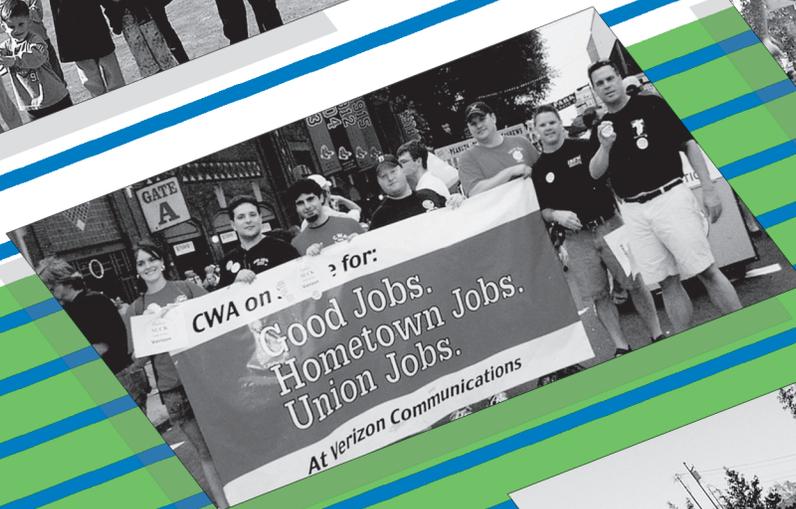
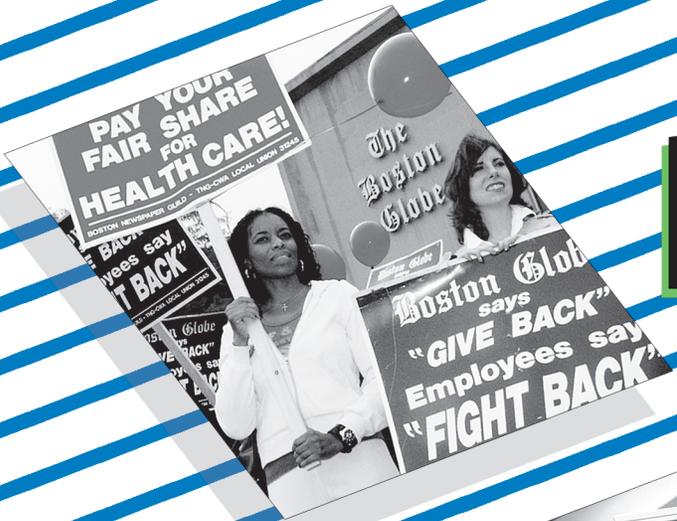


COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

MOBILIZING TO BUILD POWER



COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

MOBILIZING
TO BUILD
POWER



Dear CWA Officers and Activists:

When we wrote the mobilization resolution adopted at the 1988 CWA Convention, I could not have imagined the amazing work done since by locals all over the country on campaigns ranging from first contracts to health care cost shifting fights, to plant clos-

ings, state budget cuts, regulatory issues...

The dedication and commitment to membership education and mobilization in CWA locals is unparalleled in any other union. In CWA, we truly believe that our members, at their worksites, are our strength and the source of our power and we show it in our actions every day, somewhere in this great union—and we are a stronger union because of it.

The CWA mobilization program is recognized and respected in the labor movement, both in this country and internationally. We must continue to stay focused on the basic components which we talked about in 1988, and that are just as important today: (1) worksite structure; (2) information and education; and (3) collective action.

In solidarity,



Larry Cohen

CWA Mobilization Kicks off at CWA Convention

The following resolution was adopted by the delegates to the 50th CWA convention held in New Orleans in August, 1988

The coming year—1989—brings the expiration of collective bargaining contracts covering some 80 percent of our membership. This presents us with tremendous challenges and opportunities. Victory is within our grasp, but it depends on the active involvement of all of our members.

To help guarantee success, an intensive Mobilization program has been designed to put the grassroots membership of our union directly into the bargaining process. It reaches into every job site and work unit to tap the energy, inventiveness, intelligence, and collective power of the members of CWA.

Never before have we or any other union begun bargaining preparation this far in advance. In fact, we are preparing for more than bargaining. We are strengthening our union from the bottom so that we can more effectively organize and build our community and political action programs for years to come.

In some respects, Mobilization is a unique, bold and ambitious undertaking. Yet the program also is a return to basics. The techniques of one-on-one, worker-to-worker, unit-by-unit organizing built CWA 50 years ago. It took discipline, spirited rank-and-file action and creative tactics to win recognition and respect from our employers in the early days. Today, many of the conditions of those early days are back again, partly because of political changes and partly because of economic reorganization. Mobilization consists of three basic parts—strengthening locals, inside or “in-plant” actions and using community support to mount effective “corporate” campaigns.

This effort depends on the active involvement at all locations and levels of the union. Each CWA District has a mobilization team. Each local needs a mobilization coordinator. Each work group (up to 20 workers) needs a coordinator who will talk to his or her co-workers about key issues and action throughout the year. And in

locations with more than one work group, one of the work group coordinators needs to serve as building or site coordinator.

This structure is designed to enhance communication and participation; without it, our employers will communicate more effectively with our members than we will. This is the essential foundation of our Mobilization CWA.

There is a labor ballad called “Carry It On” which exhorts each generation to fight to protect what the previous generation won and to build on these gains for the next generation. Many of the things we take for granted—health benefits, pensions and the like—only were achieved through heroic struggles by our predecessors. They can be eroded or taken away unless we are prepared to stand strong and fight, for ourselves and our children.

We are a movement, not merely an organization or a bureaucracy. CWA is its people. It is only as strong and successful as its members are united and actively supportive. Its future is only as positive as the resolve and spirit of its rank and file.

RESOLVED: That the Communications Workers of America will carry out the goals of Mobilization CWA to involve each and every CWA member in the challenges and opportunities of bargaining in 1989, and

RESOLVED: That this program will include designating local work group and building mobilization coordinators; participating in one-on-one programs to talk with co-workers about issues, goals, and strategies; and, reaching out to our families and communities for support, and

RESOLVED: That CWA at all levels of the Union will immediately begin to implement the goals and timetable of Mobilization CWA to ensure victory in 1989 and beyond.

Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, CLC

Prepared by:

CWA Education and Mobilization Departments

www.cwa-union.org

2004 Communications Workers of America

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Why Mobilize?

CWA, like most unions, was organized on the basis of member involvement. Fundamentally, a union's power at any point in time is nothing more than the total energy and support of its members who can be mobilized.

Yet, during the last few decades there has been an increasing tendency to view "individuals" (experienced, bright union leaders) as the problem fixers. We became too reliant on the crafty union negotiator, the clever chief steward, the effective local president to solve our problems. We can no longer solely rely on grievances, arbitrations or labor laws to achieve workplace justice.

The basic premise of mobilization is that we must return to our roots and commit to a strategy that rests on increasing our power through membership education and involvement.

Mobilization of our members is the strategy for achieving our three major goals.

1. Contract negotiations and enforcement, and resolution of workplace issues;
2. Effective community and political action; and,
3. Organizing new members in new bargaining units and building our membership in current units to increase our power through additional members.

These goals make up the sides of the CWA Triangle: representation, community/ political action, and organizing. Each side must be strong to support the others. A weakness in one weakens the others.

**YOU
CANNOT LIVE
ON
'SMALL
POTATOES'
ALONE**



"We plan to set the table right in '71 and that doesn't mean small potatoes."

This cartoon was used in CWA's first national contract mobilization campaign in 1971. 50,000 local CWA leaders (one for every 10-15) joined the Task Force '71 and led training sessions, posted informational posters in the workplaces, passed out bargaining leaflets and engaged the members in actions. Task Force members wore "small potatoes '71" pins to identify themselves as key workplace mobilizers. The materials were produced and distributed out of the CWA Education Department. Well-informed on the issues and mobilized months in advance, 400,000 members nationwide went on strike against the Bell System and obtained the biggest economic package ever negotiated in the industry.

First Contract Victory

230 CWA members in Essex, New Jersey who work for ARC (Association For Retarded Citizens) obtained their first union contract through direct action and solid mobilization. Prior to the workers forming a union, the ARC management had a “my way or the highway” style of managing. But through mobilization the workers were able to tip the balance of power and win an excellent first contract.

The workers, who provide direct care for clients in group homes or day programs, first came to CWA in August 2002. They were paid poorly and treated even worse. In December 2002 the group voted 102 to 19 for CWA.

In February 2003, bargaining began with ARC, a 501c3 organization which receives 95% of its funds from the State. Throughout the contract negotiations workers participated in a solidarity day every payday by wearing T-shirts, buttons, and stickers. In June, they started turning up the heat on slow moving negotiations by picketing ARC’s main office in Livingston and hand billing ARC Board members on the status of negotiations.

In July, the workers each called the main office to ask why management had received a big raise while workers were being offered so little at the bargaining table. In June and July every solidarity day had a theme that kept the workers focused on contract issues and showed management an increasingly united and determined workforce.

In September ARC workers made it clear that there would be no safe haven for management and hand billed their annual golf tournament fundraiser. All golfers received a bag of golf tees with a leaflet explaining the ARC workers’ fight for a fair contract. Management’s response was icy, but we saw movement at the table.

After making progress on non-economic issues, management rejected the union’s wage proposal and reminded the union bargainers that the workers knew these were low paid jobs when they took them and suggested they go work elsewhere if they didn’t like it.



When this management response got back to workers they started mobilizing for a strike.

Workers started wearing “I’m ready to walk” buttons and talking openly to each other about striking.

CWA sent a letter to all ARC donors explaining the status of bargaining and management’s response to a just pay increase. A similar packet of material was sent to the Essex County ARC Board a week before their scheduled meeting. The board is composed of parents, community leaders, legislators and management representatives. The night of the board meeting, ARC workers were there to greet them and were elated to see many carrying the orange information packet mailed to them by the union.

Peeking in through glass doors and windows, it was clear that the Board was discussing the information packet with management. This was a decisive moment in their fight for a just contract.

The next day, management called and said they wanted to talk money. While management prepared a wage offer, the workers prepared for a pre-strike rally.

The bargainers met at the same time the rally took place. Speaker after speaker voiced their support for the ARC workers and promised to stand with them.

That night an agreement was reached at the bargaining table that included significant pay increases, duty-free lunches, a grievance and arbitration procedure, a clothing allowance, health and safety language, respect language and much more.

There was no doubt who had obtained this contract—it was the actions and solidarity of the 230 CWA members.

MOBILIZATION
Mobilization is a continuous process of workplace structure, education and collective action.

WORKPLACE structure
Structure means setting in place the workplace structure to effectively communicate with each other, face to face, one-on one

COLLECTIVE ACTION
Once we understand the issues, we can become actively involved in collective actions to win changes.

EDUCATION
Through our workplace structure we can educate ourselves about issues that confront us and what we can do about them as a union.

WHAT IS MOBILIZATION?

Mobilization is an information/action program which allows every member to play a positive role in improving working conditions and building a strong voice at work. Mobilization

allows us to systematically, through a structure, educate members on issues and achieve a high level of participation in collective actions. The foundation of mobilization is the workplace structure which allows the union to communi-

Officers/Stewards Set Up Shop In Worksites

Every day is a Union Day in Local 6171, but the third Thursday of the month is when the officers and stewards of the Local set up tables at various worksites to organize new workers and mobilize members around workplace issues. They wear red shirts, do raffles, distribute literature and answer any questions workers may have. "It's a great way to make the Union visible and for the workers to get to know the Union officers and stewards," explains Local 6171 President Mike Simmons.

The Local recently arranged a Health Fair at the Verizon call center. Union officers and stewards were there to guide the CSSC workers through the many health care vendors and to answer any questions or concerns. "The



CSSC folks had the opportunity to get their blood pressure checked and other health care issues addressed, and we signed up new members. A healthy atmosphere all around," observed Executive Vice President "Bugsey" Smith.

cate one-on-one, worker-to-worker, with every single member in a short period of time. Without a good structure, you won't be able to do one-on-one effectively, and without one-on-one, you won't get high participation in collective actions.

Mobilization is a continuous process of:

1. Structure (in workplaces)
2. Education/Knowledge
3. Collective Action

Chapters two, three and four discuss each of these mobilization components in more detail.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The basic premise of mobilization is that we must return to our roots and commit to a strategy that rests on increasing our power through membership education and involvement.

Mobilization is a continuous process of structure, education and collective action. We need to continuously go back and strengthen the workplace structure so we can effectively educate workers and carry out collective actions that make a difference.

Standing Together for a Good Contract

2003 is fast approaching. And that means another set of national negotiations with General Electric. Building on our successful contract campaign last round, IUE-CWA is launching a comprehensive mobilization plan. The goal is to have a structure in place that allows us to communicate with every member on key issues, bargaining goals and collective actions.

IUE-CWA
.....
MOBILIZATION

Workplace Structures

In order to have a successful mobilization, you must first set up a workplace structure that allows the local leadership to communicate quickly and effectively with each member. This is the structure component of mobilization.

To establish this structure, you will need a Local Mobilization Coordinator, who will coordinate, train and keep track of the local mobilization effort. In addition, the local will need one Building Mobilization Coordinator for each work location and one Work Group Mobilization Coordinator for every 10-20 workers at each location.

Every CWA District has a District Mobilization Coordinator—in addition to your Staff Representative—who can provide training, resources and assistance. You should use your District Mo-

bilization Coordinator as a resource and also keep him/her informed about your mobilization activities.

The mobilization structure should be set up so that:

1. Every member can be contacted one-on-one in a relatively short period of time.
2. Written materials can be distributed to and collected from every member in every work location in a short period of time.
3. A high level of participation can be achieved in collective actions.

Your workplace structure must be committed to paper, listing the names of each building coordinator and every work group coordinator. In addition every work group coordinator must have the names of the 10-20 co-workers they

Keeping the Union Strong At Call Center A Weekly Challenge

In 2000 Cingular opened a call center in Lubbock, Texas, which by 2003 had 1350 workers. The center takes inbound calls from Texas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Kansas. Like most call centers turnover is very high and the Local union has to be constantly rebuilding support and membership in order to remain strong.

Two days a week, Chief Stewards set up a CWA table in the cafeteria and break rooms to talk to new workers and sign them up into the Union. "I tell them we work with the company as much as we can. I explain CWA and Cingular have the same goals, that is, we both want to see the company profitable—it's just that we have different ways of getting there and we don't want to

see them getting trampled on by Cingular," explains Chief Steward Kenneth Marley.

The negotiated one-hour new employee orientation provides another opportunity to organize the new hires. Chief Stewards meet with each new group on the clock, giving them a membership card, a copy of the contract and their Weingarten rights. They answer questions and collect the membership cards at the end of the session. Marley reports that about 60% of the new employees join the union in orientation. "With the average age in the call center 23, most of the workers don't see this job as a life-long career. The turnover rate is around 40%, so internal organizing is a never-ending job," President Jack Maxey, Local 6203, points out.

are responsible for contacting. If the structure is not on paper it is not an effective structure.

HOW TO SET UP A LOCAL MOBILIZATION STRUCTURE

1. A Local Mobilization Coordinator is appointed. This person is the key to the success of your mobilization effort. It should be someone who is well-organized and able to communicate well with people. The Local Coordinator is responsible for setting up the mobilization structure in each building location, establishing a calendar of mobilization activities and coordinating follow-up on all mobilization education and collective actions. (If you have more than one bargaining unit in your local you may need more than one Local Mobilization Coordinator.)

2. Begin by compiling a list of all work locations where the local has members.
3. Recruit one Building Mobilization Coordinator for each work location.
4. Bring together all the Building Mobilization Coordinators. The meeting should include a review of what mobilization is, why it is important, their roles and responsibilities and the importance of the mobilization structure.
5. Building Mobilization Coordinators recruit Work Group Mobilization Coordinators, one for every 10-20 members.
6. Each Building Mobilization Coordinator should bring together all their Work Group

LOCAL MOBILIZATION STRUCTURE CHART



Note: Every work location must have a Building Mobilization Coordinator. In work locations with only a few workers (10-20), there is no need to have a Work Group Mobilization Coordinator—the Building Mobilization Coordinator can do the one-on-one contacts.

District Mobilization Institute Trains over 400

The District 4 Mobilization Institute is a two-day training that has been held since 1997 at least once a year and frequently several times a year. Over 400 Local officers and activists have attended the Institute since its inception. The Institute agenda includes a discussion on where power comes from and its effectiveness, building mobilization structures in workplaces, one-on-one communications and strategic action.

"I started the Institutes to institutionalize mobilization into the culture of the District. I wanted membership mobilization to be a way of life here in District 4. I wanted to get to the point where we would never think of going into bargaining without solid mobilization structures in each worksite and a mobilization plan," explains Vice President Jeff Rechenbach.

"Even as a long-time union officer I found the Institute very helpful to understanding how important preparation and strategy are to the mobilization process,"

commented Billy Martin President Local 4108 adding "Its not just about actions, leaflets and red T-shirts."

Sometimes the Institute focuses on specific bargaining units, such as the October 2003 SBC Mobilization Institute held six months prior to SBC contract expiration. At this session, in addition to the regular Institute topics, a train-the-trainer session was held on key bargaining issues, the industry and CWA. "The bargaining issues training gave me the tools to get our members more informed and involved than ever before," commented Local 4302 Secretary Peggy Griffin.

But it doesn't end when the Institute is over. "In the regular Institute we have a three month follow up for those who go through the Institute. For the specific bargaining unit Institutes we agree on a timeline for activities and track them. Follow up is key," explained Seth Rosen, the District Mobilization Coordinator.

Mobilizers to review the items outlined in Step 4. This can be done in brief worksite meetings.

7. The Local Mobilization Coordinator must follow up to make sure every workplace and every member is reached. Determine the level of participation you are getting on actions in each work location. Speak and meet with Building Coordinators periodically.

Duties of Local Mobilization Coordinators

The Local Mobilization Coordinator is the control center for all mobilization activities in the local. Everything involving mobilization should flow through the coordinator.

He/she is initially responsible for setting up the

mobilization structure in each work location. The first step is to recruit a Building Mobilization Coordinator for each building. Next, the Local Coordinator must bring together the Building Coordinators and explain the whys and whats of mobilization and their roles and duties. He/she is also responsible for maintaining the structure and should continuously keep alert to possible gaps or holes within each bargaining unit.

The Local Mobilization Coordinator is responsible for maintaining mobilization activities, including one-on-one education campaigns and collective actions throughout the year. Issues to mobilize around will naturally arise from Building Mobilization Coordinators, local officers, stewards and committee chairs, although they may not think about mobilizing around the issue until you suggest it.

GETTING STARTED WORKSHEET

Local Mobilization Coordinator _____

	Contract (Bargaining Unit)	Number of Building Locations	Number of Members in Buildings	Work Group Coordinators Needed (# of members ÷ 20)
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Once you have completed this worksheet, you need to build a mobilization structure in each of your bargaining units. Start by recruiting a Building Mobilization Coordinator for each building location and bring them together for a briefing/meeting.

Duties of Building Mobilization Coordinators

The Building Mobilization Coordinators have overall responsibility for bringing mobilization in their building. They are responsible for recruiting enough Work Group Mobilization Coordinators to carry out the face-to-face contacts—one for every 10-20 workers. They are also responsible for explaining mobilization to Work Group Coordinators and distributing and reviewing the Mobilization Plan, issue flyers, buttons, petitions, etc., needed for the one-on-one contacts.

Lastly, the Building Mobilization Coordinator is responsible for assessing the level of participa-

tion in each activity and making sure there are no gaps in the mobilization structure in their building.

DUTIES OF WORK GROUP MOBILIZATION COORDINATORS (In buildings with more than 20 workers)

Work Group Mobilization Coordinators are responsible for contacting 10-20 co-workers on mobilization issues and collective actions. Each workgroup coordinator should be given a list of workers he/she is responsible to contact. Work Group Coordinators should keep track of their one-on-one contacts and report members' com-



ments and feedback on the issue and activity to the Building Coordinator.

NO TIME FOR STRUCTURE BUILDING

There is a tendency to skip the somewhat tedious task of setting up a mobilization structure and go directly to collective actions. However, our experience shows that organizing the internal local structure is, in fact, the most important part of the mobilization program. It is the foundation upon which all else is built. It is also what often takes the most time.

Once the structure is in place, it must be kept current through a continuing process of reviewing and renewing the structure.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The key to effective membership mobilization is a workplace structure which is committed to paper.

A successful mobilization structure allows:

- Every member to be contacted one-on-one in a short period of time
- Written materials to be distributed and collected in every work location
- Meaningful one-on-one discussion of issues
- A high level of participation in collective actions

Local Mobilization Coordinators lead the overall program and oversee structure; Building Mobilization Coordinators oversee their locations' mobilization; Work Group Mobilization Coordinators work/talk one-on-one with members.

Education

Education is a vital component of mobilization. The reason is simple: if workers don't understand the issue or how it affects them, they will be less willing to get involved in workplace actions. The primary vehicle for education is through one-on-one, worker-to-worker contacts. Education can also be done in worksite, stewards or lunchtime meetings.

The mobilization structure discussed in Chapter 2 is used to deliver one-on-one education on issues. The education is carried out by the Work Group Mobilization Coordinators, who discuss a specific issue one-on-one with 10-20 workers over a short period of time. Usually these contacts are brief (5-10 minutes), but the mobilizer often leaves the worker with an education piece, which contains information on the subject. The coordinator may also ask the member to join an action in support of the issue, for example, to wear red, sign a postcard, tap a pencil, etc.



EDUCATION MATERIAL (Issue Flyer)

Provides substantial information and insight on a particular subject to help members better understand the issue and the need to mobilize.

Sometimes the education piece will explain in depth a workplace or bargaining issue, other times it will explain a strategy like working beyond contract expiration or card check. If the subject is complicated or new to members, more than one piece will need to be developed and distributed.

How to Prepare an Issue Flyer

The two questions to ask yourself when preparing an issue flyer are:

- 1 What are the three most important things about this issue that members need to know?
2. How can I say it so it will have meaning for members?



The issue needs to be presented in a manner that helps members see that it affects them or someone just like them and consequently may affect them in the future. The more personal you can make the issue the better. Make it real by using concrete examples. Members need to connect the issue to their everyday lives. Give your members a reason to care about this issue.

Consider Yeah Buts....

Sometimes with a complicated issue or a new tactic you might consider preparing a yeah buts... piece. Such a piece spells out questions or objections which members may raise in the workplace and provides responses. It is a question-and-answer piece, which helps prepare mobilizers for the one-on-one contacts. Sometimes locals find yeah buts... so helpful in addressing concerns that they distribute them to all members. Don't shy away

from the difficult questions/objections—those will tend to be the most useful and on target.

LOCAL NEWSLETTERS OR BULLETINS CAN SUPPORT MOBILIZATION

(Consider Sending Bulletins via E-mail to Members)

Members look to their local newsletter for information about local issues and activities. Although the newsletter and mailings are no substitute for one-on-one mobilization, they can be used to complement and reinforce mobilization, especially the education component. They are a perfect stage to educate members on issues, which are important, and to explain why the local is mobilizing and how everyone can participate.

**GE Pension Fund:
Give Workers and
Retirees Their Due**

IUE-CWA



**Strengthening
Our Power By
Bargaining to
Organize at GE**



**GE Health Care:
No Concessions!**



**Bargaining For Our Future
Cingular Bargaining Training
Communications Workers of America**



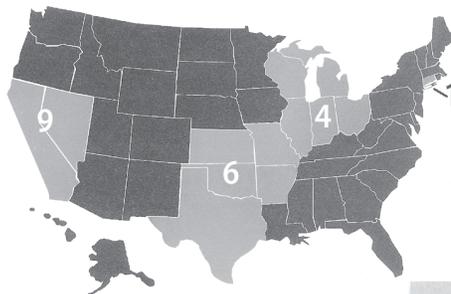
Activity 1: Wireless As Part of Telecom Industry: To review trends in wireless and telecom, analyze how they impact on the Cingular

Activity 2: The Union-Providing Worker: Union as a vehicle for making and dealing with change and just fashion.

Activity 3: Bargaining in 2003: Ranking the issues they will be to obtain.

CINGULAR

**SBC BARGAINING ISSUES TRAINING
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA**



Activity 1: The Big Picture: Review major events in the industry and economy as well as regulatory and political arena. Discuss how they could affect our bargaining.

Activity 2: Collective Bargaining Rights

Activity 3: Key bargaining issues for 2004

Activity 4: Looking at how SBC has changed since our last round of bargaining and the impact of these changes.

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SBC

AT&T

**AT&T Bargaining
2003**

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A FORCE FOR WORKING FAMILIES AFL-CIO

IUE Industrial Division of the Communications Workers of America

GENERAL ELECTRIC

VERIZON

Holding the Line

**2003 Verizon
Mobilization**

CWA Unity@Verizon IBEW

June 23, 2003
CWA District One
Larry Mancino, Vice President

California Court Interpreters Win Employee Status

In 2000, 99% of the California Federation of Interpreters in Southern California voted to join CWA and TNG-CWA Local 39521. They followed the lead of the Northern California court interpreters, who had affiliated with TNG-CWA Local 39521 the previous year. Together the group represented about half of the 1,300 certified and registered court interpreters in the State.

Although they now had a union they still did not have the right to collective bargaining.

The courts had for years classified them as “independent contractors” when in fact they functioned as employees. Independent contractors by definition do not have the right to engage in concerted activity or bargain collectively.

Together the group set out to get reclassified and demand collective bargaining. “As court interpreters we don’t set our own hours, we don’t set our own pay rates and we don’t work independently. We are supervised and controlled by the court,” explains Uri Yaval, then President of the California Federation of Interpreters, the organization that affiliated with TNG-CWA 39521. “Obviously we are court employees in all but name.”



The local held 14 meetings around the State to educate and mobilize current members and organize the others. Petitions were circulated at these meetings and elsewhere and presented to legislators with the demand to be reclassified.

The best way to get someone concerned about something is to explain the issue and show them why it’s important to them. People care about what affects them and their lives. Personalize the issue. Give specific examples of how the issue has affected their co-workers who are just like them. Consider putting out a bulletin via e-mail to members. This can be a great way to keep everyone informed. For more on this, see the chapter on e-mails and websites.

ONE-ON-ONE CONTACTS

1. Introduce yourself.
2. Make eye contact.
3. Contact at right time. Do not contact an employee during normal working hours—catch them during break, lunch, or before or after work when they don’t seem rushed for time.
4. Be yourself. Smile, relax, use the kind of language you use every day.
5. Have some piece of information (the education piece) to give to the worker to break the ice.
6. Be polite. If a worker refuses to talk to you, don’t get into an argument; tell the person

With the assistance of CWA District 9's legislative and lobbying team, the interpreters were able to get Senator Martha Escutia, Chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to sponsor a bill reclassifying court interpreters. CWA drafted the bill and negotiated over the language with the Judicial Council of California for two years. But finally, the Trial Court Interpreter Employment and Labor Relations Act, Senate Bill 371, was introduced, establishing an employment system for court interpreters with organizing rights and job protections.

CWA District 9 launched a major lobbying effort to get the bill passed through the California Assembly and Senate. It would be an uphill battle, as California was descending into the worst budget crisis in state history and the governor was trying to reduce, not expand, the number of employees on the state payroll.

The interpreters painstakingly built a coalition of groups to support the bill—immigrant rights, civil rights, prison reform, District Attorneys, Public Defenders, APALA and other labor organizations. Letters of support were collected from each group and presented to legislators. Interpreters teamed up with CWA staff and made countless visits to legislative staff and legislators. In addition a massive postcard campaign targeted key legislators.

In late August the bill was passed by both houses of the legislature and sent to the Governor's desk. Now CWA's focus turned to getting Governor Davis to sign the bill buried in a pile of hundreds of bills on his desk. Court interpreters sent more than a thousand letters and cards to the Governor and CWA held meetings with the Governor's staff and the Department of Finance representatives. Thousands of e-mails were sent to the Governor through the CWA e-activist alert. The interpreters waited anxiously for weeks after the Assembly passed the bill. Finally, one day before the deadline and because of constant pressure, the Governor signed the bill. California court interpreters became employees in July 2003.

"This bill represents a historic change for this profession. Interpreters who have worked for 10 to 20 years, full-time, with no rights and no benefits became entitled to a position with the court and now have the right to negotiate a fair contract with all the basic benefits that other court employees take for granted," says Silvia Barden, President of the California Federation of Interpreters and member of the legislative team.

Since the Bill passed, more than 500 new members joined TNG-CWA through card check recognition (which was included in the bill). Interpreters are now electing bargaining committees and on the road to negotiating their first contract.

- you'll catch them another time (do follow up).
7. Be frank. If you get a question that you can't answer, don't try to bluff. Tell the person you will try to get the answer for him or her.
 8. Don't preach. You should talk about the issue to help lead the person to his/her own conclusion after presenting the facts. This is a much more effective approach than a "hard sell."
 9. Listen. This is the most important thing you can do. Listen to what the worker says—it will give you insight into their particular concerns and objections. Meaningful discussion of key issues at the worksite is as important as any other result.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Education is vital to making mobilization work—if workers don't know or understand the issues, strategy or tactic, they won't be motivated to participate in collective actions.
- It's important to take the time to engage in one-on-one discussion on issues with members.
- Discussion is essential if our union and locals are to build and grow on real member involvement.

Collective Actions

Collective actions can be anything from wearing red, standing up on the job, hand-billing major customers, attending stockholders meetings or countless other actions.

Collective actions build on the one-on-one education and issue information. They give members a chance to do something visible on the issue, to send a message, take a stand.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF ACTIONS

There are different kinds of actions; each has a purpose in a campaign. Some actions require all members to participate; other actions require a small group. Still others require only 2-3 people.

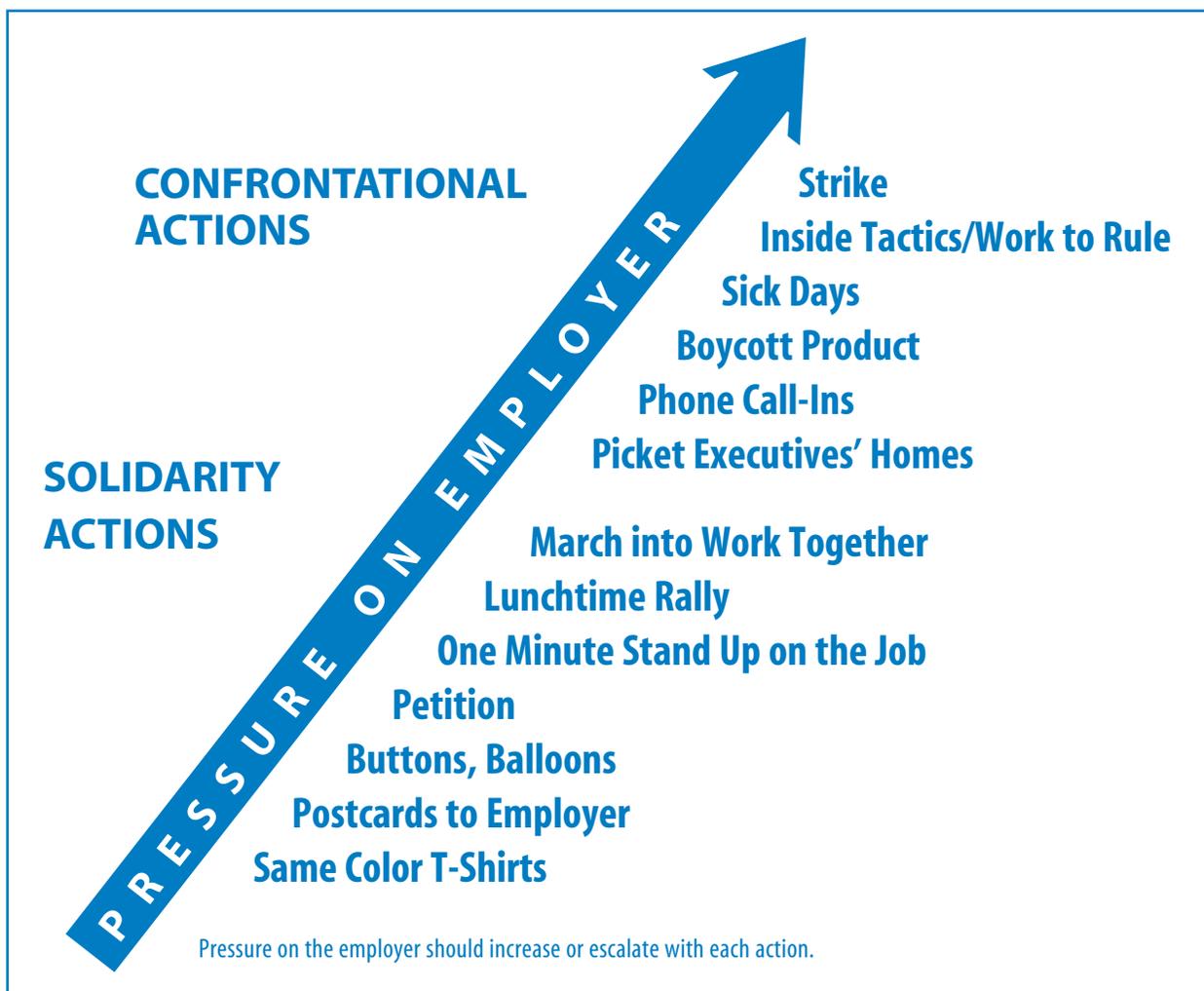
All actions are intended to increase the pressure on management and to contribute to the resolution of the issue.

Below are the major types of actions CWA uses in a campaign. All are important and should be used in the tougher fights. Keep in mind that we escalate to the more confrontational actions.

1. Solidarity Actions in the Workplace

These actions allow all members at work to participate directly and collectively in an activity and experience the rush and strength of solidarity. Examples include wearing red, standing up at the same time, walking in or out of the workplace together, working to rule, etc.





The main purpose is to send a message to management, a clear message that the workers are united, to increase pressure on management to resolve the issue.

2. Special Event Actions

These actions require a group of 20-500 activists, depending on the event, to handbill and be visible at special employer events. Examples include stockholders meetings, professional baseball games on employer night, award dinners for top executives, etc.

The main purpose is to show management that no matter where they are, CWA will be there sharing our views of the struggle and the employer's behavior. The fact that they

can't get away from the conflict adds to the pressure and their desire to resolve the matter.

3. External Target Actions

These actions frequently require a smaller group of activists willing and comfortable with more confrontational activities. Examples include handbilling major customers, picketing at homes of top executives, Board of Directors, etc.

The main purpose is to get those who have influence with the employer to push for resolution of the issues in order to get rid of the picketers.

4. Revenue Impact Actions

These are actions that impact on revenue.

The main purpose is to get top management to focus on the issues and talk seriously about a just resolution.

ESCALATING ACTIONS

Collective actions should be planned so as to incrementally escalate pressure on the employer. The longer the issue is not resolved, the more confrontational the collective actions. In most cases, you will want to begin with non-confrontational solidarity actions and escalate if there's no positive response from management.

The union intensifies the actions and ups the stakes at each level. The collective actions in the following list are offered as examples.

I. Solidarity Actions

1. Wearing Single Colors or a Ribbon

On certain days everybody wears the same color to work until contract settlement. This technique has been used very effectively with many of our employers. You can also get colored ribbons printed with a slogan and have workers wear the ribbon every day to work until the issue (or contract) is resolved. Both tactics show the employer the workers are united. It's good for morale when workers see the depth of the union's support. It's inspiring to witness a sea of red clothing in a plant or office.

2. Balloon Days

Hand a helium balloon to workers on the way in to work in the morning. Ask members to

Any Season is the Reason to Mobilize...

Delta Airlines management sent a memo to Atlanta-based flight attendants inviting them to help decorate the holiday tree in the International Lounge by "bringing in an ornament... that reflects the cultures and personalities working within our base... Everyone can enjoy the tree and the sharing of goodwill..." Imagine management's surprise when the flight attendants organizing committee hung blue, gold and silver ornaments painted with FAIRNESS, HONESTY, RESPECT, SOLIDARITY, UNITY, BROTHERHOOD, and A BETTER WAY on the tree.

The next day the flight attendants returned to the lounge to find the tree stripped bare of the beautiful ornaments. Management complained that they were a "group" promoting a

cause and that only "individuals" were invited to hang ornaments on the tree.

So, under the watchful eye of supervisors, and armed with twice as many ornaments, "individuals" hung the bright blue, gold and silver balls proclaiming UNITY, RESPECT etc.,

Again, the flight attendants returned to find the ornaments gone. Apparently Delta management did not want to be reminded of such values as "Fairness," "Honesty," or "Respect," much less "Unity" for the workers.

In an e-mail to Delta management, a member of the organizing committee noted, "You invite us to decorate the tree. Your team voices no objections as we do so. Instead, you wait until we leave the lounge, then take the decorations



down. We comply with your objections and "individually" redecorate the tree while your supervisors silently observe us. Then you take our ornaments down again. Is this a demonstration of the "sharing of goodwill" you spoke of in your memo?"

tie them to their desks. To add to it: at a certain time pop all the balloons. Print a slogan on the balloon, for example, “(name of employer) is full of hot air.”

3. Health Care Action Days

Everyone wears band-aids, canes, crutches, bandages, eye patches, and the like to work. Slogans for T-shirts or signs could include “Cutting Our Health Benefits is a Sick Idea”—“We’re Sick Over (name of employer)’s Attempt to Cut Our Benefits.”

4. Postcard/Petition/Pledge Card Campaigns

Every worker signs one at the workplace. Plan a moment of consciousness when everybody stops work and signs a card. Raise the stakes and produce a petition/postcard/pledge card that can be used in the community or with allied groups. Then every worker agrees to sign up 5-10-20 supporters per week.

5. Holiday Activities

Bring a cornish hen to your employer for

Thanksgiving—“We Couldn’t Afford A Turkey.” Dress someone as Santa and symbolically give your employer coal for Christmas. Organize an Easter Parade with everyone dressed in rags — “They’ll Be No Bonnets This Year: We Can’t Afford Them.” Think about activities for Labor Day or May Day. In general, using the holiday theme is a good way to get your message out in a creative, eye-catching manner.

6. Mass Starts

Everyone waits outside the workplace door and walks in together at the beginning of a shift/work day. You may want to serve refreshments and sing union songs while the group gathers.

7. “Lunch With A Bunch”—Noontime Workplace Picketing

Aside from just having your members hold a lunchtime picket line, invite other organizations—make it a rally. If it is a convenient location, lots of people can come during their lunch breaks. Consider holding a news brief-



CWA Mobilizes Behind Stockholders Resolutions to Confront Excessive Executive Compensation

CWA has successfully mobilized member resources to fight excessive and outrageous executive pay and greed by supporting stockholder resolutions requiring shareholder approval on excessive golden parachute and severance agreements for top executives. At Sprint and Verizon, CWA members mobilized their savings and retirement accounts, union pension funds and public pension funds to support the passage of these proposals filed respectively by the Amalgamated Bank, a union-sponsored bank, and a retiree organization. With CWA support, these proposals received more than 60% of the votes cast and were later agreed to by the boards of the two companies.

At Verizon Communications and Knight-Ridder, CWA filed

stockholder resolutions demanding that executive stock options be included in the companies' income statements. Although stock options make up the largest portion of top executive's compensation, they are not listed as expenses in the financial statements, unlike salaries and bonuses, which are. Including stock options as expenses affects total earnings. Because of CWA's mobilization as well as public and media coverage on the issue, Verizon announced they would begin expensing options. All other major CWA communications employers followed suit shortly thereafter.

At Knight-Ridder, the TNG-CWA proposal to expense options won 49.8% support among shareholders. Attending the

shareholders meeting were TNG-CWA activists and Vice President Linda Foley. During the meeting Foley proposed a meeting with Ridder on issues of common interest. Ridder agreed. The meeting proved useful in re-establishing a relationship with the top corporate decision makers.

"Shareholder resolutions and activity at shareholder meetings give us a chance to put our point of view before absentee shareholders who may not be aware of what's happening in the workplace. When substantial numbers of shareholders choose to side with us and against their management, it sends an extremely important message about whom they trust—the workers or management," explains Vice President Foley.

ing in conjunction with the event—have workers tell their stories to the media.

8. Stand Ups

Everyone at a workplace stands at the same time [use the slogan, "Stand Up to (name of Employer)" or, if your members stand on the job, have everyone sit at the same time. Or be a little more daring: have members set watches, palms, etc., to go off at set time alerting all to stand.

9. Return Employer "Trinkets"

Members collect and return en masse all the trinkets (mugs, key chains, T-shirts, etc.) they have been given by employer as a sign of being unhappy with proposed "givebacks."

II. External Target Action

10. Ask Public Officials for Support

Bring large groups of your members to visit elected officials who can affect your issues. Have briefing sessions with elected officials. Do not assume they understand or even know about your fight. Ask them to publicly support the union campaign by sending a letter to the employer or signing on to a statement.

11. Sit-Down in Public Space

How many public workers does it take to jam up a workplace? Local 1082 effectively used "sleep-ins" in a contract battle. Workers brought sleeping bags and refused to leave the building. CWA activists in Ohio staged a

A Small, Smart and United Local Runs A Textbook Corporate Campaign Against New Era Caps

CWA members who work at the New Era plant in Derby, NY manufacture caps. Not just any caps but high quality caps for major league teams and colleges. Decimated by layoffs yet determined to win a fair contract 215 CWA members went on strike July 15, 2001 and stayed out until June 28, 2002 when they ratified a new contract. This is the story of a small but united and committed group of union members fighting to keep their union. This is a story about a group of workers and their leaders who understood that to win they had to stay strong but they also needed to identify pressure targets and enlist the support of the community, activists groups and elected officials.

The local with the help from the National union ran a textbook corporate campaign. Staying strong and escalating pressure on the employer by engaging in as many arenas as possible. A key ingredient was the informed membership as well as identifying that a significant portion of New Era revenues came from exclusive contracts with Universities for the manufacture of caps and targeting these. The campaign included:

- Workplace solidarity actions such as wearing red, or black.
- Community outreach, leaflets at malls, grocery stores and local businesses explaining New Era's treatment of workers.
- Outreach to other CWA locals and AFL-CIO unions in the area.
- Large and spirited rallies at New Era Headquarters in New Derby. Other CWA locals as well as other AFL-CIO unions in the area attended.
- A fax, email and call in campaign to New Era owner by supporters.
- Newspaper, radio and T.V. interviews on the struggle.
- Radio spots and print ads in Buffalo area.
- A solid 12 month strike
- A proclamation passed by the Erie County legislature urging the company to settle their labor dispute and rehire the workers laid off in Derby. The proclamation was sent to the governing bodies of the professional baseball, hockey, basketball, football, hockey and little league asking them to contact the company and voice concern over its treatment of the workers.
- A 10 page report by United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) a member of the Buffalo Jobs with Justice. The report noted a grueling work pace, stepped up quotas and high incidences of repetitive motion injuries and blatant union busting. The students released their report to University campuses and the media. USAS represents activists on 150 campuses including about 60 which purchase New Era apparel. The report was posted on the USAS website with sample letters activists could send New Era owner Chris Koch and university administrators, sample resolutions and press materials.
- Rallies on 15 college campuses organized by Jobs with Justice and USAS.



- Solid picket lines throughout the harsh winter and the frequent leafleting of outlets carrying New Era products.
- A dozen major university canceling exclusive marketing arrangements with New Era under pressure from USAS.
- A letter from Senators Charles Schumer (NY) and Ted Kennedy(MA) to Baseball Commissioner Bud Selig suggesting that the League needed to take a stand against the shabby way the company was treating its workers.
- Ratification of a new four year contract which addressed all the major issues- July 15, 2001.



Once the strike was over the company reluctantly admitted that efforts by student activists to persuade universities to revoke licensing agreements had indeed cut deeply into revenues.

Local President Jane Howald credited the union's members who were determined to preserve their union as well as a coalition of community groups who supported the workers. "Long before the New Era contract dispute, Local 14177 was deeply involved in worker and community issues. That commitment created a network of support that extended to student groups, religious and community activist organizations that rallied to the side of New Era's workers when the crisis erupted."

"We're terrifically proud of this local and its leadership. They stuck together and toughed it out in the face of an unyielding employer," declared sector President Bill Boarman.

sit-in at an NCR building to protest the company's anti-union attitude. They sat down in the lobby of the building and sang and chanted for several hours. It certainly got management's attention.

III. Special Event Actions

12. Informational Picketing

Be imaginative. Don't limit your picketing to just your place of employment. CWA members hand billed at Mets, Yankees, Phillies and Pirates games on "Verizon Night" while working beyond contract expiration. CWA members involved in a battle with the *Denver Post* picketed the World Alpine Ski Championships because the *Post* was sponsoring the event. They also picketed Denver's largest sporting goods store chain because the chain is the *Post's* largest advertiser. New Jersey state workers picketed the state fair on opening day when their employer, the Governor, was due there.

13. Take the Issues to the Bosses

Physically, wherever they may be. Picket their homes, offices, award ceremonies, etc. Make them understand the depth of our commitment to win justice on the job. CWA held "brunch at Babbio's" every Saturday during the Verizon East bargaining conflict. Members showed up at Larry Babbio's (President of Verizon Communications) home and had coffee with the neighbors.

IV. Revenue Impact Action

14. During the strike against New Era Caps the local identified that a large revenue source for the company was derived from exclusive licenses with individual Universities. The local through Jobs With Justice met with and was able to enlist the help of Students Against Sweatshops in their fight. The activist students along with JWJ publicized New

Era's treatment of workers on campus, put pressure on administrators and ultimately got 15 of the exclusive contracts cancelled.

Sometimes the only way to get an employer to talk seriously about a just resolution is to impact the one thing he/she is sure to be focused on—revenue.

MOBILIZATION ACTIVITY PLANNING

Keep in mind that not all activities will apply to every circumstance. The keys are to:

1. Understand what your members are willing to do. Don't try to push people too far, too fast.
2. Build a workplace structure and use it to let members know the when, where, how and why of the issues or campaign. Commit the structure to paper.
3. Pay attention to details. It takes a lot of little things to put together a collective action—how many balloons should be ordered? Who will deliver them to Building Coordinators? Who will blow them up? etc
4. Build the amount of pressure, support and level of commitment with each action. Don't play your best card first.
5. Plan external actions that only 5% will do. Many actions outside the workplace require only a small percentage of members to be effective.
6. Identify revenue targets and pressure points. Think through the purpose of an action. Will it build solidarity, increase pressure on employer? etc.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Collective actions:

- Allow members to participate directly in the process and increase solidarity.
- Send a visible message that we're united and serious.
- Increase pressure on employer to resolve issues.
- Provide additional media coverage, which increases community support.

Actions should be planned to incrementally escalate pressure on the employer or other targets.

Contract Mobilization Campaign

Collective bargaining is a power relationship. The unity of our membership is the most important source of power we have as a union. **Contract mobilization is based on the truth that good contracts are won in the workplace, not merely at the bargaining table.**

Mobilization in the workplace is one way to inform and involve every member in negotiations. It is also a way to minimize some of the anxiety and frustration members may feel as the contract expiration date approaches. A lot of the anxiety and frustration results from not knowing what is going to happen and not being able to do anything about it. Through one-on-one contacts and collective actions, members are informed and able to actively participate and feel a part of

negotiations. In addition, the unit is in a stronger bargaining position because of its involvement and solidarity.

MOBILIZATION AND BARGAINING

Mobilization activities—whether they be one-on-one education on issues, collection of bargaining surveys or a 60-second stand-up action—are all aimed to prepare for and support what happens at the bargaining table.

Local mobilizers provide the link between the negotiating committee and the membership, and are responsible for keeping members informed and generating support for the union's demands and positions at the table.



IUE-CWA Launches Massive Contract Mobilization Campaign at GE

IUE-CWA knew it was headed for a showdown when national bargaining with General Electric opened in May 2003. Assessing a corporate campaign that had been in place the past two previous contracts, IUE-CWA decided an aggressive mobilization campaign targeted at local union members was necessary. Two years before negotiations and utilizing the experience and resources available since the merger with CWA, the union developed a 3-hour education program for local union leadership. A pilot was held with staff and local union leaders before it was rolled out during Saturday teach-ins a year out from talks. 178 locals held 2-3 hour training sessions for officers and activists on GE's business plan, union density, bargaining issues and the importance of mobilization.

At the same time, local unions were putting together mobilization structures, including dedicated mobilization coordinators.

The early preparation turned out to be key when IUE-CWA faced an unusual contract strike over health care cost increases just five months before bargaining was to start. Two months prior, IUE-CWA distributed a series of leaflets, talking points and other materials explaining the health care issue and preparing members for a possible strike.

On the picket line, in locations across the United States, in freezing weather in many places, for two days rank-and-file members could all explain the issue at stake to the media. The strike energized the remaining mobilization campaign. A massive proxy collection campaign was conducted for the first time through the workplace mobilization structure around the GE shareholder meeting. Over six million proxy votes were collected

from members and voted in favor of the union resolutions. Four education brochures on pensions, health care, job security and organizing were coordinated



with stickers members could wear on the day the issues were discussed in negotiations. A campaign website with regular bargaining and mobilization updates was made available.

A series of regional rallies and plant gate and union hall meetings were held across the country instead of the traditional national rallies in just a few locations. More than 20 locals/organizing sites participated. The members reported feeling thoroughly briefed on the issues, and local union leaders praised the effort as one of the best and most coordinated ever. "The mobilization and education campaign really helped us to hold the line on health care costs," said Local 761 President Randy Payton. "We couldn't have gotten the contract we won without the members, fully informed, standing behind the bargaining team."

Bob Santamoor, chairman of the G.E. and aerospace conference board, agreed. "The ability for a negotiating team to effectively strategize a contract is virtually impossible without total member involvement and support," he said. "Mobilization is the effective tool that represents this process."

BARGAINING CHAIR AND MOBILIZATION COORDINATOR WORKING TOGETHER

Once bargaining begins, it is critical that the Local Mobilization Coordinator and the Bargaining Committee stay in close communication. Each should know what the other is doing. The Bargaining Committee should view mobilization as a resource and part of the overall strategy to get a good contract.

In order for mobilization and bargaining to work together, there needs to be constant communication between the Bargaining Committee and the Mobilization Coordinator.

Here are the three steps to take to help facilitate communication between mobilizers and bargainers.

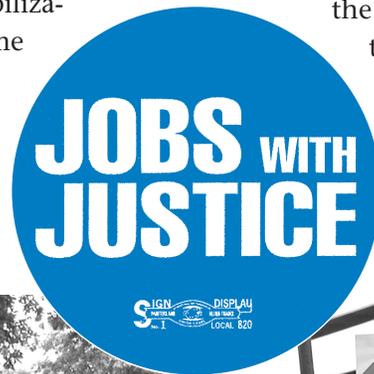
1. Meet with the Bargaining Chair and Committee early on to discuss mobilization and its role. Do not assume the Bargaining Committee understands the role and goals of mobilization. It is important to establish that what happens at the bargaining table is what dictates the appropriate level, intensity and focus in mobilization. The Bargaining Committee needs to inform the mobilizers when to escalate actions and which issues to focus on.
2. The Local Mobilization Coordinator and the Bargaining Chair should meet to talk through what they expect from one another during

the negotiations. They should stay in close contact throughout the negotiation process and discuss how you will do this, i.e., daily meetings, phone calls, etc.

3. Involve the Bargaining Committee in developing the focus of the mobilization plan. Ask the committee what issues are likely to be sticking points. Develop one-on-one education flyers on these. Select a theme slogan. Plan a collective action for opening day of negotiations.

A CONTRACT MOBILIZATION PLAN

The mobilization team should sit down several months prior to the first day of bargaining to build or rebuild workplace structures and lay out a basic mobilization plan. You should plan the preparation and first few weeks of activity. Education materials, issue discussions and collective actions will depend on what is going on at the bargaining table at any particular time. Do not pre-plan actions too far in advance. Remember that mobilization must be directly linked to what is happening at the bargaining table.



The mobilization team should encourage input and participation from the bargaining committee.

1. Preparation Prior to Bargaining

Prior to negotiations, the mobilization structure must be set up. During this stage bargaining surveys should be distributed through the structure, as well as information on major bargaining issues, information on the finan-

cial health of the employer, etc. Members should know the date and time when bargaining begins and participate in an action to show solidarity with the bargaining committee. This can be as simple as wearing the same color or a sticker, etc.

2. First Few Weeks of Bargaining

Members should show their solidarity and support for the bargaining committee on the

Mobilization Made the Difference For Workers at Alltel

At midnight on June 8, when the 450 Alltel workers from Locals 3371 and 3372 walked out on strike, they knew there was a tough road ahead. The members walked out for four months to fight management demands to shift more health care costs to both active workers and retirees, make contract changes that would render the lay-off language meaningless and allow for unlimited contracting out.

One of the first things the local did was reach out to the community by explaining their situation and offering to help any family in need of phone service or repair because of health or safety. The company was advised that in urgent situations all they had to do is contact the union, provide the equipment and CWA members would be there to help.

The campaign was called "Communications Workers Care."

Local Presidents Phil Coldiron and Mike Garkovich appeared on a popular call-in radio program twice and did two major in-depth human interest segments on a local television station. The TV reporters visited strikers' homes and interviewed them and their families.



In addition, local mobilizers visited business leaders and retailers, who posted signs in their windows and yards supporting the strikers. They contacted other unions in the area for assistance, as well as local elected officials who supported them by speaking at rallies and visiting picket lines.

Through the member's unity and mobilization campaign they were able to beat back the company's major concessionary demands. "I have no doubt in my mind we would not have been as successful as we were if it wouldn't have been for our mobilization efforts. Mobilization truly made the difference," noted Vice President Jimmy Gurganus.

first day of negotiations. In-depth issue flyers on the major items should be distributed during this phase of bargaining. Bargaining reports should contain as much substance as possible, although that is often difficult in the early stages. Do not put out bargaining reports that contain no information—for example, “The employer and the union met today. We will meet again tomorrow.” This kind of report is very frustrating to members. There is always something that can be said about the issues, mobilization and topics discussed.

3. Bargaining

Use the mobilization structure to inform members on the employer’s proposals and response to major items. Schedule regular workplace solidarity actions. Depending on how bargaining is moving you might consider some outside mobilization targets at this stage. The bargainers need to give the mobilizers a sense of how things are moving and if mobilization activities need to be taken up a notch. See the chapter on collective actions for more on this. It may also be necessary at this stage to prepare for a strike.

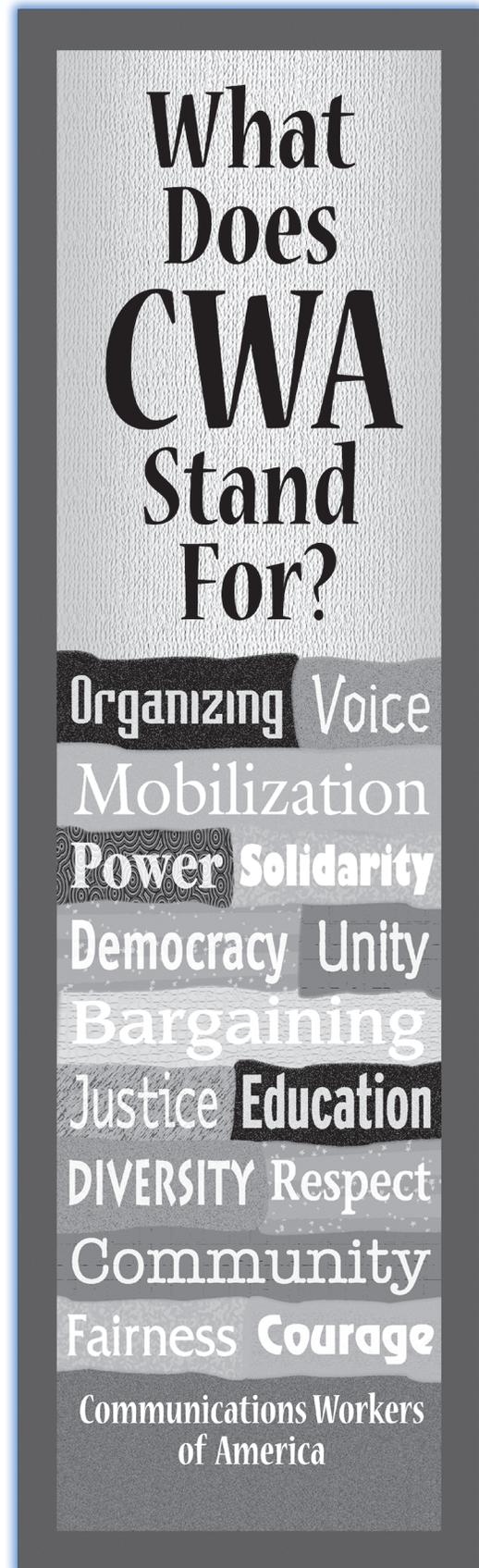
4. End Game—Contract Expiration

The last few days of bargaining are critical. Again mobilizers need to take their cues from the bargainers. More confrontational mobilization actions may be required. It is important for members to continue to show strong solidarity in the workplace. It is equally important for the union to prepare the members for the possibilities at expiration.

5. Settlement, Working With and Without a Contract, Strike

If a settlement is reached at expiration, the mobilization structure can be used to get the word out and let the members know when they expect to see the details.

If the bargainers decide to continue to work with or without a contract, mobilization needs to go into high gear. The members need to be informed on their rights in the workplace and



mobilization actions need to be planned both inside the workplace and outside the workplace to keep pressure on the employer.

If a strike is called, the mobilization coordinators can be converted into strike coordinators. External actions need to be planned and members recruited for special actions, such as flying squadrons.

TRIGGER QUESTIONS FOR CONTRACT MOBILIZATION PLAN

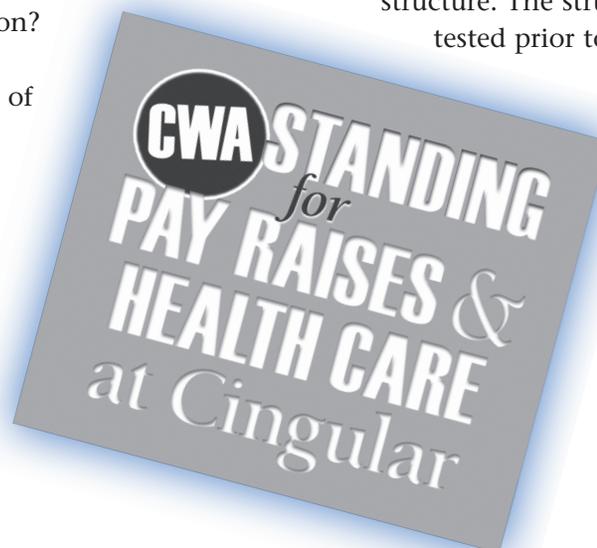
1. What two or three issues are likely to be sticking points? Develop one-on-one education pieces on these (i.e., health care, card check, pensions, transfer plan, etc.).
2. How organized is your unit? What kind of membership support can you expect? Do you need to beef up your internal organizing?
3. Do you want to plan a collective action for opening day of bargaining?
4. Do you have a slogan that will appear on all mobilization materials? For example, "Home Town Jobs."
5. Have you prepared the membership (through education) for strategies at expiration?
6. What is the attitude of

management/elected officials? Are they likely to make negotiations particularly difficult? How can you counter this early on?

7. Have you identified employer pressure points? (major customers, Board of Directors, major revenue source, regulatory issues, sponsored events, politicians)
8. Have you reached out to allies and briefed them on fight?
9. How will the mobilization plan tie into the public relations aspect of bargaining?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Contracts are won in the workplace, not merely at the bargaining table; mobilization and bargaining move along parallel timelines.
- It's critical that the Local Mobilization Coordinator and Bargaining Committee remain in constant contact throughout the bargaining process to utilize mobilization to its fullest potential.
- Preparation for mobilization should begin several months before contract talks begin. The first critical task is building the workplace structure. The structure should be utilized and tested prior to the first day of bargaining.



Issue Mobilization

Mobilization campaigns can also be built around an issue or political or legislative campaign. Once a local has an effective mobilization structure it can be used to inform members on important issues. These might be national or more local in scope.

CWA locals have used their mobilization structures to get letters written to members of Congress on damaging overtime legislation, to engage members in actions to celebrate customer service professionals, to educate members about the need to restore collective bargaining and organizing rights or to bring back unjustly terminated employees.

A mobilization campaign around an issue is run just like a contract campaign. The workplace mobilization structure is used to distribute material on the issue and explain why members should care about it. The materials should ideally be distributed one-on-one in each worksite. This should be followed by an action or activity designed to show support or exert pressure to resolve the issue in a favorable manner.



October 9, 2003—unionized customer service professionals around the world celebrated a day of global action by wearing solidarity stickers and promoting the high road customer service model instead of the low road alternative characterized by low pay, minimal customer contract time and tight scripting. The high road model is focused on problem-solving and allows for employee judgment which leads to quality service, meaningful and satisfying jobs and customer retention. Customer service professionals in Mexico, France, Brazil, Philippines, England, United States and elsewhere participated.



Fighting Outsourcing

When Local 4250 President Steve Tisza found out AT&T was attending an outsourcing seminar being held in downtown Chicago by Tata, an Indian consulting firm, he put out the word to his AT&T stewards to prepare for a fight. They posted flyers on bulletin boards, handbilled members, called AT&T executives and filled the Local website with information about Tata, from the history of the company to its locations around the world. The Local even prepared a 30-second TV commercial about the possible threat to homeland security when U.S. companies send telecommunication business offshore.

Tata is a huge consulting firm that is becoming increasingly popular with American corporations. They hold one-day seminars around the country to market the benefits of outsourcing work to India.



American corporations contract with Tata to take U.S. jobs to India where they pay much lower wages, and no benefits.

Fifty CWA activists from Local 4250 gathered outside the hotel on the morning of the seminar. The hotel manager advised them the conference had been cancelled at the last minute. The union's message had been heard loud and clear—these are our jobs, Tata is not welcome here, and we will expose American corporations who export hometown jobs!

the STOP the FTAA Good Jobs in Strong Communities Not NAFTA Expansion

THE FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS (FTAA) would expand NAFTA's attacks on jobs, workers' rights, the environment, and democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere by 2005.

The FTAA is NAFTA all over again—but 10 times bigger. It would spread the damage NAFTA has done in three countries to 34 countries—some 800 million people.

The FTAA is being negotiated now behind closed doors—Congress will have only a "yes" or "no" vote on the whole agreement. That's why working families and other activists are coming together now to STOP the FTAA—the wrong choice for working families.

Thought NAFTA Was Bad for Working Families? FTAA Is Even Worse. FTAA — The Wrong Choice

www.aflcio.org/stopftaa

The WRONG CHOICE for Jobs

NAFTA—the North American Free Trade Agreement—has cost our country 750,000 actual and potential jobs.

The FTAA would trade away even more U.S. jobs. NAFTA has destroyed entire communities as employers moved plants outside our country. American manufacturing—the key to the middle class for generations of workers—is in crisis thanks to bad trade deals.



Expect worse from the FTAA.

The WRONG CHOICE for Democracy

NAFTA, the FTAA would protect corporate profits at the expense of decisions by our democratically elected representatives. The FTAA would make it harder for governments to protect workers' rights, public health, and the environment within their own countries. FTAA allows corporations to challenge our laws, secret and demand concessions.

American company called Exxon is demanding \$1 billion from the U.S. because it passed a law banning fuel additive the company produces.



The WRONG CHOICE for Public Services

The FTAA would protect corporate profits over people. It would increase pressure to deregulate and privatize public services like health care, education, and safe drinking water.

In 2002 the head of the New Jersey welfare department was surprised to learn that telephone support for welfare and food stamp clients was being done in India. The contract can't be changed until 2004, but an outraged State Senator submitted a bill to require that only U.S. citizens or people who can work in the U.S. can perform state funded work. Thirty-seven states have already signed on to WTO provisions which would invalidate such "procurement" restrictions as discrimination against foreign suppliers. FTAA must be stopped before it even further restricts our right to pass local laws on government spending.

The WRONG CHOICE for Immigrant Workers

The FTAA would make America's unfair immigration system even more unfair. It would give employers more freedom to bring in temporary guest workers to undermine U.S. labor conditions, do nothing to protect immigrants' rights, and include no solution to long-term immigration problems.

Trade agreements encourage countries to create export processing zones or "maquiladoras," where special lower wage rates apply but environmental laws don't, working conditions are worse than in the country in general, and unions are prohibited.



FTAA FACTS

NAFTA: 3 countries, 400 million people—includes Canada, US, and Mexico
 FTAA: 34 countries, 800 million people—adds Caribbean, Central and South American countries

NAFTA went into effect in 1994—with Fast Track approval process
 FTAA negotiations began in 1994—Fast Track since 2002

Fast Track "pre-approves" trade agreements, the President signs and sends to the Congress for an up or down vote.

LABOR RIGHTS: NAFTA language added after the fact in side agreement. NO cases have been won on behalf of workers or unions in nine years. FTAA only language on labor is that countries will "strive to ensure" that they don't reduce their Labor Laws in order to encourage investment.

ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS: NAFTA language added after the fact in a side agreement. NO Cases have been won by environmentalists or communities. FTAA only language states that countries promise to try not to reduce environmental standards to encourage investment.

FTAA SECRECY: Over 500 business representatives are part of the nine negotiating committees that meet to negotiate in closed sessions around the hemisphere. No representatives of labor, environment, indigenous, or other civil society groups are allowed to participate.

The next FTAA secret meeting is November 20 and 21 in Miami, Florida. Plans for meetings of trade unions from around the hemisphere, teach-ins, concerts, and actions to protest the FTAA are underway.

Please fill out the attached postcard to VOTE NO on the FTAA. Tell a co-worker, friend, or family member about the FTAA and have them sign a postcard, too! The goal is to deliver at least a million postcards, rejecting the FTAA, to the US Trade Representative at the Miami Ministerial in November.

*Fight the FTAA! Information online:
www.cwa-union.org/international/ftaa
www.aflcio.org/stopftaa

www.aflcio.org/stopftaa



It's Time To Restore Workers' Rights

One of the cornerstones of our democracy — the right to bargain collectively — is under attack. Years ago, Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court stated that only through joining together and bargaining collectively could workers match the power of employers. But now, employers are waging war on workers. They're trying to take away our rights.

- ★ Every contract is a struggle, whether we're bargaining for the first time or negotiating with a Fortune 500 company that has been unionized for years.
- ★ CEOs and top executives enjoy personal contracts worth millions of dollars, whether the company does well or not, but drag their feet when negotiating a contract with unionized workers.
- ★ Workers who try to form a union are fired, threatened, and harassed.
- ★ The National Labor Relations Board takes years to rule on employer violations of labor laws. Even when an employer is found guilty, little penalty is imposed.

This employer war is being waged in secret. Most people — even union members — aren't aware of employers' widespread abuse of workers' rights.

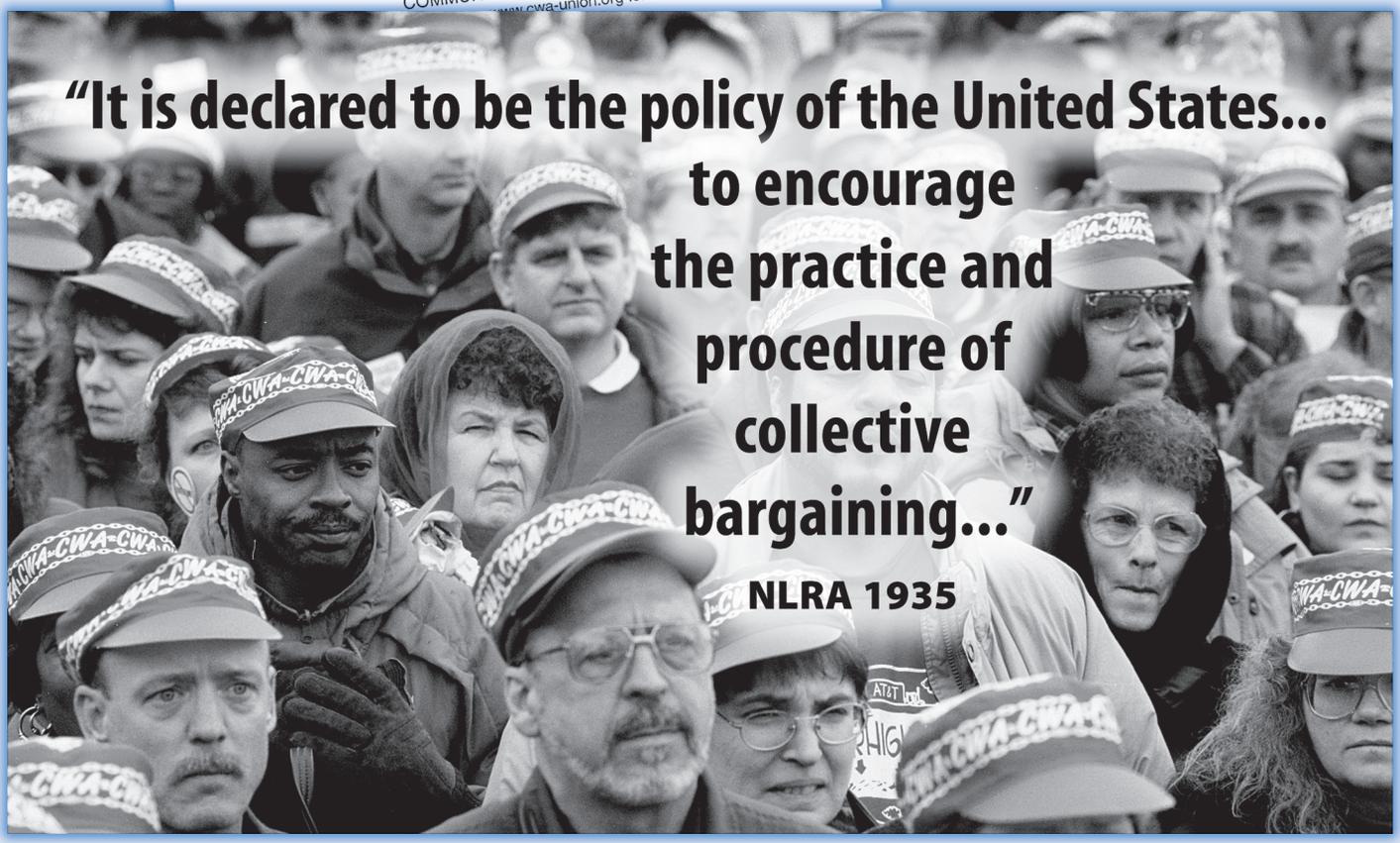
"Legal obstacles tilt the playing field so steeply against workers' freedom of association that the United States is in violation of international human rights standards for workers."
 — KEN ROTH, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch

Join this Campaign for Real Workers' Rights
 COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
www.cwa-union.org for more information

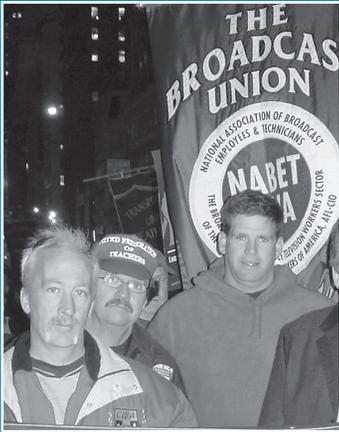
WORKERS' RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS!



JOBS WITH JUSTICE National Day of Action



Workers Rights Day



Thousands of CWA members rallied all over the country on December 10, 2003, Workers Rights Day.





Using E-mail and Websites In Mobilization

Email and the Internet have revolutionized how we communicate, shop and do research. If you are 30 or under you can't imagine the world without it. If you have children in college or grandchildren hundreds of miles away you are likely to be staying in touch via e-mail.

E-mail and websites are no longer nice extras to union building, but rather, an essential ingredient to building an engaged, informed and mobilized local membership.

BUILDING A LOCAL E-MAIL LIST

The foundation of an effective local union online strategy is an e-mail list. To build a local e-mail list you must integrate e-mail address collection into all of your local's activities. "It is amazing to me how many union forms still do not ask for e-mail addresses," notes Beth Allen, CWA's expert on electronic databases. "The first step is to be conscious about it and request e-mails on all meeting sign-in sheets, forms, pledge cards, and so forth."

Whether you are keeping the list in your e-mail address book, in a database, or in a bulk e-mail program, make sure to have a way to tie e-mail addresses back to "real" names

and addresses. This will make it much easier to handle bouncing e-mail addresses.

An e-mail drive can be launched through the local's worksite mobilization structure.

Often members want to be informed on what kind of information they will be receiving and assured that their e-mail addresses will not be

Increasing Membership Participation At Union Meetings and Activities

The 300 members of Local 7906 are spread out over 250 miles around Eugene, Oregon. A local website created in 2001 and a membership e-mail database has been a huge success in sharing information and making the stewards, officers and members feel a part of a larger union.

For example, when the Local found out one of the construction crews didn't have regulation rubber gloves, they posted a notice on the website, asking if other crews had the same problem. "We can't be everywhere at the same time," President Ken Saether explains. "The website allows us to keep in close contact with the members and the issues that are affecting them."

The Local website provides copies of contracts and arbitration decisions, as well as news of job openings. It provides forms for members to fill out to report the outsourcing of bargained-for work. In one office, every one of the technicians has filed at least one report via the website, and the Local has successfully used this information to return work to members. The website allows the Local to engage and use the eyes and ears of every member to police the contract and help identify unjust treatment.

The Local credits the website with increasing attendance at membership meetings by over 50 percent, especially among younger workers, and increasing membership participation in Local union activities. "A lot of our members look at our website. It answers questions for some and prompts others to ask questions and come to membership meetings. It gives members more of a sense of involvement, so when we have meetings most of the members already know what's going on and what they want to know more about," notes President Saether.

sold to vendors. Also, the local website should allow members to provide e-mails for future communications.

HOW TO USE E-MAILS EFFECTIVELY

Once you have an e-mail list, there are several ways to use e-mail effectively:

- **Meeting Reminders:** E-mail members the day before, reminding them about a membership, stewards, or committee meeting.

- **Breaking News:** Periodic e-mails can report on critical developments such as victories, arbitration wins, mobilization actions, political/legislative news, employer news, local or employer organizational changes.

- **Newsletters/Bulletins:** All local newsletters or bulletins should be e-mailed, even those that are distributed by mail or in the workplace. It takes only a little additional work to e-mail the newsletter once it's typed and laid out.

All local e-mails should include the local's website address and where members can obtain more information.

HOW TO INCREASE CHANCES E-MAILS WILL BE OPENED

Sending an e-mail is no guarantee that the recipient will open it. There are some things you can do to increase the chances of the e-mail being read.

From: Use a familiar name or the local union and specific division/employer. For example, Local 1234-Qwest Customer Service Unit or Local 1234-Welfare Office.

Subject: Be as specific as possible. For example, "Company Plans to Cut Benefits" is more likely to be opened than Local 1234 Bulletin #45.

Message: Keep it short and to the point. It's difficult to read long e-mails on a monitor. If you have a lot of information,

Solidarity@Sprint

News and Information for CWA-Sprint Bargaining Unit Employees

February 2004

Why Cingular is the "Union Choice" for Wireless

CWA President Morton Bahr recently received a letter of "complaint" from Ned Holland, Sprint's Vice President for Labor/Employee Relations, in which Mr. Holland said CWA was engaging in "partisanship" by urging CWA members and their friends to use Cingular wireless service. CWA's actions in supporting Cingular amounted to "abandoning" a company that "provides employees the opportunity to care for their families," Mr. Holland said.

President Bahr responded that Mr. Holland apparently "has very little understanding of trade union principles," noting that "union families, wherever possible, will patronize union establishments and purchase union products." In the U.S. wireless industry, Cingular stands out as a prime example of a company that supports its workers' rights to freely organize into a union of their choice. In fact, nearly 21,000 Cingular employees are covered by a negotiated neutrality and card check process. By contrast, Sprint seems to seek every opportunity to fight workers' rights.

President Bahr noted in his letter to Mr. Holland that he is more than willing, at Mr. Holland's earliest convenience, to meet to reach a similar agreement "with the full commitment that CWA would, with equal vigor, push Sprint's PCS."

CWA members and employees are eligible for a 15% discount when they sign up or switch their wireless service to Cingular. For details, go to: www.cwa-union.org/about/cingular_deal.asp

More Anti-Union Tactics at Sprint in Killeen, Texas

I have come to the conclusion that Sprint, in all its anti-union behavior, is taking bargaining employees behind closed doors in a captive audience simply to undermine the Union and then deny the Union the same opportunity to speak with those employees. They must realize how hard it is to get 130 people in one place especially with so many single parents that just have no extra time. I say this because for the second time in four months, Sprint has denied this local union access to the bargained for employees at their job site. If they are not afraid, why won't they consent to our coming on site to answer questions and explain how unions really work and how the wages and benefits really came to be. I, personally, have to be escorted in the Call Center by a guard or supervisor. I see contractors and other strangers come and go in Sprint buildings at will. I have a vested interest in the welfare of the company and I am treated like a terrorist. There are those who take every opportunity to try to intimidate me. My response to them - "give up, it won't work".

From what I've seen in the last month, a lot of Sprint managers are running scared - especially in Labor/Employee Relations. We never know who or where to call for questions, concerns or grievances. Sprint is out of control and they are doing their best to take us down with them. The situation with Employee Relations and any help you can get from them is minimal at best. Even getting the same answer twice is an impossible feat. I have acted as a human relations person since Sprint came to be. If

E-mail allows members and local officers an opportunity to express support for a union strategy or plan, as well as share their concerns. Here is an actual e-mail exchange between a CWA member and President Morton Bahr during Verizon East bargaining when the decision was made not to strike at expiration. We changed the name of the member, but otherwise these are the actual e-mail messages.

To: Morton Bahr

Re: Tell me why we pay UNION dues VERIZON STRIKE???

>>> "Rachel" < > 08/04/03 08:13AM >>>

Good Morning

I have my doubts that you clearly understand how hard this is for all your brothers and sisters in solidarity. You have been in negotiations for over a month now. The public knows we are not going on strike for kicks. We now must endure the brunt of evil, heinous management trying to fire us because we are working without a contract. People are physically sick due to all this uncertainty. One thing we had to believe in was you, now that faith and trust has been broken. Not repairable. How long do you expect us to work without a contract? We voted to strike, we were prepared not to get a paycheck. Now you are asking us to work unprotected. Shame on you and all of your fellow cohorts. This just may be the end of an already weak labor movement in America.

>>> Morton Bahr 08/04 11:23 PM >>>

Dear Rachel:

This union does not need to show it is macho....in 1971, for example, we struck NY Tel for 218 days....yes, 218 days, in 1989 for 17 weeks, etc., etc., this time we came up with a different strategy that is working.....Verizon has built a scab work force that is costing them \$300 million or more (annualized)....they have spent a fortune in preparing and now continue to pay them and house them and feed them while we continue to work. and bargain....And, the plan is working.....We are working hard to continue to have a no layoff contract, no movement of our work to another state or country as the company said it wants to do, no health care premiums for actives or retirees and not loss of sick days..... and, we will accomplish this and more while our members do not lose a dime of pay and while the company continues to pay their scabs. I think some inconvenience on the job is a small price to pay to achieve all this without the possibility of a very lengthy strike,....A strike is the easy thing to do....but this strategy - at this time in history, is much smarter and effective....I appreciate your views.

>>> "Rachel" < > 08/04/03 06:57PM >>>

Thank you very much for your reply. It made a lot of sense to me. It is a very tough time for all of us right now, and I am happy that you have taken the time to talk with me. The membership needs a leader who will take the time to explain the Unions positions and strategy. You are the first to do so and I admire you for that. I will pass your words along to the people I work with and hope they too will see your words as encouragement versus selling out.

Fraternally

Rachel

>>> Morton Bahr 08/04 6:23 PM >>>

I appreciate your comments....we are all tired and still working hard at this very moment. We are preparing a comprehensive response to management on many of the important issues....no layoffs, movement of our work, premiums for health care and such other items of vital importance to our members...we intend to be firm and will succeed as long as we remain united....that's what this contract battle is all about....protecting our jobs, our work and our health care, etc...thank you so very much....do not hesitate e-mailing me. If I am in the office, you will get an immediate response...

consider e-mailing only the basics and linking to the local website for a complete report. If you have more than one item, break them up with captions so that members can quickly run through them and see which pertain to them.

Contact Information: Provide information on where to go for more information and an e-mail contact for questions.

Attachments: Avoid using attachments for general e-mails, since many will not be able to read them. Attachments are fine for specific group lists, such as Building Mobilization Coordinators.

MAINTAINING LOCAL E-MAIL LISTS

Take time to review your list periodically and clean up bouncing e-mail addresses. Follow up with members by phone, mail, or through stewards to get updated addresses. Keep track of what percentage of membership you have on e-mail so you can assess coverage.

Make sure to provide a way that members can request to be removed from your e-mail list and

Local 13000 — Communicating Effectively

CWA Local 13000's 8000 members are spread over the state of Pennsylvania. Finding a way to communicate with them effectively was a job the Local had been working on for several years. "Members would read what we put on the Web Page, but we had no way to send out single issues that we needed to mobilize on instantaneously," notes President Ed Carr. "We began advertising in our "Local 13000 News," a 16 page magazine we put out every other month. We told our members – you give us your e-mail address and we'll keep you personally informed."

The members heard the message and responded. Now the Local sends out e-mails when they need a quick electronic response. "When a bill comes up in the state legislature that we need our members to respond to immediately, we send out an e-mail explaining the issue and providing a link with their congressman's name and phone number," President Carr explains. "We can make a difference if we get to our legislators right away, and having members e-mail addresses allows us that advantage."

RECEIVE INFORMATION AND UPDATES FROM THE UNION VIA E-MAIL

CWA Local 1234 is now sending out workplace updates, employer information and union news electronically. To receive these timely communications, fill out this card and return it to your steward.

E-mail Address:

Name:

Work Location:

Or you can subscribe directly on-line at www.Local 1234@xxx.org

E-mail addresses will not be sold or given to outside groups or vendors.

add this information as a footnote to every message you send.

LOCAL WEBSITES

Use your local's website during mobilization to keep members up-to-date. You can post more in-depth information on the website than you may be able to send out effectively on e-mail. You can also publish photos of actions on the site—there is nothing better than photos to make a website come alive.

Post the local officers, stewards and building mobilizers by office with e-mails for contacts. Post a survey or the question of the week and post members' comments. On-line surveys can also be a good way to collect more e-mails.

While e-mail and websites can't take the place of one-on-one contacts, they are a vital and important tool in our ongoing efforts to build local unions and engage members.

Using Bargaining Reports to Keep Members Mobilized and Engaged

How does a local union provide running commentary on what's taking place in a process that can be fluid, fast changing, and easily misconstrued by those not directly participating in the talks? First, someone on the bargaining committee or a local communications coordinator must summarize what went on in negotiations. To give members a sense of the back-and-forth exchanges involved in bargaining, the summary should answer the five W's—Who? What? Where? When? and Why?

Each bargaining report should begin by listing who was there for the union and management. If negotiations aren't being conducted at the worksite—where they are most visible to the members—be sure to mention when and where the meetings were held, plus the date and time of the session. It is useful to number the bargaining reports in sequence—#1, #2, #3 etc. to make it easier for readers to keep track of them. This is particularly true just prior to expiration when members will be particularly anxious about the outcome of negotiations and will expect 2-3 reports a day.

Most of the reports will deal with what was discussed and why. If bargaining has just begun, recount the presentation and explain the union's initial proposals, including a few of the objections or questions raised by management and the union's response.

This information can help reassure members that union negotiations do tabulate and read the bargaining surveys filled out by workers and use them as a basis for developing the union's priorities and proposals.

Bargaining reports should not neglect what management says or does. By detailing what employ-

Information Embargo

On occasion during contract bargaining, management will ask the union to agree to a formal information embargo during which no information is disclosed by either side to the press or employees.

Although there are bargaining situations in which it makes sense to agree to a limited embargo period (i.e. 24-48 hours), these agreements should be entered into by CWA rarely and cautiously.

Information embargos are much more dangerous and debilitating for the union than for management. The union, unlike management, is a democratic membership organization. The union's strength lies with informed and united members. When the union stops, even briefly, communicating with members, the solidarity and trust can be strained.

An information embargo can sap the energy and freeze mobilization and make it difficult to crank activities back up once information starts flowing again. When management agrees to an embargo it is really not giving anything up or doing anything much different, since only a handful of senior managers and lawyers are in the bargaining loop. A corporation's power structure lies with its top executives, one or two executives make the final decision on a contract settlement, corporations do not allow managers to vote on a settlement.

The same caution must be used regarding joint union-management bargaining reports. The employer often will benefit much more from an agreement to put out joint bargaining reports. Although there may be instances when putting out a joint bargaining report makes sense, it is to be avoided most of the time. The bargaining committee should not give up their right and responsibility to communicate directly and without censorship with members on the activity at the bargaining table.

Local Bargaining Report #2 Verizon Local table

CWA Represented by:
Meg Collins, Kerri Quinlan, Bridget Meager, Mike O'Day and Steve Early from National. Don Trementozzi was back in New York for a CWA regional bargaining committee session.

Management Representatives:
Ruthie Burton, Linda Aldrich, Labor Relations

On Thursday, June 26, Local 1400 bargaining with Verizon continued for the second day at the Best Western Royal Plaza Hotel, 181 Boston Post Road, Marlborough, Mass.

Management cancelled a session on Friday June 27 and we went to Marlboro at 2pm on Monday June 30.

During the morning session, our committee continued to express concerns that were among the forty or more presented to the company. O'Day led off with a detailed discussion of member problems, including Saturday work, forced overtime and SA rotation inequities.

Mike also argued for incorporating Vermont's best in class law into the contract and extending it to all Local 1400 members. Success of job sharing in that office as well- a topic that was discussed in a formal presentation on later in the bargaining.

We repeated our demand for an improved and expanded

In PM session on Thursday management responded to our U-proposal 31 (Saturday differential or overtime pay) or U #25(dealing with Saturday scheduling or operate apart from the existing joint scheduling agreement).

Meg Collins then took over and presented a series of proposals for implementation of training initiatives developed by the committee that worked for more than 18 months. She said "these good ideas into action" Meg told the company that current service rep training was inadequate and that the complexities and responsibilities of the job... Boston reps should not be doing an residential... come CWA members in the bargaining

SAMPLE BARGAINING REPORTS

Optical Fiber Solutions(OFS) Bargaining Report # 3

Wednesday, May 7

CWA Bargaining Team:

Bob Richhart, National Union, Eddie Christian, Gary Nilsson, Brian Letendre

Management Representatives:

George Arseneau, Human Resources VP, Ralph Williams Senior Manager Workforce Relations, Patricia Taylor, Benefits & Compensation HR.

The bargaining session opened with the Union passing the Union changes to the Forced Adjustment Protection Article. Lengthy discussion continued on the Forced Adjustment Article and the Union pointed out several areas they needed addressed to feel comfortable accepting the latest language, we were able to secure up the 52 weeks WPA (depending on service of employee) for Members downgraded to do technological changes, outsourcing and work consolidation (movement of work to other OFS locations). The company also agreed to keep the Union suggested language on Short-Term Timings, which allowed up to 75% wage protection (depending on employees service) for short-timed situations. We were able to Tentatively Agree (A) the Forced Adjustment Protection Article.

The company passed their counter to the Facility Closing Program Article. The Facility Closing Article addresses the need of employees who are in need of education & training needs, relocation and transfer option for employees subject to job loss do to a facility closing. We were able to TA the Facility Closing Article and it included transfer rights for both Norcross and Sturbridge Members, up to \$2,500 for training and retraining expenses, a minimal \$2,500 relocation allowance for transfers, 3 days paid time for house hunting and 4 days paid for relocating ones household do to a transfer.

The company passed their counter on the Termination Allowance Article and the company did make some major adjustments to the Article based on the Union's concerns. The Union took the company's latest proposal under advisement.

The bargaining team is scheduled to meet with the company again tomorrow May 8th.

Respectfully,
Your Bargaining Team
Bob Richhart, Eddie Christian, Gary Nilsson, Brian Letendre

er negotiators are demanding and why, your reports can alert members to the threat of givebacks. Without this information members get a distorted view of bargaining one where only the union makes proposals. Without information on what management is demanding or why they object to the union proposals, members are left with the erroneous impression that bargaining is just about the union proposing improvements.

If members know that their wages, benefits, or job rights are at risk, they are far more likely to join workplace mobilization activities or community outreach around these issues.

Remember that not all members have internet access; each update e-mailed to those on your list should also be printed out, so hard copies can be duplicated and distributed in the workplace.

Quick, detailed, and regular reports to the membership can minimize employer attempts to discredit statements made or positions taken by

CWA Locals are expanding their use of web sites and e-mail lists to improve communication with members during contract negotiations. Some locals are using the internet to provide quick, regular, and more detailed accounts of what's happening in bargaining itself. Locals are building membership e-mail lists and providing weekly and daily bargaining reports. These electronic bargaining reports allow the union to communicate in real time what is happening at the bargaining table and keep the members engaged and mobilized.

union representatives in bargaining. Such management misrepresentation and “dis-information” feeds the workplace rumor mills that operate overtime during negotiations. Workers need a place to turn where they can get the facts.

One final advantage of frequent content-filled bargaining reports can be seen in the ratification process and meetings. Ratification is more likely



STUDENT LABOR ACTION PROJECT (SLAP)

Welcoming Verizon Consultant Back to School

When Business Professor Jarol Manheim took a sabbatical from George Washington University in Washington DC to write a consultant report for Verizon, he had no idea it would come back to haunt him a year later.

The paper, dubbed by CWA as the "Manheim Report", was intended to divide employees against the union, and to sell the public a false reality of the industry and its workers' bargaining concerns. The report advised Verizon to position itself as a "caring employer" with the public in order to pursue a policy of concessionary bargaining to win cutbacks in workers' job security, healthcare and wages.

And, though the Professor's strategy failed

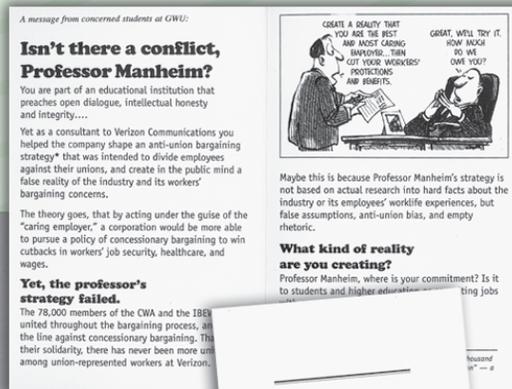
miserably, and the 75,000 members of CWA and IBEW stayed united throughout the bargaining process and held the line against concessionary bargaining, members of the Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) just couldn't let the opportunity pass to welcome Professor Manheim back to GWU.

On September 10 at 9:45am, more than 25 people joined Professor Manheim's class on Strategic Political Communications. They wore red shirts and handed out pamphlets titled "Welcome Back Professor Manheim!" Clyde Rucker, who was fired

from Verizon Wireless for organizing and Allie Robbins, a George Washington University SLAP member, addressed the class, explaining to the senior business students the reason they were there and the professor's anti-union bargaining strategy. Manheim made a feeble attempt to defend his report and said he was no longer a consultant for Verizon. The group apologized to the class for the interruption and left.

The following day, the "Hatchet," GWU's student newspaper, reported that Manheim was "visibly shaken" during and after the confrontation.

On October 6, a letter appeared in the "Hatchet" from two 2002 GWU graduates, Brian Dolber and Bernard Pollack. In the letter, the two men



Open letter to Professor Manheim

Dear Professor Jarol B. Manheim,
In response to the disruption that took place during one of your classes on Sept. 10, we are writing to express concern regarding your recent involvement in the labor disputes at Verizon.

While workers at Verizon Wireless sites were trying to form a union with the Communication Workers of America...

organizer-in-training with the Service Employees International Union. The other, Bernard Pollack, has an MA from the School of Political Management at GWU and currently works for the AFL-CIO. With our firsthand involvement in the academic perspective and that of the working people outside academia, we feel a dual responsibility to ensure that GW's classrooms are not being used to further the war against America's working families.

Even more disturbing, your report to Verizon advocates using a position of authority to express false messages as true until they become accepted as the truth. This does not coincide with the intellectual honesty that is necessary at a university. Such an approach to political communication is not only chilling but also socially detrimental. Truth is a basic value of democracy, an essential element within liberal society. Have you considered the ramifications of having students graduate and go on to seek positions of power without clear regard for truth? What are the consequences when lies turn into tools of fear and intimidation, as is the case with Verizon's anti-worker campaign?

It is a fact that more than 18,000 employees of Cingular Wireless, where management has remained neutral while employees decide whether to unionize, have chosen union representation. By contrast, Verizon Wireless has fought its employees' attempts to form a union for more than a decade. Verizon Wireless screens prospective employees for their potential union sympathies, requires employees to attend regular anti-worker meetings, runs an anti-union Web site and has illegally fired union activists. It is not wireless employees who don't want a union, it is their bosses.

Last spring, Brian met with a Verizon Wireless worker who had been involved in organizing his

shop in Maryland. Within a few weeks we learned that he had lost his job as part of an anti-worker consultant campaign which you helped to orchestrate. On a daily basis, we both speak to workers who want to better their lives, feel respected and provide opportunities for their children.

According to a recent poll conducted by the nationally respected Hart Research Associates, more than 40 million Americans say they would join a union tomorrow if given the opportunity. However, too few will ever get that chance. Most employers routinely block workers' efforts to choose a union, often waging a secret campaign of terror behind the closed doors of the workplace.

Cornell University research conducted by Kate Brofenbrenner shows a quarter of employers illegally fire workers for supporting a union. Employers routinely hire security guards to spy on workers, force workers to attend closed-door meetings where they aren't allowed to speak and harass union supporters at every turn. As soon as their boss talks to them, scares them and lies to them with propagandistic flyers and videos, many of them are defeated.

Consequently, this misinformation confuses workers; victims of the theories you teach at GW and have recommended at Verizon. We do not expect you to change your opinions on these issues. Perhaps you think that workers should not have collective bargaining rights, that capitalism works best when it is unchecked, that true justice resides in the market. These are viable ideological stances, but the use of untruth and coercion is highly unethical, and the severity of your actions compounds when you teach others to follow suit.

Respectfully,
Brian Dolber and
Bernard Pollack, Class of 2002



misrepresents their concerns to the public. One of the "narrative's" dubious claims is about workers at Verizon Wireless. It states: "The workers in these new and rapidly developing sectors [i.e., wireless], who tend to see themselves as white-collar professionals, are by nature far more resistant to the appeals of unionization than their blue-collar colleagues in the telecomm version of an old-line 'smokestack' industry."

In addition, you justified laying off thousands of technical workers at Verizon while the top management was making over \$20 million annually. You insisted that the company needed a better deal from its employees and that its unions needed to be more "competitive." You did this by recommending that Verizon implement a strategy that targets workers and misrepresents their concerns to the public, as outlined in your report to the company. As such, we believe that you have compromised both objectivity and ethical standards, which should be paramount in your academic position.

One of us, Brian Dolber, is a recent graduate of the SMPA and an

chided the professor for "writing a report-for-hire for Verizon, with a stated goal of providing ... a sort of manual for creating the reality the company wants to establish in the public mind." They went on to remind Professor Manheim that he had "justified laying off thousands of technical workers at Verizon while the top management was making over \$20 million annually," and that he had "compromised both objectivity and ethical standards, which should be paramount in your academic position."

Additionally, the two alumni advised the professor that Verizon Wireless has fought its employees' attempts to form a union for more than a decade. "Verizon Wireless screens prospective employees for their potential union sympathies, requires employees to attend regular anti-worker meetings, runs an anti-union web site and has illegally fired union activists." It is not wireless employees who don't want a union, it is their bosses," the two said.

The letter concluded by stating, "Perhaps you think that workers should not have collective bargaining rights, that capitalism works best when it is unchecked, that true justice resides in the market. ... but the use of untruth and coercion is highly unethical, and the severity of your actions compounds when you teach others to follow suit."

to go well, regardless of the vote, if workers can absorb the settlement within the context of a deeper understanding of what has taken place in bargaining gained from reading reports.

Without such background knowledge, a proposed contract package often can be complicated and confusing. The member is faced with a mass of details and information which can be difficult to sort through. Even if the union has made substantial gains, some workers may, understandably, react in a negative fashion if the bargaining process itself hasn't been sufficiently transparent and members have not been kept informed throughout the negotiations.



Strategies at Expiration of Contract

Just as we prepare each grievance as if it will eventually reach arbitration, in negotiations, we must prepare ourselves—through mobilization—as if we will not reach a settlement at expiration.

There are several strategies available to the union at the expiration of the contract, including:

1. Settle
2. Work beyond contract expiration
 - Extend by mutual agreement (with or without inside tactics)
 - Continue to work without a contract (with inside tactics)
3. Strike

Which option we pursue is a strategic decision that must be made by the elected bargaining committee. The bargaining committee evaluates the different options by asking two simple questions: “will it change the employer’s response?” and “will the membership support the strategy?”

Keeping the employer in doubt as to which option we will pursue is a conscious strategy which greatly strengthens our position. The employer cannot effectively predict the union’s action, and therefore, plan for it.

If the employer knows that the only option the union is considering is to strike, the employer gains a great deal of power and control over the situation. This is because the employer can plan for a strike and perhaps even force a strike.

Predictable players are the easiest to beat. In any contest, the player who can anticipate his/her opponent’s next move has the greater

advantage. The more options we have at expiration of our contract, the stronger we are, and the more difficult it is for the employer to plan.

We increase our options at expiration by having a mobilized (through workplace structure and education) membership that understands and can carry out different strategies.

WORKING BEYOND CONTRACT EXPIRATION

Working beyond the expiration of the contract can take two forms. One, we can agree with management to extend the contract and continue to work with all contract provi-

Working Beyond Contract Expiration
Information for CWA Local Officers, Stewards, and Mobilization Coordinator

What happens if we work beyond contract expiration?

If the union decides to continue to work beyond expiration without a contract to fight for our bargaining objectives, then:

- Negotiations will continue.
- You will still earn a paycheck.
- All benefits, including health care and pension, will remain in effect.
- All terms and conditions of employment continue until there is a new agreement or the parties have reached “impasse.”

- The grievance procedure continues but arbitration may not. However, disciplinary actions can be negotiated at the bargaining table.
- If the company changes terms and conditions of employment, an unfair labor practice charge can be filed with the NLRB.
- You have the right to participate in “concerted activity.” This means that one person speaking for a group, or more than two people, can act “for mutual aid or protection.”
- Payroll deduction of dues may end. If so, your local will let you know you to pay your dues.

What you can do to fight for a fair contract.

You can help fight for a fair contract by participating in solidarity activities and joining in mobilization activities. Ask your mobilization coordinator or steward for details.

Because of the contract fight, tensions are high. Take no chances – you don’t want to be disciplined by stressed-out management. It’s important that each of us remember to:

- Take no shortcuts.
- Follow all company policies and rules to the letter.
- Never go by memory, check your reference material.
- Never use your own judgment!ask!
- Obey all safety rules to the letter.

sions in effect. Or, two, we can continue to work after expiration without a contract.

If we have a disciplined, mobilized membership which can implement inside tactics/work to rule, as well as external pressure tactics, continuing to work after the expiration of the contract can put more pressure on the employer than a strike—especially in the short term. In addition, it keeps the strike option available to us.

WORKING BEYOND EXPIRATION WITHOUT A CONTRACT

If the union decides to continue to work *without a contract* and fight for bargaining objectives while continuing negotiations, the following would occur:

- Members continue to earn paycheck
- All benefits, including health care and pension remain in effect

TNG-CWA Members Stand Strong Together During 49 Day Strike

Following months of negotiations that floundered solely over economic issues, approximately 1,000 newsroom, advertising and circulation employees represented by The Newspaper Guild-CWA struck the *Seattle Times* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. The 49-day walkout, which started just ahead of the Christmas shopping season in 2000, was the city's first newspaper strike in 47 years.

Thanks to months of membership mobilization and a lopsided strike authorization vote of 399 to 32, fewer than 10% of Guild employees were crossing the picket line after four weeks of pavement pounding. Underlying the strong showing was members' perception that while their standard of living had eroded for more than a decade, management was insisting on further economic concessions. Although the consumer price index in the Seattle metropolitan area had shot up 43.9% over the previous 10 years, contract minimum wage scales had risen only 21%—but the two newspapers were offering annual wage increases of approximately 1% and insisting on a six-year contract.

Worse yet, management was refusing to eliminate a two-tier wage scale that penalized workers in regional bureaus.

The members voted for a strike on Oct. 18, followed by a Nov. 1 vote of support for a strike by the King County Labor Council. A *Times* columnist and a veteran *Post-Intelligencer* reporter were named co-chairs of the strike steering committee, and member assistance, picket duty, finance and fundraising committees also were formed. Perhaps most importantly, a managing editor for a strike newspaper and website was named and plans laid for ensuring that Seattle newspaper readers could continue following their favorite columnists and news and feature coverage.

While the Guild agreed to work with a federal mediator during the strike, most Guild members focused on picketline duty, on a public relations



We're Not on Strike... Yet.

The leadership of the CWA and IBEW has decided not to go on strike against Verizon... yet.

We remain far apart at the bargaining table. The key issues are still the transfer of work, job security, health care, and respect for the union.

But despite this lack of progress in bargaining, we believe that working without a contract is the best, strongest tactic for us at this time. We can always decide to strike at any time.

There are several reasons why your union leadership has made this decision:

- We want to demonstrate to the public that the unionized workers of Verizon care about service quality even if the company does not and will do everything possible to ensure that consumers receive good service. By not striking at this time, we show our willingness to go the extra mile for service quality.
- We also want to show the public that we are not strike-happy, and that we are willing to do everything possible to avoid a strike.
- The company expects a strike and has been preparing for one for months. It has spent tens of millions hiring contractors, recruiting scabs, and training managers to climb poles and do the rest of our work. It has spent tens of millions in the media to portray themselves as the good guys. Why should we give them what they expect, and maybe even want? Let them pay the scabs and pay their hotel bills while we work.

No Business As Usual

We will not simply be working as usual. We will be doing informational picketing, rallying, asking customers to switch carriers or drop enhanced services, working safely, seeking community and political support, pressuring company executives and members of the Board of Directors. In short, we will do all the things we normally do when we're on strike, except not going to work.

How Will It Work?

- Negotiations will continue.
- You will still earn a paycheck.
- All benefits, including health care and pension, will remain in effect.
- The grievance procedure continues, but arbitration probably will not. Discipline can be negotiated at the bargaining table.
- You have the right to participate in "concerted activity." This means you can mobilize on the job, including wearing buttons and stickers, filing group grievances, leafleting and informational picketing.
- Payroll deduction of dues will probably end. Your local will let you know how to pay your dues.

Mobilization Must Continue

Our battle for a good contract is just beginning. Everyone must get involved. You'll be hearing lots more from your mobilization coordinator in the coming days.

Fighting for Verizon's Future: Hometown Jobs • Quality Service
Communications Workers of America • www.cwa-union.org/verizon



campaign that gathered thousands of subscription cancellations, and on producing the *Union Record*. Community and labor support for the strikers was readily evident, as passersby stopped to sympathize or offer cash donations and others brought food and drink—doughnuts, a ham, even omelets cooked on a burn barrel. Subscription cancellations ran so high that the *Times* and *Post-Intelligencer* started distributing their newspapers for free, and even then had tough competition from the *Union Record*, which distributed 40,000 copies three times a week.

“People are feeling free, euphoric,” wrote Judy Rosebery, a truck driver for the *Times* and member of Teamsters Local 174, which honored the Guild’s picket lines. “Our eyes are opened. We are empowered. Our strike benefit of \$300 a week is less than half what we are accustomed to taking home, but it’s not about the money. IT’S ABOUT RESPECT. And we have found that respect inside ourselves.”

Although workers and management at the smaller *Post-Intelligencer* settled their differences Dec. 28, the *Times* would not offer even the same contract to its employees. With picket lines holding firm and the prospect of a truly protracted strike looking more likely, Washington U.S. Senator Patty Murray offered her

office as a neutral negotiating forum and C. Richard Barnes, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, decided to personally oversee talks. With the further involvement of CWA President Morton Bahr, Guild President Linda Foley and *Times* publisher Frank Blethen, a 13-hour negotiating marathon resulted in a settlement.

In addition to winning an acceptable return-to-work provision, Guild members succeeded in abolishing the detested two-tier wage system. The Guild also won raises totaling \$3.30 an hour over six

years, or roughly half of what it had been seeking, but got the *Times* to increase its share of health insurance payments and bumped up scales for some lower-paid jobs.

“This contract—and this strike—provide us with things more valuable than money, things we’ve never had and that money can’t buy,” summarized Guild spokesman Ron Judd at a press conference announcing the 3-to-1 ratification vote to accept the final package. “Strong, unshakeable union. An unprecedented bond between workers in all departments at the *Seattle Times*.”



- Grievance procedure continues but arbitration may not; disciplinary action can be negotiated at the bargaining table
- Negotiations continue
- Unilateral changes in terms and conditions of employment would be an unfair labor practice
- Maintain right to participate in “concerted activity” (group activities for ‘mutual aid or

Excerpt from an actual e-mail sent by a member to his Local on the day after the Verizon East contract expired and CWA continued to work without a contract.

Sunday August 03, 2003 @ 9:20 pm

To: Local 1101

From: Ed Rosado

I reported to work today.
I didn't WANT to go.

“1101 DOES NOT work without a contract” has been itched into my bones for the entire length of my career.

i was embarrassed.

Here I was getting ready to do something which I had sworn loudly to my co-workers and more importantly to management that I would never do.

i was scared.

Sundays are lonely indeed at my work location. I was sure to find myself without the comfort of my brothers and sisters in the midst of hostile and foreign scabs.

I really really didn't want to go to work Sunday.

.....But I went into work and watched as scabs stood by. I watched as managers, ready to lock me out racked up hours on the company dole and laughed as I challenged them and insisted that they were NOT to do my work.

I started the day feeling like shit, but by the end of the day, I was the only one working on my floor, yet fifty people were getting paid! Scabs were sent back to their hotels to wait by the phone “just in case” and they walked out dragging their luggage between their legs. Managers who were ready to learn the job by working on live tickets were forced to go into a conference room and settle for charts and chats.

I took ownership of my work.... And in every city and town across thirteen states this story repeated itself.

Today Verizon spent big bucks for a party that went bust and tomorrow will be the same.

In Solidarity
Ed

protection' are protected under the law even without a contract)

- Payroll deduction of dues may end
- Company has right to lock out employees; locked-out employees can't be permanently replaced; in many states, members may be eligible for unemployment benefits
- Continue to have strike option

STRIKE STRATEGY

Gone are the days when we utilized a strike or the threat of a strike as the only means of increasing our power at the bargaining table. If we do utilize a strike or strike threat, we need to view it as a continuation of the mobilization process.

We often view a strike emotionally, feeling that a strike is our way of teaching management to respect us. Strikes driven by emotion can become suicide missions.

However, as long as we understand what we are facing, in the right circumstances a strike can be an effective means of achieving those objectives. The strategy we choose needs to be one that is most appropriate at a given point in time to achieve our goals and build our union.

NEW WAYS TO PICKET WHEN ON STRIKE; FLYING SQUADRONS

A strike will fail if its only tactic is a picket line. The problem with confronting an employer solely on the picket line at the struck workplace is that this is where most employers are strongest and unions may be the weakest. The challenge for labor is to find ways to move the strike to other fronts where workers can be more effective in their picketing and other strike support activities. One of the drawbacks of picketing, in any strike, is the



essentially static nature of walking the line at your own workplace. At best, union members can only occasionally block managers or scabs from entering a plant or office and then usually for only a brief period of time. At worst, pickets are reduced to hollering at the people who cross the lines and watching impotently as police and security guards provide protection for strikebreakers.

In past strikes we have tended to picket only at our work locations, but recent events have taught us the effectiveness of having pickets "follow the work." CWA has used roving picketers in strikes with success. They followed trucks out of the garage in the morning and set up picket lines each time the truck stopped and the scab tried to work.

WAKE-UP CALL PARTY

A variation on the mobile picketing is the so-called "wake-up call party." These early morning gatherings, sometimes involving several hundred strikers, are organized at motels housing independent contractors from out of state who are doing struck work.

The sudden presence outside the scabs' doors at 6 a.m. or the blaring horns of a 200-car caravan

driving through the motel parking lot, generally makes a point—to contractors, other guests, and motel managers. Such wake-up calls have led some hotels to request the scabs stay elsewhere.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- There are three strategies at contract expiration:
 1. Settle
 2. Continue to work beyond expiration (with/without contract)
 3. Strike
- Predictable players are the easiest to beat. The more options we have, the stronger we are.
- Continuing to work after contract expiration can put more pressure on the employer than a strike and keep strike options alive.
- Inside tactics/work-to-rule requires a disciplined and mobilized workforce.



COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA