Cheers and applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Wynn.

DELEGATE PAM WYNN (Local 4309): Call the question.

PRESIDENT BAHR: A motion has been made to close debate. It is not debatable. All those in favor, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. Debate is closed.

Before us is Appeal No. 5. All those in favor of the Committee's report, indicate by raising your hands – Nobody! (Laughter and applause) All those opposed. (Cries and cheers) The Committee's recommendation is defeated, and the Chair recognizes Freddie Green at Microphone No. 1.

DELEGATE FREDDIE R. GREEN (Local 3410): I move that we arbitrate this man's case. (Cheers)

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: It has been seconded. All those in favor, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. We will arbitrate. (Cheers, whistles and applause)

I honestly hope that the record of this Convention is broken with this case, and I will tell you why. I have gone back to every time an Appeals Committee has been overturned on a question of arbitration, and we haven't won a single time. So I honestly in my heart hope that we break that record with what we just did. (Cheers and applause) The vote was unanimous to arbitrate. The Chair recognizes the Committee.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR CARR: Appeal No. 7.

... Cries of "No. 6"...

CHAIR CARR: Appeal No. 6 has been withdrawn.

APPEAL NO. 7

William Donovan, a member of NABET-CWA Local 11, has appealed the decision of the CWA Executive Board in the matter of Donovan v. Games, Donovan v. Sullivan, and Garnes v. Donovan. The trial court had

not upheld charges filed by Donovan against Garnes and Sullivan, but had found Donovan guilty of violating the NABET-CWA Local Bylaws and the NABET-CWA Sector Bylaws.

Donovan appealed that decision to the NABET-CWA Sector Executive Council. The Council denied the appeal on the basis that it was untimely. Donovan appealed the Council's decision to the CWA Executive Board. The CWA Executive Board upheld the Council's decision.

The record in this case shows that Donovan received the trial court decision on February 13, 2002. Any appeal of that decision had to be received by March 15, 2002. Mr. Donovan's letter of appeal, however, was not mailed until March 16, 2002, and was not received until March 18, 2002.

Having thoroughly reviewed the record in this case, the Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of William Donovan be denied.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: You have heard the recommendation. There are no delegates at a mike. All those in favor, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

Please join me in thanking the Appeals Committee for many, many long hours of hard work. (Applause) The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

I have been corrected. I am told that we did win two cases where the Appeals Committee was overturned. (Cheers and applause)

IN MEMORIAM

Now to a more somber moment, if you will. We've come to that part of every Convention where we recognize those who are no longer with us. Just about one year ago this week, CWA and I personally lost a wonderful friend and humanitarian leader, President-Emeritus Glenn Watts.

Glenn was CWA's second president and the successor to Joe Beirne. I was privileged to have worked alongside Glenn for many years. He made an enormous contribution to our union and bargained many of the benefits our members enjoy today. We prepared a special video tribute to Glenn which we want to show you now.

... A video depicting the life and work of Glenn Watts, President-Emeritus of the CWA, was shown. The printed Memorial Tribute entitled "Glenn Watts: Leader and Gentleman" is included in these Proceedings as follows:

A soft-spoken North Carolinian with a courtly southern manner, CWA President Emeritus Glenn Watts was a true gentleman. He also could be as tough as they come in standing up for working people. As CWA's president for 11 years in the 1970s and '80s, he helped guide the union through a period of great transition. In the words of AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, Glenn was "one of the moving forces in making CWA the powerhouse union it is today."

Glenn was born June 4, 1920, in Stony Point, North Carolina, where his grandfather ran a cotton-spinning mill. When the Depression wiped out the business, his family moved to Washington, D.C. He went to work for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company for 25 cents an hour in 1941 after hearing about the job from workers installing a telephone at the YMCA.

He became an installer himself and joined the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which later became CWA. He was active in his local, serving as its president, and became a member of the National Executive Board in 1948 as director of District 2. In 1956, CWA Founding President Joseph Beirne brought him to headquarters as his assistant and later Glenn was elected Executive Vice President, then Secretary-Treasurer. He became CWA's second president in 1974.

Glenn presided over what we remember as the golden age of bargaining for workers in the Bell System. He led four landmark rounds of bargaining for 500,000 Bell workers, establishing a foundation of contract gains and protections that workers throughout the telecom industry still enjoy today.

With the Bell System breakup on the horizon in 1981, Glenn had the foresight to call for setting up a CWA Committee on the Future to try to predict the sweeping changes to come in communications and in society. At a special convention two years later, the committee was right on the mark in many areas, such as pointing to the need for CWA to continue to organize new areas and to merge with other unions in order to have the size and clout to be effective.

At the beginning of his presidency, the only non-telephone members in CWA were the telegraph workers and a few public workers in New York and New Jersey. By the early 1980s, CWA was reaching out to organize in other fields and our public sector membership had soared to 60,000 by 1983, when we established an executive board position to represent them.

Glenn was committed to advancing opportunities for women and minorities within CWA's leadership ranks and he proposed the creation of CWA's rank-and-file Equity and Women's committees early in his presidency. He also cared deeply about human rights all over the world, and he led CWA to campaign to free Soviet dissidents and to support President Jimmy Carter's Middle East peace initiative. Glenn's passion for peace led to the Glenn E. Watts Cultural Center in Jerusalem, a project that encouraged understanding between Jewish and Arab members of Histadrut, Israel's labor federation. Established in 1985, the center offers cultural, social and educational activities for Jewish and Arab families.

Carrying on CWA's role as the Community-Minded Union, Glenn gave many years of service to local and national United Way operations and served as chairman of the board of governors of the United Way of America. He also was a force in national and local Democratic politics and served on the Democratic National Committee. President Carter said he considered Glenn "one of my best personal friends" and often sought his advice and support.

When Glenn stepped down in 1985, CWA was at another big turning point. The union had capitalized on our early struggles and victories with substantial contract gains. We now had to brace for a whole new world of global competition and turmoil. Glenn had done his part to help point the way for a new leadership team and a new CWA era.

Glenn died August 30, 2002, at age 82. He deserves the greatest epitaph that can be

bestowed on anyone: the lives of countless thousands of people are so much better because of his own lifetime of accomplishment. ...

... "Taps" was sounded as the lights were dimmed...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Assembled here in Chicago, Illinois, for the 65th 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 24 members of the CWA family who have passed from us.

VICE PRESIDENT MILBURN: MARILYN AMEN. Marilyn "Lynn" Amen was fiery, strong and opinionated. As her son put it, "She was the original 'I am woman, hear me roar.'" Lynn began her career as a telephone operator for what is now Southwestern Bell. She joined CWA, won organizing awards and rose to the presidency of her Kansas City local. She made a strong local even stronger and did not hesitate to invite members to her home to discuss problems they were having at work. She was always ready to do battle. Lynn joined the staff as a CWA representative in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1977. From late 1984 until her retirement in 1989, she worked alternately in the Kansas City, Missouri and Topeka, Kansas, offices. She died in Missouri on November 1, 2002, at age 76. Lynn was a pioneer who helped open the union's door for thousands of women who have taken on leadership roles in CWA.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT COHEN: GERALD A. BELANGER. Gerald Belanger is remembered by his CWA friends as a kind mentor whose leadership skills became evident through his dedicated service to Local 2108 in Landover, Maryland. Jerry joined the local in April 1964 after going to work as a central office technician for C&P Telephone. He worked his way up to president, serving as steward, chief steward, education committee chair and executive vice president along the way. He participated in organizing campaigns at Atlantic Telephone and Vitro, and bargained for members at General Dynamics. He also edited the local's newsletter.

Jerry joined the staff as a CWA representative in 1981 and worked in numerous locations – Richmond, Virginia; Timonium, Maryland; Washington, D.C.; and Charleston, West Virginia. He retired in February 1992 to return to his job at the phone company. Jerry died at age 60 on June 29. In the words of his brother Robert, also a former Local 2108 president, "Jerry lived and died union. He was a true union believer."

VICE PRESIDENT MALY: KENNETH H. BERGSTROM. Kenneth Bergstrom made a lasting contribution to the benefits that telecommunications workers enjoy today. Kenny joined CWA when he went to work at AT&T's Western Electric Sales Unit in 1950. Undertaking various leadership roles in Local 7295, he eventually rose to president of the local and vice president of the Minneapolis CWA City Council. He joined the CWA staff in January 1966 and was assigned to New York as a representative for the Sales Unit. He became assistant national director of sales in 1967 and in 1974 became national director.

When Western Electric moved its labor relations personnel to North Carolina in the 1970s, Kenny moved to CWA's office in Greensboro, North Carolina. In 1980, Kenny played a major role in negotiating our Western Electric contract, which became a benchmark for the entire industry. So much of what we have in our AT&T and Lucent contracts came out of that 1980 agreement, including retirement after 30 years. At that time, no other union had won such a benefit with the exception of the Autoworkers. After the AT&T divestiture in 1984, Western Electric became part of AT&T Technologies. The sales office moved back to Somerset, New Jersey, in July 1985, and Kenny moved with it. In May 1986, following a restructuring of CWA, he was named administrative assistant to CWA Vice President for AT&T Technologies Ron Allen.

In July 1987, when CWA combined AT&T Communications and Technologies under one vice president, he became administrative assistant to Vice President James Irvine. He retired in

July 1991 and died July 24 of this year due to complications of diabetes at age 73. To Kenny, the CWA family was simply an extension of his own, and we will always remember this union brother with gratitude.

IUE-CWA DISTRICT 8 PRESIDENT VAN ESS: JAMES BEVAN, SR. James Bevan fought for the rights of thousands of IUE members employed at General Electric. After going to work for GE in 1960, he became active in Local 286, serving as department steward, executive board member and administration chief steward. From 1974 to 1978, he held the IUE staff position of conference board consultant. From 1978 until his retirement in 1987, he served as secretary of the IUE-GE Conference Board.

James' commitment to family and community earned him the respect of workers and management alike. He served on the planning board of his town of Peterborough, New Hampshire, was a trustee of Beals Memorial Library and sang in the All-Saints Episcopal Church choir. James passed away June 19, 2002, at age 60. His IUE-CWA family will always remember him.

VICE PRESIDENT BOARMAN: JACK BORIS. Jack Boris saw massive technological change in an industry he loved during nearly more than 30 years as a printer and union activist in the New York City area. He became a member of Long Island Typographical Union No. 9 in March 1939, which in 2000 merged with New York Typographical Union No. 6/CWA Local 14156. Among various leadership roles, he served on the local's apprentice committee. He became an ITU representative in January 1966. Having seen the industry go from hot type to cold type to offset lithography, Jack was determined that he would make a difference in helping our members prepare for the jobs of the future. During the 1970s, he was instrumental in putting together the curriculum for the ITU's training center in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He formulated contract language to protect the jobs of ITU members as the industry adopted new processes, and he traveled throughout the United States to negotiate contracts for our members. He retired in January 1981 and died on September 19, 2002, at the age of 87. We will never forget his hard work and dedication.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT COHEN: JANN BUTTIGLIERI. Jann Buttiglieri, better known as "Jann Boots" or "Little Boots," was a lifelong champion of the underdog, always ready to help workers and anyone in need. Her patient, helpful nature earned her the nickname "Mother" among her colleagues in District 2 where she was a staff representative working for Verizon, Lucent, and community college locals in Maryland. Jann grew up in West Virginia and got a job with what is now Verizon in Charleston in 1973. Over the years, she worked in the pay phone division, was an operator, a service representative and, after relocating to Baltimore in 1986, a technician. She served in leadership roles in Local 2001 and became vice president of Local 2101. She ultimately became the company's first health care benefits coordinator, serving as a liaison between management and the union. In 1995, she was hired as a CWA representative. She was extremely bright, highly organized and a gifted speaker who never gave up, making her an especially powerful force in arbitrations. She always looked out for people less fortunate and even carried bulk food in her car to feed the homeless. Jann lost a three-month battle with cancer December 17, 2002. She was 51. We miss her tremendously and aspire to the standards she set for kindness and good works.

IUE-CWA DISTRICT 3 PRESIDENT INGRASSIA: GEORGE COLLINS. George Collins saw early on that labor unions needed to be a force in politics, and as IUE's Secretary-Treasurer was on a first-name basis with many members of Congress. He made sure lawmakers heard the workers' side of the story. A native of New York City, George started his career at the Sperry-Rand Corporation in the 1940s and was active in what is now IUE-CWA Local 81425, serving as a shop steward, building chairman and secretary. He played a major role in the struggle to build IUE, traveling throughout the country in the early 1950s and helping organize more than 300,000 workers at General Electric, Westinghouse, Sylvania, RCA and other plants.

In 1952, he was elected Vice President of IUE District 4 and he became a member of the International Executive Board in 1956. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer in 1964, running on a

ticket with IUE founding President Jim Carey. Four years later he joined the staff and helped pioneer COPE, our vital political action program. He also was instrumental in global labor relations. Among his travels, he made numerous trips to Japan to lay the groundwork for an exchange of electrical technicians between the two countries. George was 84 when he died February 13, 2003. His pioneering spirit will be greatly missed.

VICE PRESIDENT SMITH: LONNIE DANIEL. Lonnie Daniel was, as a friend put it, a “crackerjack” administrator. As assistant to the president of then-District 10, he crossed every “T”, dotted every “I” and excelled at making things work smoothly and efficiently. Lonnie began his career at Southern Bell in Louisiana in 1938, joining what is now CWA Local 3402. He served his local in various capacities, including as a member of the Southern Bell bargaining committee in 1951. That same year he joined the CWA staff as Mississippi director, working out of Jackson. He helped lead a 72-day strike against Southern Bell in 1955. Various promotions in District 3 sent him to Atlanta in 1958 as a special representative, back to Jackson in 1960 as area director for Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama, to Atlanta in 1964 as west area director, and to Nashville in 1968 with the same title. He retired in 1980. He had been married for 65 years when he died December 19, 2002, at age 86. We mourn the passing of a dedicated union brother.

IUE-CWA DISTRICT 8 PRESIDENT VAN ESS: DOMINIC JERALD FIORINI. Dominic Fiorini served as an IUE international representative for 30 years, retiring in 1996. A Marine Corps veteran, he came to union work after serving in World War II. A lifelong resident of Bridgeport, Connecticut, his commitment to working people and his reputation for fairness led to his appointment to the Mediation and Arbitration Board of the Connecticut Board of Labor. Dominic died on May 25 after a long illness. He was 74. His accomplishments on behalf of working people will long be remembered.

PRESIDENT BAHR: FREDERICK J. FISCHER, SR. Fred Fischer, former Director of the AT&T Long Lines unit, was a hard worker with an engaging personality who dearly loved CWA. The feeling was mutual. In the words of the late CWA President Emeritus Glenn Watts, “Fred achieved the most enviable measure of esteem and respect among his colleagues and the CWA members he served for 20 years.”

Fred began his career as an Installer for New York Telephone in December of 1949 after a three-year tour as a Navy submariner. In 1958, he was one of a dozen New York Telephone plant employees who volunteered to help me organize the New York Tel plant workers. We won that election in 1961 and Fred rose to be President of Local 1106 in Queens, New York. He joined the staff in 1962 as a representative assigned to Headquarters, and the following year transferred to the District 4 Detroit office. There he served as staff chair of the Michigan Tel Bargaining Unit, which that year set the pattern for bargaining throughout the AT&T Bell System. Moving on to District 1, he worked in both New York and New Jersey. He was promoted to assistant director of Long Lines in 1970, serving 36 CWA locals. CWA convention delegates elected him Long Lines National Director in 1977. In 1980, in my capacity as District 1 vice president, I appointed Fred as my administrative assistant. He served for two years, retiring in 1982. Fred died March 25 at age 75. We will long remember his contributions to building CWA.

VICE PRESIDENT FOLEY: EUGENE B. JONES. Eugene Jones, a pillar of The Newspaper Guild-CWA, is remembered as a dedicated humanitarian. Over a 30-year period, he held numerous offices, including the presidency of the Newspaper Guild’s Middle Atlantic District Council. He was twice elected an International Vice President, serving from 1975 to 1977 as a Region 1 Vice President, and from 1993 to 1997 as an At-Large Vice President. His service to the Guild included active roles in the acquisition and restoration of the Philadelphia Guild’s union hall and the negotiations of contracts at the Philadelphia Inquirer newspaper. For decades, he served as a trustee on the Inquirer and Daily News Guild pension fund, making sure that co-workers were being properly compensated. Gene also worked in the admissions office at Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia for nearly 30 years, before joining the full-time advertising sales staff at the Inquirer. He continued at Children’s part-time on weekends and often helped parents find a place to stay while attending a sick child. In his later years, he helped serve food to the homeless from a soup kitchen at his church. Gene died on March 16, 2002, following a

long illness. He was 68. Gene's death inspired numerous tributes from Guild members, including *Daily News* columnist Stu Bykofsky, who remembered Gene as "a man of good spirit in all senses of the word." He was a gentleman," Stu recalled, "one of our best."

VICE PRESIDENT BIXLER: DAN McLEOD. Dan McLeod's life work was the union. He was committed to helping his fellow workers and protecting their rights, as well as their health and safety. Dan went to work for Pacific Telephone in 1951 as a splicer and installer and joined CWA Local 9430 in San Mateo, California. He served in many leadership roles, including 12 years as president. He also was active in the area's Democratic Party. In 1975, he went to work as a CWA representative in Seattle, assisting members in Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and Alaska. In addition to working with Pacific Bell locals and helping to organize other companies, he worked tirelessly on safety and health issues. Remembered as a free spirit, Dan had a second career as a yoga instructor after retiring from CWA in 1985. Dan died January 16, 2003. He was 75. He is greatly missed by his union family.

VICE PRESIDENT SMITH: HAROLD MINCEY. Harold Mincey was deeply concerned about making people's lives better. After four years as an air policeman in the U.S. Air Force, including a tour in Vietnam, Harold was hired by Southern Bell Telephone in 1967, working 13 years as an installer, PBX technician, service consultant, and cable repairman. Meanwhile, he rose through the ranks of CWA Local 3615 in Castle Hayne, North Carolina, serving as vice president and president. He helped lead a one-week strike against Southern Bell Telephone in 1971 and lobbied the state legislature extensively on CWA's safety and health issues. Harold joined the staff as a CWA representative, assigned to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in 1981. After transferring to the Atlanta office in 1982, he handled grievances with Southern Bell. He became administrative assistant to the District 3 Vice President, retiring to Conyers, Georgia, in 1999. Harold died December 14, 2002, at age 56. He will be greatly missed.

IUE-CWA DISTRICT 7 PRESIDENT BINDAS: WILLIAM NEAL. William Neal was a passionate and eloquent spokesman on behalf of the IUE. He joined Local 804 when he went to work for Leland Electro-Systems in Vandalia, Ohio. He became an international representative after serving in the U.S. Army during the Korean Conflict. A resident of West Alexandria, Ohio, Bill died on November 8 at the age of 68. The members will never forget his passion for addressing the needs and concerns of workers.

Now, let's also take a moment to remember a special person, our Sister MICHELLE RODGERS who was killed on the picket line in January 2003, fighting for affordable healthcare for GE IUE-CWA members.

VICE PRESIDENT BOARMAN: RALPH J. PANCALLO. Ralph Pancallo so loved the International Typographical Union that, following his retirement in 1979, he donated papers and related documents to the University of Connecticut's Thomas Dodd Library to help preserve the union's history. Ralph, who lived his entire life in New Britain, Connecticut, served nearly three decades as an ITU staff representative, bringing to the position in the early 1950s a wealth of experience gained as a journeyman printer at the *Meriden Record* and later as a printer at the *New Britain Herald*. As a staff representative, he negotiated contracts between printers and newspapers in New England, New York and all of the Eastern United States. He died on June 3 at 89. We will always remember Ralph as a member of our union family.

VICE PRESIDENT RECHENBACH: EDWARD V. PEIL. Edward Peil was truly a union pioneer. Before CWA, Ed helped build our predecessor, the National Federation of Telephone Workers. He was one of just two or three people who initially formed the union in his home state of Wisconsin, traveling throughout the state to organize workers. After the modern CWA was formed in 1947, he joined the staff as a representative in Milwaukee. Earlier, he worked as a toll test boardman for the Wisconsin Telephone Co. and as a telegraph operator for the Chicago, Milwaukee and Northwestern Railroad. Ed was a quiet, easy-going man, well liked by the members he served. He worked especially hard to pass union-friendly legislation. In 1953, he became CWA's Wisconsin director, the position he held until his retirement at the end of 1971. Ed's son grew up to be a Teamster steward and said his father passed on his strong union values

to his family. Ed was 96 years old when he died April 4, 2003. He was one of our first union-builders and we will always be grateful for his contributions.

VICE PRESIDENT SMITH: MITCHELL ROSHTO. Mitchell Roshto realized earlier than many that CWA's growth was paramount to its longevity and vitality. He joined Local 10411, now 3411, in 1950 when he went to work as a switching equipment technician for South-Central Bell in Shreveport, Louisiana, and he served three terms as local president from 1964 to 1970. Seasoned by three Bell strikes, in 1955, 1968 and 1971, he strived to build a stronger union, working to organize units of Western Electric, Crescent Construction and several small trucking companies, as well as Norton Manufacturing in Huntsville, Alabama. He joined the staff in Birmingham, Alabama, as a CWA representative in March 1972 on the recommendation of then-District 10 Vice President W.W. Brown who wrote that Mitch "had more experience in external organizing than any other member or officer in the district." Mitch served as the union's North Louisiana director for a year and in 1980 won election as Vice President of District 10, comprising Louisiana, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. He was succeeded in 1983 by T.J. Volk, served for a time as special assistant to then-CWA President Glenn Watts, and then retired as East Tennessee director in March 1985. Mitch died on September 11, 2002, at age 73. CWA will always remember his commitment to strong leadership and to building our union.

IUE-CWA DISTRICT 8 PRESIDENT VAN ESS: ROBERT R.L SEBERA. Robert Sebera established a reputation as a pacesetter from the beginning of his labor career as Midwest organizing and servicing representative for United Furniture Workers Local 450. He later served as a Furniture workers executive board member and pension plan trustee. Always skilled at bringing workers together, he became an IUE Executive Board member after the two unions merged in 1986. After his retirement, Bob continued to handle insurance and pension issues for Local 450 until his death on April 28. He will be missed by all of his fellow union members and remembered as a gentleman who took their problems to heart.

VICE PRESIDENT SMITH: SELINA BURCH STANFORD. Selina Stanford's relationship with CWA spanned more than five decades, 36 years of it as a staff member. Strong and independent, she was a pioneer among CWA women. Selina became an operator in her hometown of Dublin, Georgia, in 1945 at age 17 and joined the Southern Federation of Telephone Workers. She weathered a 47-day strike in 1947, transferred to Charleston, South Carolina, and in 1952 was elected secretary of CWA Local 3407.

In 1954, she became the first woman elected president of her local. In 1955, she joined CWA's staff as a representative and organizer and was soon named North Louisiana director. She was reassigned to Atlanta in 1964 and a decade later became Georgia and Florida area director. The following year, she became administrative assistant to the District 3 Vice President, then served as administrative assistant to CWA President Glenn Watts in Washington, D.C., from 1978 to 1980. Afterwards, she returned to her job in Atlanta, retiring in 1991. She was long active in Democratic politics, and worked on the campaigns of Atlanta Mayors Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young, as well as for Jimmy Carter in his 1976 campaign for President. Selina died October 20, 2002, in Atlanta at age 75. We will forever benefit from her pioneering spirit and tireless work ethic.

VICE PRESIDENT FOLEY: FLOYD TUCKER, JR. Floyd Tucker rose from being a news agency office boy to International Vice President of The Newspaper Guild. With twinkling eyes, a handlebar mustache and a "wit so dry it crackled," as one friend said, he made a striking impression. After serving in the Navy in the South Pacific from 1944 to 1946, Floyd went to school at St. Mary's College near San Francisco. He graduated in 1950 and began his newspaper career in his hometown of Sacramento as an office boy for the United Press Associations. He went on to work at six Northern California newspapers as a reporter or editor, including the *San Jose Mercury News* and *Oakland Tribune*, where he was a copy editor, assistant news editor, Sunday editor, and even the women's page editor. He was a two-term president of the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild before serving as Vice President of the national Guild from 1979 to 1985, fighting hard for many of the benefits Guild members enjoy today. Afterwards, he edited the California Labor Federation's newspaper for 12 years, winning

several national awards for his work. He retired in 1997 and began helping the Northern California Media Guild put out its publication. He died Sept. 30, 2002, at age 76. Floyd's good humor and sound advice made him both beloved and respected. We will never forget him.

VICE PRESIDENT SMITH: THEODORE VOLK, JR. Theodore "Tevie" Volk had the patience of a saint and smarts to match, and it made him an exceptionally good negotiator. As one friend put it, "The company was never able to get under his skin." Tevie rose from the ranks at Southern Bell to become Vice President of CWA's former District 10. His phone company career started in Macon, Georgia, interrupted by three years with the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II. Afterwards, he returned to his job at Southern Bell, working as a lineman and service technician. He became president of CWA Local 3217 and in 1955 the union hired him as its South Carolina director. Within a few weeks, CWA launched a strike at Southern Bell that lasted 72 days and Tevie worked around the clock traveling to picket lines across the state. In 1964, he moved to Toronto to serve as Canadian director for three years. He returned to the United States as area director in Birmingham, then administrative assistant to the Vice President. He was elected Vice President in 1983 and retired in 1986. Tevie died in Talladega, Alabama, Dec. 7, 2002. He was 80. Tevie loved the union and helping others, and that is a legacy to be proud of.

VICE PRESIDENT BOARMAN: REX ENOCH WILLIAMS. Rex Williams had a flair for presentation that led him into public relations work on behalf of the International Typographical Union. A native of Kansas City and an Army veteran of World War II, Rex became a member of Kansas Typographical Union No. 498 in May 1949. He rose to president of the local and is remembered for his strong leadership during a strike in 1960. He later moved to California, where from 1969 to 1973 he served as secretary-treasurer of San Diego Typographical Union No. 221, now part of CWA Local 9400. Rex joined the ITU staff in 1974, initially worked in public relations, and then was assigned to the Contracts Department. In 1979 he was designated a special representative and in 1983 was promoted to the post of full-time representative. Three years later, he deposited his ITU traveling card with Joplin, Missouri, Local 350. An accomplished brass player, Rex also carried a card from the American Federation of Musicians. After a long day of meetings, he would often unwind by sitting in with a band at local nightspots. Rex died on March 15 at age 77. He always put his best foot forward for our members, and they will never forget him.

VICE PRESIDENT FOLEY: JAMES B. WOODS. James Woods loved nothing more in his retirement years than critiquing the daily newspaper from his living room chair, reading every word. A former president of The Newspaper Guild, he was a veteran newspaperman. Born in Sturgeon, Missouri, he worked his way through school in the middle of the Great Depression, becoming the first person in his family to graduate from college. His first reporting job was at the *Journal Gazette* in Mattoon, Illinois, and he went on to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, where he also served the Guild in many leadership roles. Ten years later, in 1953, he was hired by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. After serving as a unit chair, local president and vice president of the Guild's Midwestern Region 3 in 1955, James elected to the International Executive Board. He was promptly chosen to chair the key collective bargaining committee, a role he filled for the next 12 years. He was elected the Guild's eighth President in 1967, serving two years, and then became the Guild's first international chairman by acclamation in 1969, serving four years. He continued his newspaper career after leaving office, ultimately serving as an editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. James died August 1, 2002, in Missouri at age 89. He will be greatly missed.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Six days ago, on August 20, CHARLES WOESTE, a member of Local 4400, an employee of Cincinnati Bell, was a lineman who was killed on the job, after 34 years of service.

Let us now pause to remember those CWA Local Officers who have passed from our midst since our last convention.

D.E. Kines, Retired Members' Council, Founding Chair.

Marlene Dishman, Local 4780, Secretary-Treasurer.

Urbano Herrera, Local 6127, Vice President.

Walter Nobbles, Jr., Local 6137, President.

John Ross, Local 6350, Executive Vice President.

Bob Jagolinzer, Local 31041, President.

Joe Champa, Local 59053, President.

Hal Ingels, Local 59053, Treasurer.

For all those who have passed from us during the past year, we now offer our solemn prayers of love. We shall never forget their loyalty, their courage, their ideals.

Each created a 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 the high standards that they exemplified.

We call upon the members of the Communications Workers of America to symbolically join us in heart and mind, as we pay homage to Glenn Watts, Lynn Amen, Gerald Belanger, Kenneth Bergstrom, James Bevan, Jack Boris, Jann Buttiglieri, George Collins, Lonnie Daniel, Dominic Fiorini, Frederick Fischer, Eugene Jones, Dan McLeod, Harold Mincey, William Neal, Ralph Pancallo, Edward Peil, Michelle Rodgers, Mitchell Roshto, Robert Sebera, Selina Stanford, Floyd Tucker, Theodore Volk, Rex Williams, James Woods, Charles Woeste, the Members, 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.

... "Taps" was sounded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: This is always a moving part of our Convention, and standing here after 18 years, it doesn't get any easier as we say goodbye to people that we've worked with and whom we loved.

Now, it takes time for the lights to come back up – they tell me some five or six minutes. So we are going to move ahead now with the CWA Newsletter Awards.

Our judges were impressed by your publications and expressed high praise for the hard work and creativity of your writers and editors. Don't ever doubt the vitally important role your newsletters play in our union. You communicate in a direct and personal way with our members, helping them understand and appreciate the issues that are important to each particular local. In the coming election year, more than ever your newsletters will be valuable tools. To put it bluntly, our country is under attack by zealous, anti-worker forces and not just at a national level.

In fact, some of the most critical battles are being played out in state and local communities. Notably, these include the Tom DeLay crusade to redistrict Texas, and the California governor's recall. We just heard that Tom DeLay is going out there to help Arnold and what you're going to see is the terminator and the exterminator working together and, for those of you who don't know, Tom DeLay, before he got elected to Congress, exterminated cockroaches. That enabled him to become majority leader of the Republican Party in the House.

Your newsletters can do a tremendous service by explaining these types of local injustices and what unions are doing to fight them. We urge you, too, to cover local worker-friendly candidates who are running for office at every level, from the school board and city council to the state legislature.

Our work, our future, depends not only on having elected officials in Washington who are truly concerned about workers and working families, but on having pro-worker leaders at every

level of government. Every household your newsletter reaches has at least one voter, and possibly two or more. Don't ever underestimate the power of your newsletters to get our members interested in the political process and get them to the polls.

That brings me to a very important point. We all know that the economy is weak, that we've had some membership losses, but I urge you, no matter how tough things get, not to sacrifice your union publications. In hard times, communication is more important than ever. Many of you have created websites for your members, and I encourage all of you who don't have one to do so.

But, even in 2003, not everyone has access to the Internet. Even those of us who do may not check a website regularly enough to stay updated. A web page is a marvelous tool, but it is not a substitute for a printed copy of your newsletter that arrives in every one of your members' mailboxes. It may be read not only by members, but also by spouses and children. It is a cost-effective means to reach out to many people at once, including our next generation of union members..

Now, the judges said your entries were a pleasure to read, and I quote, "We are truly sorry that the nature of the competition required us to single out only some for awards." "Our unanimous view is that every organization that makes the commitment to produce a periodical for its membership is performing a service so vital to the health of your organization that you all deserve recognition."

Judging this year's contest were Michele Amber, reporter and editor at the *Daily Labor Report*; Michael Buckley, communications director for the AFL-CIO's Transportation Trades Department; and Carolyn Jacobson, director of the Contraceptive Equity Project at the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Some of the awards have already been presented in district and sector meetings. They include these first-place honors: For Best News Reporting: *Frontpage*, TNG-CWA Local 31003, Dona Fowler, Editor; Bob Townsend, Assistant Editor. (Applause)

The judges said the winning entry, headlined "Terminated *El Diario* Reporter Reinstated by Arbitrator's Order," was a thorough report of an arbitrator's ruling that wrongly fired TNG-CWA member Roberto Bustamante be reinstated, with benefits, to his position at the Spanish daily, *El Diario*.

For Best Layout: *Communique*, CWA Local 1180, Dorothee Benz, Editor. The judges said, and I quote, "*Communique's* graphic design and layout will make the reader want to read this publication. A quality product throughout and especially from a graphic design and layout perspective."

For Best Original Cartoon or Graphic Presentation: *Times Advocate*, Local 9414, Ann Eggen, Editor. The judges praised a strong graphic commentary on a college administration's treatment of part-time instructors and the subsequent transformation of the instructors into full-time activists.

For Best Front Page: *Communique*, Local 1180, Dorothee Benz, Editor. If a picture is worth a thousand words, then Local 1180's *Communique* hit the jackpot with its January/February 2003 front page. The dramatic photograph and its message speak volumes. The local and its members will not stand idly by while the New York City government tries to solve a host of problems on the backs of workers.

For Best Human Interest Feature: *The Guild*, TNG-CWA local 31034, Michael McNessor, Editor. Headlined "First Class Delivery," the judges said this was a wonderful account of TNG-CWA Local 31034 member Brett Paulson and his dedication to his work as a mail/dispatch clerk at the Times Union in Albany, New York. The article portrays Paulson's enormous dedication in spite of working conditions that include snow and sleet, anthrax scares and the constant battle with pesky rodents.

For Best Opinion Column: *The CWA Wiretap*, Local 4603, Lori Wawrzonek, Editor. The

judges said the column titled, "The Other Vote," was a strongly written exhortation for union members to remember to also vote economically. In other words, to not spend money with the Wal-Marts of the world whose treatment of workers and local communities goes against every principle of trade unionism.

In addition to these awards, this year our panel gave a special judges' award for outstanding use of humor and satire to convey a serious message or opinion. It was awarded to *Locally Speaking*, Local 1023, Paula Belmonte, Editor; Ward Riley, Assistant Editor. The judges said the paper humorously took an "effective swipe at management characterization of union telephone workers as obsolete."

Our next awards are for overall general excellence.

The winner in Category 1, for publications serving locals with fewer than 200 members, the winner is *Chatter Box*, IUE-CWA Local 83736, Juan Otero, Editor; Rein Redik, Assistant Editor. Accepting the award is Vice President Mike Bindas. (Presentation - Applause)

Although small in size and simple in design, the judges said *Chatter Box* does exactly what a local publication should do: It is full of news and updates for members and it also provides a variety of other useful information.

In Category 2, for locals of 200 to 500 members, the winner is *The Guild*, TNG-CWA Local 31034, Michael McNessor, Editor. Accepting the award is Vice President Linda Foley.

First and foremost, the judges said, *The Guild* is well written. The newsletter displays a nice editorial mix between news updates, feature stories and opinion pieces.

Pleasing graphic design and layout add to the mix to provide readers with information and attractive publication. Accepting the award is Executive Vice President Patricia Robinson. (Presentation - Applause)

For locals with 500 to 1,000 members, Category 3, our winner is *Times Advocate*, Local 9414, Anne Eggen, Editor. Accepting the award is Executive Vice President Patricia Robinson.

The judge said the *Times Advocate* offers the members of Local 9414 a well-packaged news product with timely updates on major issues, strong and well-written commentaries and plenty of need-to-know pieces for members. A nice sprinkling of photos and spot color adds to the news package.

For our locals with more than 1,000 members, Category 4, our winner is *Communique*, Local 1180, Dorothee Benz, Editor. Accepting the award is Vice President Bill Henning and Vice President Linda Jenkins. (Presentation - Applause)

Communique epitomizes the term "general excellence," the judges said. Its editorial content is planned with the members in mind. Its articles are written in an easy to read news style that is pleasing to the reader, the feature stories are engaging, the opinion pieces are strong, and the layout and graphic design further compliment a fine publication.

Our final award is the Oscar Jager Journalism Award. It is presented each year to a publication that reflects the dedication and hard work of the late Oscar Jager, a past editor of the *CWA News*, a lifetime labor publicist and a very good friend of mine.

This year's award goes to the *Communique*, Local 1180, Dorothee Benz, Editor. Accepting the award is again Vice President Henning or Vice President Linda Jenkins. (Presentation - Applause)

The judges continued to pile the compliments on the *Communique*, calling it "an outstanding example of what a union publication should be." In addition to fine writing and eye-pleasing design the judges said the focus of the publication is always on the members. It conveys their story, their challenges, their accomplishments and their work in the larger community in an editorial style that is both appealing and respectful of the membership.

Communique covers a wide range of subjects in each issue; inclusion of the “Roving Reporter” feature provides an opportunity for two-way communication as well as another vehicle to inject the thoughts and views of the Local’s membership into their publication. The editorial content features a nice balance between on-the-job issues and world issues.

The judges were repeatedly drawn to *Communique*. The reason was obvious: This is a real newspaper and it is a first-class newspaper in every respect.

Congratulations to all the winners. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Will the Resolutions Committee come to the platform? The Chair recognizes the Chair of the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIR CORARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Charlie Braico.

DELEGATE CHARLIE BRAICO (NABET-CWA Local 54041): Delegates, please turn to page 16 of the Resolutions Committee Report and take a look at Resolution 65A-03-11.

RESOLUTION 65A-03-11

Restore Collective Bargaining Rights in the United States

The right of private sector workers to organize a union and negotiate a collective bargaining agreement is established in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), the major federal labor law in our country. Several million workers and their families fought and sacrificed for these rights. The NLRA states that, “It is declared to be the policy of the United States ... to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining...” The law of the land has not changed, but no longer can anyone say that collective bargaining is widely promoted in this country. Every contract negotiation is a struggle. It doesn’t matter if we are renegotiating a contract that has been in effect for 30 years, or negotiating a contract for the first time.

In the United States, less than 8.5 percent of private sector workers are covered under collective bargaining agreements, down from a high of 35 percent in 1954. Other industrial nations have much higher collective bargaining coverage rates. In France, the collective bargaining coverage rate for the public and private sector is 85 percent; in Spain, 68 percent; in Germany, 67 percent; in Great Britain, 36 percent; and in Canada, 32 percent.

CEOs and top executives have individual labor contracts. Entertainers and professional athletes have contracts. Workers individually do not have the economic power to negotiate a just contract. That is why the NLRA provided for collective bargaining because together, working women and men could balance the power of employers and negotiate a just contract. But the balance is gone and we must shine a light on the laws, processes, and legal loopholes that allow employers and their high-paid lawyers to delay and deny workers a contract and a union.

Can we have a democracy with a strong advanced economy without collective bargaining? The Congress did not think so in 1935 when it enacted the NLRA. President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not think so when he signed the NLRA and encouraged workers to seek the protections of collective bargaining through union membership. The Supreme Court did not think so when it upheld the NLRA in 1937.

For decades, the United States government has gone all over the world declaring that workers’ rights go hand in hand with democracy. This is no less true for us here in the United States. It’s time for us to fight to regain what generations before thought they had already secured – the right to collective bargaining. Working with other unions and the AFL-CIO, we are launching a campaign with significant resources to bring attention to the collapse of collective bargaining rights in this country.

This will not be a quick battle and there are many powerful and wealthy forces who will oppose us. But it is time to take back the NLRA and the National Labor Relations Board and return them to their original mission of helping workers and promoting workers’ rights.

RESOLVED: That the 65th Convention of the Communications Workers of America encourage every CWA local to adopt a resolution in support of the collective bargaining rights campaign, distribute information on the collective bargaining crises and participate in a national day of action on Dec. 10, 2003.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will seek to negotiate organizing rights language in all of the contracts that we bargain.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America will ask elected leaders and candidates at all levels of government to publicly support collective bargaining rights by signing a pledge card.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 65A-03-11, entitled, "Restore Collective Bargaining Rights in the United States."

... The motion was duly seconded...

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

On Microphone 3, Delegate Irvine.

DELEGATE WILLIAM IRVINE (Local 4100): Sisters and brothers, I rise in support of this resolution to restore collective bargaining rights in the United States. I am from Detroit where we represent workers at Comcast Cable. When we organized these workers in 1994, there were about 125 of them.

Five years ago, we organized the Comcast workers in the Detroit suburb of Taylor. We won the election by seven votes. But these workers never got a union. For nearly four years, the company appealed the election, claiming that we won unfairly by bringing four workers to a cable TV meeting on the Sunday before the CWA Convention the last time we were in Chicago. Four courageous workers at a nonunion company agreed to pin a target on their back by attending a CWA Convention. They claimed we were buying the election.

We won the case through all levels of the NLRB, so the company appealed to federal court. Nearly four years after we had won an election by seven votes, the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals threw out the election because we brought four workers to Chicago for a convention.

Shortly after the union was taken away from these workers, Comcast moved the head end out of union Detroit to nonunion Taylor. Other functions like dispatch have been moved to non-union locations. We are now down to 58 members at Comcast-Detroit, less than half the size of the group we organized in 1994, even though Comcast employment has grown in Metro-Detroit to include thousands of employees.

Sisters and brothers, the system of collective bargaining has broken down in this country. The time has come to do something about it. I urge you to support this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 3, Delegate Lehmann.

DELEGATE KANDACE LEHMANN (Local 6407): Thank you, President Bahr. I represent a small local in the town of Lawrence, Kansas. I have approximately 150 members, 25 of whom are with the gas company and the rest are with Southwestern Bell, or SBC. Approximately 90 of those are operators, relay operators.

I am a single mom. I have brought up four children. I have done this working for SBC. I have done this because I belong to a union. I have a union job. I am the first member of my family to be in a union.

If it were not for the bargaining, I would not have the wages that I have been able to earn. I would not have the health benefits that my bargaining predecessors have been able to get in our contracts. We need to support this, all of us. We need this for our families. We need this for our

children, our children's children. I would appreciate your support on this. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: No other delegates indicated a desire to speak on this resolution. We have before us the Committee's recommendation on Resolution 11. All those in favor indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Those opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Vicki Pallan.

DELEGATE VICKI PALLAN (Local 9575): Would the delegates please turn to page 2 of the Supplemental Resolutions book, "Standing Together For Equity."

RESOLUTION 65A-03-13 **Standing Together for Equality**

As trade unionists, we believe in inclusion and equality. While great strides have been made in recent years, basic rights remain unsecured and strong anti-homosexual sentiment remains commonplace.

On June 26, 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Texas "homosexual conduct" law, which criminalized consensual sex between gay couples and has been widely used to justify discrimination against lesbians and gay men. Writing for the majority, Justice Anthony Kennedy reiterated a previous court position: "Our obligation is to define the liberty of all, not to mandate our own moral code."

The 6-3 decision in *Lawrence v. Texas* is the most significant ruling ever for lesbian and gay Americans' civil rights. This historic case recognizes that love, sexuality and family play the same role in gay people's lives as they do for everyone else. It has also accelerated important discussion in America about the definition of family, marriage, and equal rights for all.

Not surprisingly, the radical right, led by dissenting Justice Antonin Scalia, is now engaged in a vengeful backlash against progress for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. A coalition of right-wing religious groups has launched a campaign to amend the U.S. Constitution to define marriage as strictly between a man and a woman, invalidate all state and local domestic partnership laws, and nullify civil rights protections based on marital status, thus discriminating against groups of citizens.

Every law-abiding citizen and every family has the right to participate fully and equally in our society and to enjoy the benefits and freedoms thereof. CWA has been a leading voice in confronting discrimination through groundbreaking contracts that have paved the way for thousands of workers to receive domestic partner benefits for their families.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America calls on our elected representatives at all levels of government to resist enacting further barriers to equal rights under the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-13, entitled, "Standing Together For Equity."

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The resolution has been put before the Convention. It has been seconded.

Delegate Rich, Microphone 3. No. We might have confused you. We skipped one resolution. Is there anyone desiring to speak on Resolution 13.

Would you pick up the phone, please? Microphone 3, Delegate Elder.

DELEGATE MADELYN ELDER (Local 7901): Thank you, Brother Bahr.

I rise to speak in favor of this resolution. Right now, the program that the Bush Administration is leading is meant to divide us against each other, to emphasize our differences, and to minimize our commonality. To further this division, the Bush Administration will stop at nothing to do that, including trying to tear down some of the gains that we have made.

Partners' benefits. Many of us have those in our contracts, benefits such as health care, benefits such as medical help for people who are transgender, and so on. I believe that this resolution is meant to show that we have commonalities and not to be fooled by the Bush Administration's wish to divide us.

It is not about sexuality. It is not about gender. What it is about is human dignity and the right to the benefits for all. I guess that is all I have to say. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

No other delegates want to speak on this. Before the convention is Resolution 13. All in favor indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Those opposed by like sign. It is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR COVARRUBIAS: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Linda Smith.

DELEGATE LINDA SMITH (Local 1082): Would the delegates please turn to page 1 of the Supplemental Resolutions Committee Report and look at Resolution 65A-03-12, entitled, "Support For Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride."

RESOLUTION 65A-03-12

Support for Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride

Immigrant workers, living and paying taxes in the United States, deserve the right to legalize their status, have a clear road to citizenship, reunify their families, have a voice on the job without regard to legal status, and enjoy full protection of their civil rights and civil liberties-- rights denied by their undocumented status and outdated laws. The road to citizenship needs a new map. The goal of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride is to help draw that map.

Inspired by the freedom riders of the civil rights movement, immigrant workers and their allies will set out from nine major U.S. cities and cross the country in buses in late September. They will converge on Washington, D.C., to meet with members of Congress and travel to Liberty State Park in New Jersey on October 3, and then to Flushing Meadows Park, Queens, New York, for a mass rally on October 4.

According to the most comprehensive study ever done on immigrants, the National Academy of Sciences found that in all their combined roles immigrants make indispensable contributions to our economy. They compose an increasingly essential proportion of our workforce. Through their tax payments, they help finance the costs of schools, health care, roads, welfare payments, Social Security, and the nation's defense. Of course, immigrants are also users and beneficiaries of these government programs.

Immigrants and their children bring long-term economic benefits to the United States as a whole. Immigrants add about \$10 billion each year to the U.S. economy. This estimate does not include the impact of immigrant-owned businesses or the impact of highly skilled immigrants on overall productivity. Overall, immigrants are a fiscal bargain for American taxpayers. Of course, the value of immigrants is not primarily measured by the dollar calculation of their fiscal impact.

Immigrants contribute to America in many ways other than the size of their tax payments and the amount they pump into our economy. Their enrichment of our culture and the overall vitality they bring to American society are immeasurable in fiscal terms. They are a vital benefit to all Americans. For more information on the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride visit www.iwfr.org.

RESOLVED: The Communications Workers of America join with the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and hundreds of other progressive organizations and community leaders in supporting the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride and encourage all of our locals on the route to turn out and participate.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves adoption of Resolution 65A-03-12, entitled, "Support For Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride."

... The motion was duly seconded...

... Secretary-Treasurer Easterling assumed the Chair...

SECRETARY-TREASURER EASTERLING: Microphone No. 3, Janet Rich.

DELEGATE JANET L. RICH (Local 4107): Thank you. I rise in support of this resolution, "In Support of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride."

America is a nation built by immigrants from all over the world, yet many immigrants are treated like third-class citizens. They are treated unfairly, not receiving workers' rights, being paid low wages, and finding it difficult to get citizenship.

Since 9/11, conditions have become worse with many immigrants viewed with fear and suspicion. The truth is that immigrants make many contributions to our economy. They are an essential proportion of our workforce. Through their tax payments they help finance the cost of schools, health care, roads, welfare payments, Social Security, and the national defense.

It is estimated that immigrants and their children add about \$10 billion each year to the U.S. economy. Overall, immigrants are a fiscal bargain for American taxpayers. But it is important to remember that the value of immigrants is not primarily measured by the dollar calculation of their fiscal impact. Their contribution to America is immeasurable. Their enrichment of our culture and the overall vitality they bring to American society cannot be measured. They are a vital benefit to all Americans.

I encourage the delegates to vote in support of this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

... President Bahr resumed the Chair ...

PRESIDENT BAHR: Microphone 3, Delegate Henning.

DELEGATE WILLIAM HENNING, JR. (Local 1180): I rise in support of this resolution. The freedom ride is modeled after the successful freedom ride of decades ago, which helped put the Civil Rights Movement in the forefront of the political consciousness.

The Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride will leave from nineteen cities in September and stop in Washington, D.C., for lobbying, then culminate October 4 with a massive rally in the shadow of the Unisphere in Flushing Meadows Park in my home town of Queens, New York.

Immigrant workers form the basis of a revitalized Labor Movement.

The AFL-CIO has brought a new, forward-looking policy to the U.S. Labor Movement. We have advanced from a position that many thought turned our backs on immigrant workers to one where we now embrace these new Americans and visitors to our country.

It has become clear that employers have deliberately targeted immigrants as an acquiesced workforce to be used as countless generations of new workers have in the past been used to undermine the wages and benefits and standards of the existing workforce.

We all know what happens when immigrant workers try to defend their rights. All of a sudden, those employers become partners with the immigration authorities in trying to victimize workers who get too uppity. As we saw this last year in the Supreme Court decision in the Hanson Plastic case, immigration laws trump workers' rights under labor laws. This cannot be

allowed to go unchallenged.

This week we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the historic March on Washington, which gave us Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. As we celebrate, let us commit to an expanded Civil Rights Movement. We need to understand that not just so-called "illegals" or "undocumented immigrants" are targeted. Immigrants here legally and even naturalized citizens have faced employment discrimination, separation from families, and hate crime attacks.

Seventy-six years ago this week, Sacco and Vanzetti were killed in a wave of anti-union, anti-immigrant hysteria. An injury to one is indeed an injury to all, whether we are talking about native-born or recent arrivals to our country. The oppression of any group of workers weakens all workers.

I urge support for the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride as the beginning of concerted activity to embrace the rights of immigrant workers as the best way to advance the rights of all workers. Thank you. (Applause)

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

DELEGATE LOUIS H. ROCHA, JR. (Local 9423): President Bahr and Delegates: I rise in support of this resolution, "In Support of the Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride."

... Delegate Rocha translated his remarks to the delegates in Spanish...

Brother Bahr, to be brief, I am just going to read the end of this because I know that people have definitely heard a lot of talking, but this issue is of such importance that I do want to bring it to your attention in this great labor town of Chicago, where over 100 years ago immigrants were part of the historic struggle for the eight-hour day. Back then, labor recognized the importance of immigrant workers and did not close the door to the Germans and the other people that were here, who were welcomed in the neighborhoods, and who were welcomed in the Labor Movement as they fought and gave their lives for the eight-hour day that we all take for granted today.

In that spirit, I ask all you delegates to support this resolution. It is long overdue. Labor has not reached out to the immigrants in years past as maybe we should have. We can start on that road for a just day for all workers in this country by supporting this Freedom Ride.

Si, se puede; yes, we can. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Louis.

There are no other delegates asking to speak. Those in favor of Resolution No. 12 indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed by like sign. My eyes tell me that it is unanimous. Thank you. (Applause)

Please join me in thanking the Resolutions Committee for an extraordinarily good job, a lot of hard work, long hours. We appreciate it very much. (Applause)

I have three people in a row at this microphone, and each one is going to speak to us about helping a local person in need, which means we have to take up a collection. With your concurrence, what we will do – and hopefully it helps us be a little more generous – the money will be equally split among the three. Otherwise, I really do not know how we could do it.

So on that basis, on the "Privilege" mike, I recognize Delegate Carolyn Wade.

DELEGATE CAROLYN C. WADE (Local 1040): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I bring before you the plight of our sisters and brothers of Local 4546 in Summit County, Ohio, a local of 300 social workers who have been on strike for seven weeks. This strike is not for wages or benefits but because they care. They are fighting for children, the most vulnerable people in our society. They are fighting because in the last three years, eleven children have died and more have been seriously injured. Why? Because no one cares that caseloads are too high to

give these children the protection they needed.

They are fighting because management has refused to address the high caseloads the child protective workers are struggling to handle – in spite of the fact that there is a \$42 million slush fund that they refer to as a “rainy day fund.” Well, it is raining.

The president of this local was suspended because she was bold enough to speak out against this reprehensible and shameful position this administration has taken against the children left in their care.

My brothers and sisters, what is happening in Summit County, Ohio, is despicable and we must support Local 4546 in this fight. We are all in this together. We are the union. If Local 4546 loses, CWA loses. When Local 4546 wins, CWA wins.

This is our fight and I call upon you to help this local get the word out about what this administration is doing. It is terribly wrong. This is a small local whose resources are limited. Mr. President, I am asking, with your permission, that this convention will give financial support to this local so that they may be able to continue the fight, knowing that all of CWA is fighting with them and for them. I ask the delegates to show their love and generosity to this local when the hat is passed.

Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Carolyn. I hope the Sergeants-at-Arms are prepared, hopefully with very deep buckets because there is a big need. On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Wolfe. I’m sorry, Microphone No. 2. I’m sorry, I didn’t mean to have you running back and forth.

DELEGATE JEFFREY WOLFE (Local 3305): I would like to bring our plight in Kentucky to your attention. We have two locals on strike. They have been on strike going on 12 weeks now. They are ALLTEL workers. Just like Verizon, they offered to go back to work under the existing contract until this thing was settled.

ALLTEL said “No way.” So they were forced out on the street. What ALLTEL wants to do with these people when they retire, they want to give them \$80 toward their medical benefits, and they want the workers to put up the rest of it.

Now, the workers either have to keep working until they die, or they’ll just have to return the retirement checks to ALLTEL if they accept such a contract like this. They are not only standing together, they are standing tall, and they are wall-to-wall. Any help we can give these locals would be greatly appreciated. So when we pass the hat, I sure would appreciate it. Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you.

On Microphone No. 2, Delegate Campbell.

DELEGATE BOB CAMPBELL (Local 2108): President Bahr, Officers, Delegates and Guests: As we meet today, one of our own is being laid to rest. CWA Local 2108 member and job steward, Richelle Brisbon, was killed one week ago today as she performed her job as a cable splicing technician in Clinton, Maryland. A speeding car jumped the curb and plowed down Richelle as she walked through a customer’s front yard. She was killed instantly.

Richelle had seven years of service with Verizon and had been a union steward since 2001. She leaves a husband, eight-year-old daughter, and five-year-old son, to whom she was devoted. Richelle was the major breadwinner in her family. Collections are being taken in our workplaces to help the family with their immediate needs.

Because of the number of CWA leaders and activists who are gathered here today, we are asking for your help. We would like for Richelle’s CWA family to assist us in establishing a trust fund to help with her children’s education.

Morty, I ask for your permission to take a collection. As we pass the hat, we ask that each of you give generously so that Richelle's union family can be there for her children in the future since she, tragically, cannot be. Thank you on behalf of Richelle's children and CWA Local 2108.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Bob, I would like you to convey to the family that the children will be assured scholarships under the rules of the Joe Beirne Scholarship Foundation. (Applause and cheers)

On Microphone No. 3, Delegate Dresser – Microphone 2. I'm sorry. I'm just used to saying 3.

DELEGATE STEVE DRESSER (Local 1111): I would like to read just a short poem written by our Assistant Vice President, Vince DiRosa, at a District 1 Labor School at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. It is entitled, "My America / My Union."

"My America is not a sweatshop, one bowl of rice, or a five-dollar day. My America is a living wage. My Union gave that to me.

"My America is not a breadline, a soup kitchen, or an unemployment check. My America is job security and a contract. My Union gave that to me.

"My America is not a lost eye, a broken back, a foot, or hand. My America is a safe workplace. My Union gave that to me.

"My America is not something plastic or disposable from who knows where. My America is quality, integrity and permanence. My Union gave that to me.

"My America is not a call on the carpet, a closed door, one voice unheard. My America is equality and representation. My Union gave that to me.

"My America is not silent, intimidated or afraid. My America is Our America. My America is Our Union and we are United, Defiant and Strong." Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you. I would also like the record to reflect that Michelle Rodgers, the member who was killed, struck down by a car during the G.E. strike this past January, I think it was, has left three children and those three children as well will come under the Joe Beirne Scholarship Program. (Applause and cheers)

On Microphone No. 2, Delegate Fahrenholt.

DELEGATE MIKE FAHRENHOLT (Local 3410): Earlier this morning, I attempted to speak to support Ed Creegan's speech, and was told I was out of order, and the Parliamentarian was absolutely correct. I apologize for being ugly to him, but what can I say? I took the time to write this so I would like to read it.

I rise today to ask your support for the elected officers of the Retired Members' Council and to also thank you, President Bahr, for the wisdom to allow Ed Creegan to report to us. Sixty-five years ago, CWA was founded in my hometown. That is exactly why the colors of CWA are purple and gold like the Mardi Gras colors.

Twenty-five years ago, I had the privilege of attending my first CWA Convention. I sat in awe as many of the leaders of today's Retired Members' Council took to the floor and handled the business of our great union.

In 1988, CWA came home to New Orleans to celebrate our 50th anniversary. At that time the RMC, Retired Members' Council, was a fledgling organization. Last year, 14 years later, I had the privilege and honor, quite frankly, of helping the RMC gain the right to have their leadership elected from within, rather than appointed or however they did it before. This year I am again honored to speak on their behalf and urge the Convention, and most particularly the CWA Executive Board, to support and expand the role of the Retired Members' Council.

These men and women are one of the union's greatest assets and have earned and

deserve both our respect and support. Thank you.

That could have been done rather quickly this morning, but what can I say? (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thank you, Michael.

On Microphone No. 2, Delegate Paige.

DELEGATE LARRY PAIGE (Local 3402): President Bahr, Executive Officers, District Vice Presidents, Delegates, Alternates, Guests and Friends: I rise before you today to offer my belated thank you to this great union.

As many of you know, I have been an officer of my local, 3402, for over 20 years, serving most of that time as its president. I was serving as local president of my local back in 1997 when my local BellSouth manager and his supervisor, a third-level manager, conspired against me and fired me from my employment.

That was a very dark day for me and my family. However, much brighter days would return because of this great union, the Communications Workers of America. For years, I had been told and taught about the value of being a union member. From October 1997 to June of 1999, I learned each and every one of those values all over again.

During this time away from CWA, my family and I could not have made it but for all the staff of CWA District 3. A special thank you to Mr. Jimmy Smith, and especially Louisiana State Director, at that time, Booker T. Lester. They kept us focused on the positive. They kept hope alive. But, the story doesn't end there, many locals, many members and friends sent my family many cards and letters and prayed for us relentlessly. Oh, and did I mention thanks for all the checks and cash they sent to sustain our family during this time?

Well, today I say thank you to all of these people, but also to every union member across this nation who fought and continues to fight for bargaining rights, rights like a grievance procedure that allows working people to present their case against corporate conspirators who would remove union officers and leaders from their employment.

We knew our case against BellSouth was strong when they offered me, if I was guilty, \$100,000 to settle my case. I refused because to accept this money would have made me guilty in the eyes of every card-carrying union member in this country. I would have compromised the very grievance procedure we were using to battle this injustice.

I would have, again, let every member down who believed in me. I would have let my parents and my family down. Again, after 20 months of no substantial pay, \$100,000 looked pretty good, but to say the least I could not sell out this union.

The day we won our arbitration, my family won, but so did CWA and all union members everywhere. (Applause)

I am proud to say that after a five-year absence, I am once again local president serving in a different role. Today I am retired from BellSouth. I am working toward retiring from CWA and as local officer. I enjoyed my retirement and I found out what I am good at, and that is nothing, and I enjoy that.

I am proud to say the members of Local 3402 recently elected two young unionists along with me to serve as officers, Mr. Jonathan O'Brien, who serves as local vice president – he has two years of service – and Mr. Leo Aragon, secretary-treasurer. They are both here attending their first Convention, and are sitting out in the Alternate and Guest section. I wish you would make them welcome. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE PAIGE: My job is to train them to be good local officers. I cannot do that without all of you. Please support and encourage them to stay active and continue to serve the

members. Welcome them not only into CWA but into all of the Labor Movement, and help them to support the union.

As I prepare to step aside, again, to all of you, as the late Bob Hope said so many years ago, "Thanks for the memories." May you all know how much my family loves all of you. God bless the USA and God bless and have mercy on all of us. Thanks. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On Microphone 2, Delegate Romano.

DELEGATE JANINE ROMANO (Local 9575): I am from Ventura County, California, and I would like it noted that I am not running for Governor of California – one of the few. (Laughter)

President Bahr, brothers and sisters, this morning I was watching the news and a story coming out of Iraq was being reported on. The story was about our soldiers embarking on a new mission to seek out those responsible for the ongoing terrorist activities. However, as I watched this news report I became shocked and then increasingly outraged. This new mission has been named "Operation Jimmy Hoffa." Now I know we all support our troops wholeheartedly – the men and women who are serving in harm's way are very dear to us; but the name of this mission is both distasteful and wholly inappropriate.

No one will deny the past problems of Jimmy Hoffa and what the Teamsters dealt with, but the rights, protections and quality of life improvements that were almost single-handedly won by Jimmy Hoffa cannot be denied either. (Applause)

The use of his name for a "search and destroy" terrorist mission makes a mockery of all that Mr. Hoffa and the Teamsters did accomplish for their own members, as well as organized labor as a whole.

I would ask that President Bahr send a letter to George Bush expressing our outrage and demanding that never again should organized labor and its leaders be connected in any way with military might. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I just want to let the delegates know that I have been sitting here with a motion to adjourn, which has the highest precedence. So I am asking all of you to bear with us. We will take those that are still at the Privilege mike so that those who would like to talk to us don't go away feeling that they have been stifled. So, with your concurrence, we will hold this.

On Microphone 2, Delegate Hanson.

DELEGATE JOHN S. HANSON (Local 1171): President Bahr, Executive Vice President Cohen, illustrious members of the Executive Board, brothers and sisters of the CWA: I stand before you to discuss an issue which I and others of this great union feel is extremely important.

As most of you are aware, the airline division of the CWA, because of the great threat of bankruptcy, has given the largest concession packages known in the airline industry. We gave so much back that Mr. Siegal came around and went for round two, and took more of our benefits and packages away.

Our contract, having been in effect only a short period of time, with all these benefits and concessions being taken away, took the wind out of our sails and put a lot of doubt in the minds of the new brothers and sisters in the CWA.

Right after the concessions, the law came. They took another five percent deferral, which could last up to 18 months. The union took a look at this. We got our steps together. We mobilized. We won after five months and we got our deferral back, returning to our pay that five percent, which we were paid over the next five months in increments equal for those taken out.

This brought the morale in the Airline Division a little higher than we had prior to this. We need to keep this morale and trend upward. Our brothers and sisters have been wrongfully terminated throughout the system. Our arbitration system has been slow, or has been not at all. During the concession period, there was no arbitration even being worked out or arbitration dates

set.

I had a young mother with two children who was terminated wrongfully a year ago February. She continually called the office after I took office in January looking for an arbitration date. We finally struggled and won an arbitration date of December of 2003. When I spoke to this woman and said, "We have an arbitration date. We have an arbitrator that will fight our cause and do it," she said, "What am I going to do for money between now and Christmas before the arbitrator hears the case, and the time afterwards before he gives us his report?"

A lump about the size of Manhattan crawled into my throat. I had really no answer except to say, "You will have to look for another job to provide that money while we wait for this arbitration to come up."

We need these wins in arbitrations now, not yesterday. This woman should have been back to work many yesterdays ago. Instead, we fight with the companies that drag their feet on arbitrations, do not hear the cases, ignore our calls for arbitration.

PRESIDENT BAHR: One minute.

DELEGATE HANSON: We need a strong union to get together, force these companies into arbitration sooner than they would like to, and win these arbitrations and bring our strength and pride back to where it should be, and return our CWA brothers and sisters back to work where they should be, with their heads held up in the air with pride, knowing that the strong CWA union brought them back to work. We need to do it now, not months from now. Thank you. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: I can share the brother's frustration because the airline industry, like the railroads, comes under the Railroad Labor Act, and the process of arbitration is through the National Mediation Board. So if you think you have frustrations sometimes in your local, in the normal private sector, there is a heck of a lot worse.

On microphone No. 2, Delegate Holden.

DELEGATE MONTY HOLDEN (Local 9111): I would like to ask CWA Brother Arnie Schemlling to please rise. I would like to take this opportunity to recognize a true American hero, Arnie Schemlling, an executive board member of CWA Local 9111, the California Organization of Police and Sheriffs, a/k/a COPS.

It's fitting that we are discussing Arnie here in Chicago, because after he served in the Marines and before he became a police officer, Arnie played football for the Chicago Cardinals in the early 1950s.

Arnie served as a police officer for the City of Long Beach for over 26 years. During his distinguished career he earned two Medals of Valor and recently was awarded the Cross of Valor for courageous acts of bravery in the line of duty. A true American hero, Arnie is a legend in California law enforcement, not only for his heroism in the line of duty, but also for his long history of involvement in the law enforcement labor movement.

Arnie was intimately involved and attended the signing of the historic 1976 Peace Officer Bill of Rights Act signed by Governor Jerry Brown, which was landmark legislation for rank-and-file peace officers preventing management from unfair labor practices. He was a member of the contract negotiation team for the Long Beach Police Officers Association when they bargained for their first formal contract between the city and its officers.

Arnie has served as a board member of COPS and has been involved with the Labor Movement for over 33 years. With our recent affiliation, COPS-CWA Local 9111 will continue to be a leader as the union for California law enforcement.

Congratulations, Arnie, on being awarded the Cross of Valor and we thank you for your service to the Labor Movement. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: On microphone No. 2 – I hope I pronounce this right – Delegate

Samaripa.

DELEGATE FRANCES K. SAMARIPA (Local 6016): Close enough. Thank you.

Distinguished Executive Board, Delegates, Alternates, and guests: First of all, Morty, I am not here to make a speech. I really was at the "Questions" mike and they directed me over here.

PRESIDENT BAHR: That's okay.

DELEGATE SAMARIPA: In our district meeting, there were some questions raised about the AFA merger, and we were told that a document would be handed out at the noon break, the second day of the Convention, and that we would have an opportunity under Good and Welfare to ask questions about the information in that document.

I obviously have questions. I think a lot of other people do too, and I wondered if it would be possible for the CWA website to have a bulletin board arrangement, so that local representatives could ask questions, we could all see the answers, and while we might not have an opportunity for any debate at that time, I think that getting questions answered and settled prior to when we do address this at a future convention would be a healthy way to approach the subject. I know I would appreciate the information. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: This is an excellent idea. I want to respond fully. It is an excellent idea. We will do that. Further, anyone is always free to drop me a note, send me an e-mail, and you'll get a personal response from me. But under the Constitution, the Constitution authorizes the Executive Board to concludes mergers and affiliations with other unions. The only time it requires a vote of the delegates or our members is if we are merging with another union.

So that's why we try our best. Now, our Board didn't really work on this thing until they got here this weekend. Normally if we had acted on this at home at a Board meeting, you would have had this appended to the Board minutes when you got the minutes of that meeting. So, this is the time to ask questions.

This has not been finalized. Anybody who comes in with good input, good suggestions, just as it will be on the AFA side, it will be on our side. So we will do that. We will have it on the web. We will exchange as much information as possible.

If any really good-sounding suggestions come in, this Board will address them, and we will be doing the best possible job for both unions. I have always said – in every single discussion we have had with other unions – that in order for an affiliation or a merger, whatever the case may be, to be successful, it has to work for both unions. And this is what drives us as we look at coming together. So, we will do this.

I appreciate the suggestions, and we encourage everyone, when you get home, read it, study it, discuss it with your executive boards. Any questions, suggestions, input, we welcome wholeheartedly.

DELEGATE SAMARIPA: Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT BAHR: Thanks for bringing it up. (Applause)

On Microphone No. 1, Delegate Moreno.

DELEGATE NITA MORENO (Local 9210): President Bahr, Executive Board, fellow delegates and guests, I move to adjourn the 65th Annual Convention in the beautiful city of Chicago and invite you to reconvene the 66th Annual Convention in the city of Anaheim, the city of the World Champion Anaheim Angels, the mighty Mighty Ducks, and one Big Rat.

... The motion was duly seconded...

PRESIDENT BAHR: The motion has obviously been seconded. I am going to take the vote and then, in our tradition, I would like you to just spend a few minutes for some closing remarks

and then a closing video.

So, all those in favor of the motion to adjourn please signify by raising your hand. Down hands. I will tell you what you voted a little later. (Laughter)

This is the 18th Convention that I am standing here. Now previously, for 16 years before, I used to sit in the first seat over there. Somehow, it's different. But even after 18 years I continually am so proud of the eloquence that I see and hear expressed, whether it is at the "Motions" mike, "For" or "Against," or the "Questions" mike, I don't care what the issue is.

Every word that is spoken, is to the point, deals with the issues, shows the concern, and I wish every member back home was able to really know how well each of you represents not only their best interests, the best interests of your local, but the entire union and Labor Movement. So, you have my thanks for the kind of work you do. (Applause)

Now I believe we have had a productive Convention. A lot has been packed into two days. You should feel very proud of your union. The quality of union leadership, the strength of our union democracy are among the many reasons why CWA is so respected, and why unions such as the AFA look toward us as a merger partner. Each union that becomes a part of CWA makes us stronger, makes us better, and expands our horizons.

NABET-CWA is a great example of how a merger, or that merger, enhanced our union. Our delegates have long enjoyed and appreciated the professionalism of our NABET-CWA members for all the work that they do during the Convention. (Applause)

This is the tenth year that they have done the production of our Convention. You never really see them, because they are behind the stage, but their work is all around us. It is like being on a TV show.

I would like to ask Raymond Shaver, the Convention video director, to please come up to the stage for a special presentation.

Ray, I would like you to accept this recognition on behalf of the entire crew, and the plaque reads, "Communications Workers of America salutes the NABET/CWA Convention Broadcasting Crew for 10 years of dedicated service. Your professionalism brings to life the actions and debate of our Convention, thereby enhancing the quality of union democracy in CWA." The officers, staff, delegates and members thank you, and I thank you. (Presentation - Applause)

I said a moment ago that all of us should feel very proud of our union. The fact that five of the leading Democratic presidential nominees made the time – not only made the time but wanted to be here to address us, reflects the prestige of our union.

One of them – I'm pretty sure – one of the speakers who was been here yesterday or today will be the Party's nominee for President, and I think you can see the work that has been done before they got here by not only us, but the AFL-CIO. Every one of them mentioned neutrality and card check. (Applause) They didn't wake up one morning saying to themselves, "Hey, this is something I think is good."

They are all our friends, and I know it is difficult to choose among friends. Some of you may even think we shouldn't make an endorsement in the primary. Keep in mind, we have one objective – beat Bush. (Applause)

With the exception of Congressman Kucinich, I have personal relationships with the other four. It is no secret that Senator Kennedy is one of my dearest friends – almost every day I get a push for Kerry. I can make a story about every one of them; but what we need to do as a union is think about which one of our friends will be the best candidate with the best chance to beat Bush. (Applause)

Now, I will write to you after Labor Day to tell you how you can participate in our Presidential Preference Poll. I hesitate to call it a poll. It's really at the time that you will be casting your

preference at the moment, a snapshot in history. There is still a long time to go.

Now, you heard each of them lay out the challenge and the reasons to replace "W" in 2004; so, we know what we need to do. We will launch our Labor 2004 campaign immediately after this Convention.

We have a number of state battlegrounds, states in which the election will be won or lost, where we are scheduling meetings for local union leaders in September and October. The schedules so far are: in Missouri, September 17; Oregon-Washington, September 27; Arizona, October 4; Minnesota, October 8; Florida, October 11; New Mexico, October 18; and other meetings are being planned.

Now, while the election will turn on a handful of states, we need to approach the election as if every state is a battleground state. So, while this year's state meetings are for local officers, what we hope we'll be able to do in 2004 is to broaden our outreach so that we can have state meetings that include activists and rank-and-file members – to try and get as many members as we can involved in the process.

So we will mobilize, we will build our COPE war chest, and hopefully implement the most aggressive field operation in our history. We need to fight for our collective bargaining rights, and we will be fighting for our organizing rights, and in this regard, I urge all locals to adopt resolutions that support the collective bargaining campaign.

We need to restore the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act that still says, "It is the policy of the United States to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining."

We will be there in December for International Human Rights Day. We will fight for fair trade policies. We will stop the FTAA. We will encourage our members and, as so many have said, our best resource, our retirees, friends and allies to join with us and "Say No to the FTAA." (Applause)

Now it was already called to your attention by Brother Fahrenholt yesterday, that the Finance Committee – and this was a Committee of rank-and-file delegates – said they thought that it may be time to take another look at the frequency of our Conventions. The last time it was looked at I think was 18 years ago, and it doesn't hurt to review any process.

So, in support of the Finance Committee, I will be announcing the appointment of a rank-and-file committee that will come back to the next Convention and give you a recommendation to do nothing, or a recommendation to do something. But whatever it is, the democratic process of our union will prevail, and whatever it is, this Convention will make decisions.

Now, we have laid out an action agenda at this Convention that perhaps may seem overwhelming. But take a moment to feel the energy in this room, the spirit, the sense of determination. To me, it was embodied in the reaction when all of you from distant parts of this country let it be known that you are going to stand up for 52 members of this union who are being discriminated against in New York City by Verizon Wireless because they want to teach us a lesson. (Applause)

Larry Cohen whispered to me about ten minutes ago, and I mentioned earlier that Larry Mancino was meeting with Wireless this afternoon, that because they did not like the ad we had in the New York Times today, they withdrew some of their rotten proposals and made them rotter – worse. Now, if this bears out to be true, there will be an unfair labor practice charge filed tomorrow. (Applause)

But this disgusting, despicable management of Ivan Seidenberg, the CEO, and this company should be ashamed of themselves. Senator Hillary Clinton called him today and she called me after she spoke to him. He couldn't understand why 78,000 people were holding up a contract – and we still got some issues – it's not that we are holding up the contract – I want to make that clear – because of 52 people who get paid pretty good, this is not the issue of economics. This is an issue of whether Verizon Wireless workers will have a free opportunity

under the laws of our land to express, without fear or intimidation, whether they want this union or not.

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

And so each of you, each of you need to go forth with the commitment that we have made on the sheet that you signed to carry forth the program.

And just as many of you, when you leave here in a few minutes, will go to support the HERE at the Congress Hotel, I put Verizon Wireless on notice right now that in every city where a union has a convention, in every city where the AFL-CIO has a meeting, if there is a Verizon Wireless facility in that city, they will be picketed and there will be a demonstration there for as long as it takes for them to act justly.

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

You will have an e-mail tomorrow and we need your action now. We need your action immediately, because people are hurting in New York. I will lay out a program where we will make Verizon Wireless the Wal-Mart of the telecommunications industry. (Cheers and applause)

I want to make just one or two other points, because I believe we are stronger now than we've ever been in our history. And part of that strength is because of our diversity. I was taken by the CEO's report today of the story of two Elizabeths, because I think one of our strengths – and the respect and recognition we give to the retirees because of the contribution they made – is one of the reasons why we are the kind of union we are. We respect and recognize the tens of thousands that came before us, the sacrifices they made. Many of them we honored today during the memorial service.

I know that the toughest job that a union steward has is to explain to that new member that all of these things that you, as a new employee, have in this company or state or city government, wherever it may be, did not come out of the goodness of the company's heart. (Applause) That this came about by the struggles and sacrifices of so many before us.

Once we recognize that, it puts a burden on us because we have to be the Elizabeth who is always remembering that our role every day is to make it better for those who come after us. It is all the things we try to do while helping those who are here now – we try to have embedded in our labor agreements to benefit all those that come later.

Now, you heard what the presidential candidates said. They said we have the power. But power is nothing unless you use it. So when we leave Chicago, we need to be prepared to use it.

Yesterday I spoke about the way Vice Presidents Larry Mancino, Pete Catucci, Vince Maisano, and our two regional bargaining committees and the IBEW were working together – that you couldn't tell one from the other. It was seamless, all working together like hands clasped together. And I am grateful to them, not only for the way they are working together, but for the way they accepted my leadership to work together in this new strategy.

So, I want to thank each of you for permitting me over the last 18 years to be your leader. It has been an honor and a privilege, and I hope that not only haven't I let you down; but for the years left, you will continue to be as proud of this union and its members as I am. Because together – and it's always together – together we can change and will change America (applause) where workers' rights don't have to be fought for every day; that the right to belong to a union is a human right; and that employers finally are brought about, even if it needs to be by extreme financial penalty; that you can't destroy an organizing campaign by firing the leaders, and then three years later maybe you get the leaders back to work with a slap on the wrist from the company and the campaign was destroyed.

Just as health care has to be a right for all Americans, the right to organize a union has to be a similar right, not something you have to fight for every day of your life. And that is what we are all about. (Applause)

And so, I will be seeing you in various parts of the country over the next 12 months. Except where we are organizing – which will be a lot of places – except where you are bargaining a contract, the next priority is that one of the Democratic candidates has to be in the White House come January of 2005. We need to do it not only for ourselves, but for the entire next generation.

So thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to say a few words. We now have a Convention video. Would you roll it?

... An exciting video was shown of Convention highlights ... (Applause)

PRESIDENT BAHR: The buses are outside to go to the Congress Hotel. I hope enough of you go to fill them up.

Just an announcement; we are going to Jonesboro, Arkansas, on Saturday, September 6, in support of our GE local there. Two-thirds of the work is going to China, and they need your support.

You contributed \$6,000 and we will see that the appropriate people get it. Thank you very much.

The 65th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America is now adjourned.

... The 65th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America adjourned, sine die, at 5:42 p.m....

GREETINGS TO THE CONVENTION

Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear President Bahr:

I am pleased to extend my warmest greetings to all of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) delegates assembled in Chicago. I was honored to join you at two conferences over the last year, and I feel fortunate to offer my thoughts and appreciation on the occasion of your 65th Convention.

The theme of this year's convention, "We Stand Together," could not be more fitting. Today, more than 9 million Americans are unemployed. We must stand with them to make sure that they get back on their feet as quickly as possible.

At the same time, we need to stand together in opposition to the current Republican Presidential and Congressional policies that are killing so many American jobs. Since President Bush took office, our country has lost 3.2 million private sector jobs, the worst record since Herbert Hoover. President Bush and the Republicans in Congress have launched an assault on working families the likes of which we have never seen. From eliminating overtime pay to excluding 12 million children from receiving a child tax credit to abandoning retiree health care coverage, the Republican agenda squarely places special interest over public interest and values the wealthy over the worker.

The only way to take our country back is to stand tall, stand proud, and stand together – just as the CWA is doing today and every day under the strong leadership of President Bahr. From your struggles with Verizon to your recent organizing wins at Radio Free Asia, Ameritech, and the Baltimore-Washington International Airport, CWA has been at the forefront of efforts to protect American workers and articulate a better vision for our future. For that and all that you do, I offer you best wishes for a successful convention.

Best regards,

s/Nancy Pelosi, Democratic Leader

U.S. House of Representatives, 8th District, California

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001-1797

Dear Morty,

Thank you very much for the opportunity to address the delegates to the 65th Annual Communications Workers of America Convention. As Democrats in Congress work to improve health care and protect working families' hard-earned retirement savings, I want to thank all the members of CWA for doing their part to keep America strong.

The 2003 CWA Convention theme, *We Stand Together*, could not be more appropriate at this moment in our nation's history. Working families have rallied around the need for better and more affordable health care, collective bargaining rights, and free and unfettered access to public airwaves. As a result of our unity, we have been able to fend off several attempts to undermine the rights of working families.

I want to thank CWA members for working tirelessly to keep your communities informed about legislative and political matters. At the local, state, and federal level, CWA members serve as a powerful voice for working families. Together, you stand up for the unorganized and for those disenfranchised members of the community who, without your help, would have too little influence in our political and economic system.

At the same time, the hard work of your members is vital in our efforts to turn our economy around so that it creates jobs and prosperity for all Americans. Since 2001, over 3 million private sector jobs have been lost as a result of the misguided economic policies of the Bush Administration. Businesses and families are suffering, and states are facing the worst budget crisis in over 50 years. I cannot imagine a time when it was more important for Congress, the White House, and American workers to come together in a bipartisan fashion to find real solutions that will work to turn our slumping economy around.

Unfortunately, the fiscal plan signed into law this year by President Bush fails to provide the kind of economic boost that our country so desperately needs. I am disappointed that the majority in Congress squandered a genuine opportunity to provide meaningful tax relief for working Americans. Instead of targeting tax cuts to those who need it most and who would use it to spark economic growth, the President's plan grants every millionaire an average windfall of over \$90,000 this year. Meanwhile, almost half of American taxpayers will receive less than \$100. Even more egregious than this gross imbalance is the fact that the tax plan intentionally excluded from the child tax credit the families of 12 million children, including the families of some one million military personnel. Democrats have been working to correct this injustice. Upon returning from the August recess, we will renew our efforts to push the majority leadership to reassess their priorities and ensure that we truly "leave no child behind" by immediately passing legislation to correct this glaring omission from the President's tax plan.

In addition, we must not take lightly recent changes by the Federal Communications Commission that would place more of our media in the hands of fewer owners. Further media consolidation would reduce competition and jeopardize Americans' access to diverse sources of news and information. It is also likely to make it more difficult for independent voices, including the views and concerns of America's working families, to be heard. I'm especially concerned that smaller local markets, such as those in my home state of South Dakota, may lose access to locally oriented programming. More important, I'm concerned that the new rules will lead to a growing concentration of control over news and information that undermines the diversity of opinion necessary for the health of our democracy. I've cosponsored legislation to roll back a portion of those rules. Similar legislation has passed the House and, in the fall, the Senate will likely vote on a resolution overturning the entire proposal. While the final outcome remains uncertain, I'm hopeful that we will succeed.

Finally, as America's brave sons and daughters stand on the front lines of freedom around the world, we need to work diligently here at home to improve our national response to terrorist attacks. The unselfish work of our men and women in uniform should never be taken for granted and it is incumbent upon us to use our time wisely in the United States Senate to make America and Americans more secure on the domestic front.

These are issues that affect all Americans and when we stand together, everyone wins.

Unfortunately, the Republican congressional leadership has chosen to focus on issues that divide us as a nation, such as the confirmation of controversial judicial nominees who seek to roll back worker and consumer protections. With your help, we can encourage the majority leadership to focus on ways to protect the security of Americans, create good jobs, provide a real prescription drug benefit for Medicare, and reduce the national deficit.

Thank you for your leadership. I look forward to many more years of working closely with members of CWA to advance our shared agenda. Your convention will go a long way toward reinforcing that partnership. I hope it also serves as a reminder that our government belongs to the people and those that serve as elected officials are bound by obligation to honor the trust our citizens place in us. When *We Stand Together*, we can make it work.

Sincerely,

s/Tom Daschle, Democratic Leader
United States Senate (South Dakota)

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Morty,

Congratulations to you and all the CWA delegates on the occasion of your 65th National Convention!

That is truly a remarkable achievement: almost two-thirds of a century of uniting and fighting for a better deal for America's working men and women and their families. For two-thirds of a century, through contract negotiations and work with elected officials, the CWA has done the daily business of making the American Dream a reality for its members. It helps ensure that people who work hard all day can count on decent pay, good benefits, a bright future for their children, and a secure retirement. That's very much in keeping with what I strive to accomplish as Assistant Democratic Leader of the U.S. Senate, and it's why I've been so honored to stand shoulder to shoulder with you for more than two decades now.

Over the years, we've made progress in some key areas, like passing the Family and Medical Leave Act and expanding access to job training. But I must tell you that I am very concerned about our movement losing ground. This administration is threatening some of the most basic protections for working families. They want to take away overtime pay for millions of Americans – and the cost will be a steady erosion of workers' financial and family security. They plan to privatize the jobs of hundreds of thousands of public employees – regardless of what that will mean to the employees, their families, or the public that depends on the work that they do. The irresponsible tax cuts of the last two years have starved our state governments, threatening our jobs, our infrastructure, and our schools. Instead of creating the booming economy that we were promised, those tax cuts are responsible for the weakest economic growth under any president in the last 50 years. Now, we're faced with the largest budget deficit in the history of the world, an empty Social Security trust fund, and – worst of all – 3.2 million private sector jobs lost.

We have a difficult job ahead of us in Congress, just as you do at your convention. Together, we need to bring the economy back to life and put people back to work. We need to ensure that retirees have access to the prescription drugs they need, that young people have access to the education they need, and that working men and women maintain the right to organize and bargain collectively. I look forward to working with you in all these endeavors.

Congratulations once more on reaching the milestone of your 65th Convention!

Sincerely,

s/Harry Reid, Democratic Whip
United States Senate (Nevada)

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third St., NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Morty:

Congratulations CWA on your 65th Annual Convention and welcome delegates! For 65 years, the men and women who make CWA the force that it is have never stopped working. Working for fairness for American families. Working to ensure that you are treated with the dignity and respect that you deserve. Working for an America that achieves the full measure of her promise.

This and future generations have been the beneficiaries of your labor and your passion. And it is my honor to call you, the men and women of CWA, my friends.

Today, the American worker is under siege in the United States Congress – and Congressional Democrats feel your pain. We have a President who is out of touch with the labor movement. We have a Republican House Majority that is attacking the right of workers to organize and trying to end overtime and an American institution – the 40-hour work week. And we have an Administration that drags its feet on extending unemployment insurance, even while presiding over the loss of 3 million jobs and the worst record of job creation since Herbert Hoover.

Your theme here is "We Stand Together," and stand together we must. Unity is our strength.

Unity is our salvation. A few short weeks ago, we forced the House Majority to withdraw a "comp time" bill. How? By standing together as one, and bringing the Republican leadership to heel.

The days ahead will not be easy. We won a skirmish on "comp time." But the battle for worker justice and fairness continues. I urge you, my good friends at CWA, keep up the fight, and keep up the faith. Better days are ahead. When we stand together, we will not be denied. God bless you. And God bless CWA.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

s/Steny H. Hoyer, Democratic Whip

U.S. House of Representatives

5th District, Maryland

Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Morty,

It's an honor to pay tribute to all of the men and women of the Communications Workers of America as you gather in Chicago for your 65th annual convention.

The Communications Workers of America is one of the most vital and effective unions in the nation. Whether the battle is for economic security, civil rights, or family and medical leave, you're there at the forefront, fighting for America's working families. And I've been proud to stand and fight with you. I look forward to standing with you in the battles to come, even in these times when the road ahead seems so uphill.

The ongoing negotiations between the CWA, the IBEW and Verizon are important to the health of our nation's economy. I am pleased to have led the effort to send a letter to Verizon on behalf of myself and 10 other Senators to help move forward the negotiations. CWA, the IBEW and all their members should be proud of themselves for taking a stand for justice and we look forward to an amicable solution for all involved.

The economy has lost more than 3 million jobs since President Bush took office, including 600,000 good telecommunications jobs. For every minute President Bush has been in office, 2.5 Americans have lost their jobs. Today, nearly 11 million Americans are out of work.

For the past two years, together, we successfully led the fight to extend unemployment benefits for the millions of Americans out of work through no fault of their own. I am proud that our efforts have enabled 5 million out-of-work Americans to keep food on their families' tables, a roof over their heads and the bills paid while they looked for work.

But more than a million have been left out – those long-term unemployed whose benefits have run out. Democrats have repeatedly tried to throw a lifeline to those workers. But each time the Republicans have refused, and Congress adjourned for the August recess without acting. When Congress returns to work after Labor Day, a top priority must be to provide unemployment benefits to these long-suffering workers and their families.

For more than a half century, dislocated workers in need of assistance have not only relied on unemployment benefits, but also on state employment offices to provide in-depth, personalized service. As the bill that oversees these services moves this year, I will fight to ensure that the employment service and the jobs of its employees are preserved. Employment services are a great American success story, with millions of Americans having been the beneficiaries.

Now the Bush Administration also wants to take away your overtime pay. The Bush Administration's proposed overtime regulation would take away overtime pay from more than 8 million hard-working men and women. This proposal is a direct attack on America's working families. Many of these workers depend on their overtime pay to make ends meet and to pay for basic necessities like housing, food, and health care. Overtime hours will be less expensive for employers, so it will be easier for them to ask their employees to work more hours. Americans are already working longer hours today than ever before and struggling to balance their families' needs with their work responsibilities. Requiring more hours for less pay will add an even greater burden to this daily struggle. These new regulations are just one more special interest favor that the Administration is doing for business.

The right to organize is under attack today. Each year, employers unlawfully discriminate against more than 20,000 workers just for exercising their basic rights in the workplace. Even after workers have successfully braved employer intimidation to vote to form a union, they still face enormous obstacles in getting a first contract. Employers refuse to bargain, fire workers who support the union, threaten to close down the facility, and continue mandatory meetings designed to scare workers. We should not stand for this. America's workers deserve better.

For years, I have stood with the Communications Workers of America to ensure the rights and protections of America's hard working men and women. We must continue to stand together and fight against the Bush Administration's attacks on America's workers and to stand for the vision of a better tomorrow for future generations of workers.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

s/Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate (Massachusetts)

GREETINGS:

As Governor of the State of Illinois, it is my pleasure to welcome you to beautiful Navy Pier for the Communications Workers of America's (CWA) 65th Annual Convention.

Being the largest communications and media union in the nation, the CWA has honorably dedicated itself to the empowerment of over half a million communications workers across the country. Your organization is built upon the fundamental goals of representation, organization, and community action, and I am proud to say that your efforts have improved the job security and quality of life for countless workers.

During your stay in Chicago, I encourage you take advantage of the many sites and attractions that our city has to offer. From historic landmarks and world-renowned museums, to first-class dining and theatre experiences, Chicago truly has something for everyone.

On behalf of the citizens of Illinois, I offer my best wishes for a successful convention, and a future of great success.

Sincerely,

s/Rod Blagojevich, Governor of Illinois

GREETINGS:

As Mayor and on behalf of the City of Chicago, it is my pleasure to extend warmest greetings to everyone attending the 65th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

Representing over 700,000 members employed in many wide-ranging fields, the Communications Workers of America is the largest communications and media union in the nation. CWA has over 1,200 chartered local unions across the United States, Canada and Puerto Rico. Involving its members in many community service activities, CWA has remained active in pursuing the rights and interests of working men and women in Chicago and the United States since 1938.

I commend the Communications Workers of America for its dedication and high standards of excellence and offer my best wishes for much continued success.

Best wishes to each of you for an enjoyable and memorable event.

Sincerely,

s/Richard M. Daley, Mayor of Chicago

GREETINGS:

On behalf of the entire NAACP family, please allow me to extend my heartiest congratulations to the Communications Workers of America (CWA) AFL-CIO, CLC, on the occasion of your 65th Annual Convention.

CWA's outstanding voter empowerment work will help ensure that our next election reflects the will of the people, and not that of a privileged class. Our country was created as a democracy, not an oligarchy, where a select few rule the many. Worker's rights and civil rights go hand in hand, and the NAACP stands with you in the task of restoring to our land a government of, by and for *all* the people. The future of our society depends on our success in this great mission.

I trust that this convention will be a resounding success, and extend to your organization all hopes for continued progress.

With best wishes for the future and warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

s/Kweisi Mfume, President/CEO, NAACP

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001-2797

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

On behalf of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, warm greetings to everyone gathered for the Communications Workers of America's 65th Convention.

We commend your efforts to promote and protect the interest of working families. We especially appreciate your steadfast support to civil rights and immigration issues that affect Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Thank you for believing that celebrating our unique cultural differences is not an obstacle to unity.

In these challenging times, the need to work together is more evident. The misguided policies of the present Administration is dragging the economy. Worker benefits and confidence are eroding. Worst, jobs are disappearing while executive bonuses are flourishing. We stand, in solidarity with you, to fight inequities in the work place and in this country.

APALA is proud to be the only national organization of Asian Pacific American labor union members. Our labor struggles dates back a hundred years – from the sugar fields of Hawaii, to the railroad and agricultural camps of California, and to the fishing and cannery factories of Alaska.

Today, many in our community are members of your union. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are in industries providing telecommunication, transportation, printing and publication, public service and healthcare services. We are proud of them and support them in their struggle to achieve equality and justice.

It is my honor and privilege to extend our sincere best wishes for continued success in the years to come.

Very truly yours,

s/Luisa Blue, President
Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance

Greetings from the A. Philip Randolph Institute to the Communications Workers of America

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, a national organization of African American trade union activists, is delighted to send its greetings to the Communications Workers of America at its 65th Convention in Chicago.

We are proud to associate ourselves with CWA, not only on general trade union principles, but because you have been in the forefront on militant trade union organizing. And by organizing the unorganized, CWA is bringing much-needed union representation to many black workers, a segment of the work force that historically has been particularly vulnerable to exploitation.

We also admire the strong political activism of CWA. Like you, APRI is getting ready for the 2004 elections. We both understand that the current president of the United States heads one of the most anti-worker, anti-union administrations since the nineteenth century. This is a White House that backs huge tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires while opposing any increase in the minimum wage, a White House that has cut back on civil rights enforcement. This White House offers tax cuts for the rich as its main strategy for sparking economic recovery, when most economists understand that in a consumer-driven economy, tax reductions aimed at middle-and low-income people would be more effective.

And so from now into November 2004, our APRI activists will be joining CWA members to register, educate and bring out to the polls the two constituencies that vote most often for progressive candidates: namely, trade unionists and their families and African Americans. In fact, since many of our activists are also CWA members, our efforts and yours will be intertwined in the most literal sense.

Meanwhile, we are aware that whenever CWA is engaged in important contract negotiations, APRI fully backs CWA in its collective bargaining talks with Verizon Communications. In particular, we applaud your defense of the right of workers to job security and to employer-paid health insurance plans. We also wish your union well in all of its other collective bargaining negotiations over the next year.

Finally, CWA Convention coincides almost to the day with the 40th anniversary of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Initiated by A. Philip Randolph and organized by Bayard Rustin, the co-founders of APRI, the March recognized the link between the African American struggle for racial equality and the trade union struggle for economic justice. CWA has been one of the leading unions to recognize the connection and to support the fight against racism and as well battle for good labor contracts. For this and all the other reasons given here, the A. Philip Randolph Institute salutes the Communications Workers of America.

GREETINGS TO THE 65TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

Dear President Bahr:

Congratulations and warmest greetings to the officers and delegates of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO from the Union Label & Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO. Our Department stands ready to assist you in promoting, advancing and publicizing the commitment to quality that the members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO symbolize.

Our message to all is simple: **American made by union workers is always your best buy.** Whether we're talking about a product or a service; whether we are talking about consumer goods or decisions by major institutions, government or private industry: ***union work is quality work.***

We know that the leadership and the members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO have long been in the forefront of efforts to promote our message. We want to take this opportunity to thank you for that support and urge you to continue that strong tradition into the future.

On behalf of the affiliates of the Union Label & Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO, we offer our best wishes for a productive and successful Convention.

In Solidarity,

s/Charles E. Mercer, President

s/Matthew C. Bates, Secretary -Treasurer

Union Label & Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Morton Bahr, President
Communications Workers of America
501 Third Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Brother Bahr:

The Executive Officers, staff and members of Pride At Work salute our sisters and brothers of CWA as you gather for your 65th Convention.

This is a time of tremendous challenges to the American Labor Movement and the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community. Yet, while we all face many challenges, we are confident that with our movements – working together with renewed energy and determination – we will overcome the obstacles we face.

We wish you a very successful and productive convention.

In Solidarity,

s/Nancy Wohlforth, President,
Pride At Work, AFL-CIO

**REPORT OF THE
FINANCE COMMITTEE
to the
64th ANNUAL CONVENTION
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA**

GENERAL FUND

The General Fund provides for the ongoing operation of the Union. As of June 30, 2002 the General Fund had total assets of \$76,133,896 and unrestricted net assets of \$36,551,932.

OTHER FUNDS

In addition to the General Fund, other designated funds are set aside for special purposes. As of June 30, 2002, the unrestricted net assets of these funds are:

Operating Reserve-----	\$5,257,083
Defense Fund -----	\$10,573,569
Members' Relief Fund -----	\$223,443,941
Plant Fund - Fixed Asset -----	\$11,101,028

The General and Other Funds are included in the statement of assets, liabilities and fund balances of CWA.

**CWA PLAN FOR EMPLOYEES PENSIONS AND DEATH BENEFITS
FUND**

CWA has established, in a separate trust, the assets and benefit obligations of the CWA Plan for Employees Pensions and Death Benefits. On March 31, 2002, the latest period for which actuarial data is available, the fair value of the Plan assets of the Fund were \$231,766,154, the actuarial present value of accumulated benefit obligation was \$183,935,805, leaving an excess of net assets over Plan benefits on April 1, 2002 of \$47,830,349.

In addition, as a result of the merger with IUE, CWA has a second defined pension plan which covers participants in the IUE Pension Plan. At June 30, 2002, the latest period for which actuarial data is available, the fair value of the Plan assets of this fund were \$61,647,359, the actuarial present value of accumulated benefit obligation was \$74,167,447 having a deficit of net assets over Plan benefits on June 30, 2002 of (\$12,520,088).

ORGANIZING - 029

If CWA is to remain an effective organization, we must continue our internal and external organizing efforts. The salaries of permanent organizers are included in Line Item 1 of their Administrative unit. All organizer expenses are charged to the Organizing account. Any balance in the Organizing account at the end of the budget year will be carried over to the next budget.

The Constitution as amended by the 1996 Convention action requires "in no such case shall less than 10% of the overall annual budget of the National Union be dedicated to organizing." This

commitment will be met through a combination of Administrative unit resources and General Fund allocation.

The Committee Recommends a General Fund Allocation of \$5,100,000

This represents a reduction of 3.7%.

CITIZENSHIP- 030

The allocation allows CWA to respond to a very small percentage of the worthwhile request we receive for community and civic affairs, programs and activities dedicated to the welfare of all citizens.

The Committee Recommends \$150,000

This represents a reduction of 16.67%

LEGAL- 031

Our legal costs continue to be a significant part of our budget. The Committee feels that we are making progress in controlling costs. Due to budget constraints, the allocation is less than the previous year allocation.

The Committee Recommends \$8,000,000

This represents a reduction of 5.6%

CONVENTION - 032

This allocation includes funding for the annual convention; convention committee expenses and union label show.

The Committee Recommends \$1,303,358

This represents an increase of 8.89%

In view of the current finances of the union, and the uncertainties of the future, perhaps it is time for the National Leadership and the Local Leadership to reconsider Biannual Conventions.

EXECUTIVE BOARD - 033

This budget account includes all expenses associated with meetings of the union's Executive Board. Due to budget constraints, the allocation is less than the previous year allocation.

The Committee Recommends \$300,000

This represents a reduction of 21.26%.

COMMITTEES AND CONFERENCES- 034

The Committee received requests to fund the following:

- CWA National Women's Committee (2 meetings -including 1 Convention)
- National Committee on Equity (2 meetings - including 1 Convention)
- Jurisdictional Disputes
- Regional Local Presidents' Meeting (Public Workers)
- Public & Healthcare and Education District Coordinators' Meeting
- Health Care Meetings
- Higher Education Meeting
- Sprint Healthcare Committee Meeting
- Sprint Bargaining Council
- Citizens Pension Meetings & Other Potential National Committees
- CWA Retired Members' Council - 2 meetings
- District Legislative -Political Coordinators - 2 meetings
- Police Associations & Community Conflict Seminar and NCPSO Leadership meetings
- SBC Bargaining Council
- SBC (MOBE)
- Constituency Groups
- Daily Hires

Unity VZ Newsletter
Collective Bargaining/Contract Negotiations
US Airways (4 meetings)
Miscellaneous Meetings

Because of the Union's financial constraints, it may be necessary to charge fees for some conferences in order to help offset their cost. Funding for this account includes the cost of material preparations, professional help, meeting rooms, etc. It also funds the expenses of persons serving on a committee or attending a conference scheduled by the President of the Union, provided that serving on the committee or attending the conference is at the President's request.

The Committee Recommends \$350,000

This represents a reduction of 23.08%

CWA NEWS - 035

The funding of this account is mandated by Article XXVI of the CWA Constitution. The amount budgeted provides for printing costs and postage. The Committee's recommendation is based on the assumption that at least nine issues of the CWA News will be published during the budget year. This is one less issue than the previous budget year.

The Committee Recommends \$1,943,400

This represents a reduction of 9.49%

STRATEGIC CONTRACT SUPPORT - 036

This allocation will be used by the President to assist bargaining units that encounter substantial additional costs associated with prolonged bargaining, extended first contract bargaining or other unforeseen circumstances for which there is no budget.

The Committee Recommends \$150,000

This represents a reduction of 14.29%

TAXES - 038

This item includes all payroll-related taxes and personal property taxes.

The Committee Recommends \$3,778,484

CONTINGENCY- 040

The purpose of this budget account 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 salary progression increases.

Expenses such as the CWA 401(K) Employer Contribution, Staff retirement gifts, rent increases and IUE transition costs, are charged to this account. The Committee has also included a small allocation to the District Vice Presidents to be used at their discretion.

This account will continue to be used to formulate an "adjusted" budget.

The Committee Recommends \$2,271,215

This represents a reduction of 26.97%

EQUIPMENT ADDITIONS - 041

The committee received a total of \$445,000 in equipment addition requests. Due to the unions financial constraints the committee budgeted nothing for this budget year.

The Committee Recommends \$0

This represents a reduction of 100%

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING OPERATIONS - 042

45.6% of the rentable space in the Headquarters building is leased to tenants. The allocation to this account represents building operating expenses net of tenant income, in addition to

necessary improvements and other required build out changes. We are pleased to note the loan from the MRF has been retired using the proceeds from the sale of the Mercury Building.

The Committee Recommends \$1,750,000

This represents a reduction of 60.29%

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

The Union continues to better serve its members by using modern technology. Our recordkeeping and accounting systems are constantly being updated as new programs are developed. This budget item reflects the costs of office automation, communication network, training, updating of equipment in the Headquarters and District offices.

The Committee Recommends

\$333,500 - for Secretary-Treasurer's Office – 043

This represents a reduction of 12.92%

\$541,000 - for President's Office & All Other Administrative Units – 143

This represents a reduction of 41.24%

DISTRICT BUILDING MAINTENANCE - 044

The allocation to this budget account is for the maintenance and repair costs of CWA owned District buildings. A close watch on operating cost of all buildings owned by the Union will be necessary to keep us within budget. All taxes and insurance on these buildings are included in the General Budget in the appropriate accounts. Any rental income from these properties is netted against expenses.

The Committee Recommends \$386,233

This represents an increase of 19.12%

PUBLIC RELATIONS- 045

How CWA is perceived by the public is crucial to the success of our Union. The Committee again recognized that we enjoy a comparatively high level of visibility in spite of having one of the smallest public relations staff of any major union. The allocation includes support for collective bargaining activities.

The Committee Recommends \$500,000

This represents a reduction of 33.33%

PROFESSIONAL - 046

Included in this account are expenses for audit fees, and miscellaneous professional services such as doctors, actuaries, consultants, etc. The Union is committed to use in-house talent versus hired consultants whenever practical.

The Committee Recommends \$650,000 Secretary-Treasurer's Office - 046A

This represents a reduction of 4%

The Committee Recommends \$184,000 President's Office - 046B

This represents a reduction of 43.38%

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM - 047

CWA is involved in the free world trade union movement. This is demonstrated by our association with other unions throughout the world. This cooperation yields tremendous dividends, and is of growing importance in the future of global telecommunications. CWA is affiliated globally with the Union Network International (UNI), International Metal Workers, International Federation of Journalists and International Transportation Workers. This year's budget includes the funding of activities with our labor colleagues from a number of countries.

The Committee Recommends \$90,000

This represents a reduction of 25.52%

EDUCATION - 048

The importance of education has never been greater. CWA must continue to educate our Staff and Local leaders to respond to the needs of our members. Employee tuition reimbursement will continue to be funded from this account.

The Committee Recommends \$391,000

This represents a reduction of 17.51%

AFFILIATIONS - OTHER - 049

CWA maintains membership in and serves on executive boards of a number of organizations. Fees associated with these activities are included in this budget allocation. Labor organization affiliation dues were addressed earlier in this report and are not included in this allocation.

The Committee Recommends \$274,600

This represents a reduction of 35.17%

OPERATING RESERVE - 051

The Operating Reserve was established for the purpose of accumulating funds to operate the Union in the event our income is drastically curtailed.

Due to financial constraints the Committee did not recommend an allocation to the Operating Reserve.

The Committee Recommends \$0 - No change

PENSION FUND - 060

This allocation represents contributions to the ITU Pension Fund , PPMWS Pension Fund and the TNG Pension Fund.

The Committee Recommends \$ 320,298

This represents an increase of 28.12%

HOSPITALIZATION/INSURANCE- 061

The allocation to this account is for the general insurance policies of the Union, include group healthcare for employees and retirees, liability, automobile, workers' compensation, casualty, fire, and theft. This allocation represents a considerable increase over last year's budget due to escalating cost of group healthcare insurance. A portion of retiree healthcare benefits are no longer funded by the Pension Fund.

The Committee Recommends:

Hospitalization, Medical, Dental, Vision, Life \$12,223,335

061A

This represents an increase of 21.03%

Insurance Other Than Hospitalization \$1,580,547 061B

This represents an increase of 35.01%

AUTOMOBILE FUND - 063

The purpose of this Fund is to provide for the operation of fleet automobiles. Due to financial constraints, the Committee supports the policy of keeping vehicles in use for 120,000 miles.

The Committee Recommends \$2,011,984

This represents an increase of 0.6%

STAFF MOVES - 064

The allocation to this budget account is for the costs associated with relocating Staff.

The Committee Recommends \$100,000

This represents a reduction of 50%

STAFF - ILLNESS ABSENCE - 065

This budget allocation is intended to cover wages for Staff who are ill for extended periods of

time. Due to budget constraints, the Committee allocated nothing for this budget year.

The Committee Recommends \$0

This represents a reduction of 100%

APPRENTICESHIP & TRAINING - 066

This budget allocation is for apprenticeship & training activities currently in existence and new programs anticipated to be implemented in this budget year.

The Committee Recommends \$253,495

This represents a reduction of 3.63%

SALARIES - ELECTED OFFICIALS

Each year, it is the Committee's responsibility to recommend salary changes for our elected officials. The Committee recommends that salaries be increased by a percentage equal to the average received by the ten largest bargaining units, effective July 1, 2002.

MERCURY BUILDING

The Mercury Building has been sold. The net proceeds were set aside and used to retire the MRF mortgage on 501 3rd Street and for renovations to 501 3rd Street.

FINANCIAL STATE OF THE UNION

This Committee realizes that with ever increasing financial burdens and causes needing the Union's attention, and an uncertain economy, we must continue to be ever vigilant of cost overruns. This year, we urge each administrative unit to operate within their authorized budget.

COMPLEMENT

The Committee has funded only those Staff positions that are now filled or have received approval to be filled at the time of this report. Requests to fill all positions must be made to the Strategic Planning and Budget Committee (SPBC) and authorized by the Executive Board.

THE BUDGET

The Committee reviewed and considered the Report of the Strategic Planning and Budget Committee as adopted by the Executive Board of the Union. After thorough and detailed deliberations, this Committee recommends the following budget for the 2003-2004 budget year. In calculating the projected income, the Committee built this budget based on an estimate of what our revenue will be in June 2003. After adjusting gross income for affiliation dues and reductions, anticipated membership losses related to employer downsizing/layoff, and general fund reserves, \$105,312,556 was available for budgeting.

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 (Administrative Units Budget) and Exhibit B (General Funds).

A line-by-line explanation of each item in the budget may be found on pages 12 - 17.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Committee recognizes the need to review the priorities of our Union, including resource allocation at both the National and Local levels. We need to maintain a basic focus on CWA as a change agent for our members and unorganized workers desiring to have a more powerful voice at work and in their communities. Building our power at our existing employers, through growth as we support workers who are organizing, and in the community through coalition building and political action, must continue to drive our allocation of resources.

This budget reflects changes in our budget allocations and many reductions in the amount

requested. We recognize that our Union is the sum total of our collective leadership and membership. Change is difficult for each one of us, so it is even more difficult collectively. This budget allows us to live within our means. That is our first obligation. But this budget cannot guarantee the kinds of changes that continue to be necessary. At the National level, that change depends on our officers and staff, and how we interact with Local leaders and members. We will continue to be more proactive and less reactive, both in dealing with employers and in our communities. We will continue to focus more on growth. Strong unions, including fiscal strength, remain the best hope for our members and all working men and women. Our employers almost universally are determined to contain and shrink the collective voice of their employees. Our strength lies in our committed members. Hopefully this budget reflects our priority in supporting them as they support each other and our Union.

Exhibit A
Exhibit A PDF
EXPLANATION OF EXHIBIT A

1) SALARIES - OFFICERS & STAFF

This item 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) EXPENSES - FULL-TIME

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

4) PART-TIME - SALARIES & EXPENSES

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

5) 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.)

6) POSTAGE-FREIGHT

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

7) RENTAL AND MAINTENANCE OF EQUIPMENT

This item reflects the cost of renting, leasing and maintenance of equipment such as photocopiers, mailing equipment and faxes. This does not include the cost of computers.

8) CONTRACT SERVICES

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

9) ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS

This item reflects all telephone and electronic communications expense.

10) RENT & OFFICE OCCUPANCY/RENT MEETING ROOM

This item reflects the cost of renting or leasing office space. It also includes mortgage payments for CWA owned buildings. The cost of renting meeting rooms for District and bargaining unit caucuses, organizing meetings, educational institutes, etc., is included in this line item.

11) ALL OTHER

This item covers all miscellaneous expenses that cannot properly be charged to Budget Items 1 through 10.

TOTALS

This reflects the total amount of the budget (Items 1 through 11) allocated to District and administrative units.

Exhibit B
Exhibit B PDF
EXPLANATION OF EXHIBIT B

29) ORGANIZING

This budget account covers the cost of organizing programs for the Union.

30) CITIZENSHIP

This budget account provides funds for the Union to participate in and make contributions to programs and activities which relate to community "good citizenship" and "civic affairs."

31) LEGAL

This budget account covers the cost of retainer fees and expenses for legal counsel, lawyers, court reporters for arbitration cases, and court costs.

32) CONVENTION

This budget account 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 budget account 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 CONFERENCE

This budget account includes committee and conference expenses for meetings. This does not cover expenses of attendees unless authorized by the President of the Union.

35) CWA NEWS

This budget account covers the total cost of publishing, printing and mailing of the CWA News.

36) STRATEGIC CONTRACT SUPPORT

This budget account is used by the President to assist bargaining units that encounter substantial additional costs associated with prolonged bargaining or other unforeseen circumstances for which there is no budget. As of 05/31/03, the fund has a balance of \$61,640.96.

38) TAXES

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

40) CONTINGENCY

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

41) EQUIPMENT ADDITIONS

This budget account provides for replacement and additional office machines, equipment and furniture, except computers.

42) HEADQUARTERS BUILDING OPERATIONS

This budget account includes the cost, including taxes, of maintaining and operating our CWA Headquarters building.

43) INFORMATION SYSTEMS - SECRETARY-TREASURER'S OFFICE

This budget account reflects the allocation for acquiring computer equipment, software, consulting contract services to implement information systems in the Secretary-Treasurer's Office.

INFORMATION SYSTEMS – PRESIDENT’S OFFICE

This budget account reflects the allocations for acquiring office automation equipment, computer equipment and software in the Headquarters, District, and area offices. Also included is the allowance for the cost of consultants and contract services that are necessary to implement information systems.

44) DISTRICT BUILDING MAINTENANCE & OPERATIONS

This budget account includes the cost of maintaining and operating District-owned buildings, as well as minor repairs to leased offices.

45) PUBLIC RELATIONS

This budget account covers the Union's 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) PROFESSIONAL

This budget account includes all fees and cost of professional services, i.e., auditors, actuaries, consultants, etc.

47) INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

CWA's international work will continue to focus on strengthening our relationships with unions around the world at our multi-national employers.

48) EDUCATION

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

49) AFFILIATIONS - OTHER

CWA maintains membership in and serves on Executive Boards of a number of organizations.

ALLOCATION TO OPERATING RESERVE

This budget account is used to set aside General Fund money in the Operating Reserve.

60) PENSION FUND

This budget account includes the cost of contributions made to the CWA Pension & Death Benefit Trust Fund and partial cost associated with administration of the Fund. Also included are contributions for our employees covered under the CWA-ITU Negotiated Pension Plan for PPMWS staff & to the FGR plan for TNG-CWA clerical.

61) INSURANCE AND HOSPITALIZATION

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

63) AUTOMOBILE FUND

This budget account includes cost of leasing & maintaining CWA fleet automobiles. This budget account also covers the Automobile allowance.

64) STAFF MOVES

This budget account includes the cost of moving staff that have been reassigned to a new work location.

65) STAFF ILLNESS ABSENCE

This budget account includes necessary expenses to backfill for staff members who are ill for extended periods of time.

66) APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

The budget allocation is for authorized apprenticeship and training program activities.

TOTAL GENERAL BUDGET

Total of Budget accounts 29 through 66.

TOTAL BUDGET

Total of all Administrative Units and Headquarters (Budget accounts 1 through 11) are General Budgets.

Exhibit C
Comparison - Finance PDF
EXPLANATION OF CWA FUNDS

There are six Funds, all of which are examined and reported on by the Auditors.

They are:

1. General Fund
2. Defense Fund
3. Members' Relief Fund
4. Pension Fund
5. Operating Reserve Fund
6. Plant Fund (The Fixed Assets Account)

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

GENERAL FUND

The General Fund is the Fund from which the international operates. All the income money which comes to CWA is handled through the General Fund. The status of this Fund is reported quarterly 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. Upon processing the report that comes with the employer's check, checks are issued for the amount due the Locals. Also, at this time, we transfer the proper amount to the Defense Fund and Members' Relief Fund. The International's portion remains in the General Fund, available for use by the International. The Local amount is returned to the Locals.

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 membership dues and equivalent payers in the amount of \$.50 each month. Income is deposited in the Defense Fund account as dues reports are processed.

The Defense Fund is administered within the Defense Fund Rules established by Convention action.

As reflected earlier in this report, the unrestricted net assets of the Fund as of

June 30, 2002 was \$10,573,569.

MEMBERS' RELIEF FUND

The Members' Relief Fund was established by 1990 Convention action. The purpose of the fund is relief of strikers, locked out members, victims of collective bargaining strategies and other approved mobilization actions. As reflected earlier in this report, the unrestricted net assets as of June 30, 2002 were \$223,443,941.

Income to the Members' Relief Fund is derived from membership dues and equivalent payers in an amount equal to (1/4 hour) .15% per month of minimum dues of those eligible to strike. Income is deposited in the Members' Relief Fund account as dues reports are processed. Income & Expenditures from the Fund are reviewed by the Defense Fund Oversight Committee according to the rules established by Convention action.

PENSION FUND

This Fund provides for CWA employees' retirement benefits. A periodic actuarial review is made of the CWA Pension and Death Benefit Trust Fund, and our contribution is adjusted to meet our obligations. No contributions are necessary in this budget year.

OPERATING RESERVE FUND

The Operating Reserve Fund was established as a reserve to operate 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 is used to cover operating expenses when our income is interrupted as a result of strikes in our major bargaining units or for other Union support activity for which there is no budget.

PLANT FUND - FIXED ASSETS

The Plant Fund 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, office and computer equipment and automobiles.

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.

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.

2002 CWA FINANCE COMMITTEE

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NOTES