

Season's Greetings

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The (sad) state of collective bargaining

Main injured party is not unions – it's the public

By Dominique Paul Noth
Labor Press Editor

It wasn't just unions that Scott Walker cut out of 50 years of a workable collective bargaining for public workers. A vital other party in the process was emasculated --- the public.

So noted several labor historians, including UW-Madison author and associate professor Will Jones. "From the very beginning, the law was explicit that the public was the third party whose rights had to be recognized," Jones said. That doesn't mean just the people the public elects. The public itself and its needs overlay any rational public bargaining system.

"You keep hearing Walker supporters misquote Franklin Delano Roosevelt," added Jones. Those are the false claims that FDR opposed public unions. (One thing he actually said was that the desire of government workers for fair treatment and voice at work "is basically no different from that of employees in private industry.")

What concerned FDR is that with public workers "you can't use the same procedures" established under the National Labor Relations Act for private industry in 1935, Jones noted. The companies are dealing with profits. In the public realm it is efficiency of service and even avoidance of profit motives.

So in private industry, only two parties are involved - the company and the workers, with the NLRB mediating and establishing laws for a level playing field.

"That's one reason it took longer to create a framework for public collective bargaining," said Jones, and other historians add that it is not a coincidence that public-sector collective bargaining grew in tandem with the civil rights movement between

RELATED

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1955 and 1965. Both movements were making a similar point -- how could America grant basic human rights to some but not to all?

As was often the case in labor history, said Jones, Wisconsin was a pioneer, establishing a state law more than 50 years ago (1959), three years before President Kennedy mandated collective bargaining rights for federal employees.

"The genius of the public bargaining law was to recognize that, unlike the NLRB, there are three parties involved - the workers (unions), the public officials and the public - and special rules had to be in place to understand the differences," noted Jones.

What concerned FDR was that more than profit minded company and its workers were involved in the public realm. Two-party bargaining made sense at the NLRB, "but the same methods couldn't always be involved" -- such as strikes by unions and lockouts by management.

"And it worked well for a half century," said Jones, looking at the history. "In the case of Wisconsin teachers, the most famous strike, Hortonville, was such a rarity because it took a violation of the bargaining law to cause it, the refusal of the school board to negotiate. Other than

History continued Page 6



IT'S WE THE PEOPLE that Walker dumped, explains labor historian Will Jones.

Recall Walker T-shirts were a busy sideshow during the MALC town hall Dec. 7 at Serb Hall that gathered thousands of petition signatures and trained hundreds to go get more. **See photo Page 12.**



Union strategies turn Act 10 inside out

Some of the largest public unions in Wisconsin have openly refused to participate fully in Scott Walker's Act 10, the official name for his emasculation of their bargaining rights.

Under the law, they are still forced to follow some of the restrictions he imposed once any current bargained contracts expire - notably no collective bargaining on anything except within a narrow pay corridor and no dues payments through government paychecks. But they refuse to be pushed into Walker's yearly recertification and other conditions that make it sound like Walker determines what a union is.

"We existed long before there was a bargaining rights law," said state AFL-CIO President Phil Neuenfeldt, also a leading strategist in the recall movement. "We'll thrive long after people have forgotten who this Walker was."

There are also AFL-CIO unions, some quite respected, sticking with all the conditions of Act 10, submitting to annual recertification and all the other requirements.

In both circumstances, strategy and calculation are involved as well as belief in the US system.

The unions staying within Act 10 understand well that Walker is trying to demean and restrict them. They see a number of ways to turn the tables. They can work on the forgotten partner in the public collective bargaining rights law - the public (*see accompanying article*) - pointing out how many of the conditions Walker has imposed in Act 10 don't save money but cost future taxpayers in operating expenses and blockage of union expertise that so quietly anticipated, interpreted and solved workplace issues. (The issues haven't gone away; it is the freedom of managers to turn to union insight that has been lost in Act 10).

It's clear from Labor Press interviews that almost nobody else wanted Walker to change all this and even many of his supporters didn't realize the degree of damage he had in mind. "Walker up-ended a bargaining system that has worked pretty darn well for 50 years without having anything better to replace it with," one Menomonee Falls Republican told Labor Press.



Directional instructions, maps and records have become key to recall planning.

So more than unions are unhappy about this, which is reflected in the numbers signing up to recall the governor. Along the way, union leaders are bringing resourcefulness to a bad situation, as are some communities' leaders who don't agree with Walker but quickly and smartly looked around the corner at what they can do despite of or within his legislation.

All that is apparently confounding Walker and his minions, confronting them with a sophistication they didn't expect from unions and with competition for public attention they thought their deep advertising pockets would scare off. Walker thought his heavy-handedness would make unions go away - instead he has become their unintentional cheerleader, reminding the state and indeed the nation of what worker rights are.

Without exposing specific strategies, let's look at some reasons for union decisions and some results.

The AFSMCE units in the state --- three councils, thousands of workers from roads to prisons to parks --- are refusing to submit to Act 10 and are

In or Out? continued Page 16

Manitowoc Crane stirs up entire state's unions

Among the deceptions Scott Walker pulled on the Wisconsin public was frequent statements that he had nothing against private sector unions, practically loved them as "partners" and they would be unaffected by the clobbering he was inflicting on public workers.

It only caused unions familiar with his blarney to wonder how long it would take for his regressive policies to bleed into the private domain.

Wonder no more. Echoing the rules imposed in Walker's Act 10, Manitowoc Crane abandoned some 60 years of mutual beneficial labor/management relations and sought to slip Walker's "justify your right to live" agenda into its contract demands on its chief workforce, members of IAMAW District 10, AFL-CIO.

The company sought to require a costly "recertification" vote of the union every year. The company then tried to force a so-called "open shop" (who invents

such reverse language?) allowing free hitchhikers -- employees who could opt out of paying union dues while still enjoying the benefits and wages won for them by union negotiators.

The workforce did not just decline to let their rights to a voice on the job disappear. They said no in a resounding 180-2 vote that they knew also would put them on strike. It's been years since labor historians heard of such a lopsided decision to strike.

Interestingly enough, the machinists say they already agreed to the financial terms in the deal. The company is holding out for union-busting conditions. Glen Tellock, CEO of parent corporation Manitowoc Co. -- as did the previous CEO, Terry Growcock -- sits on the board of directors of Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce, so it no stretch that the union regards this as a harbinger of difficult days ahead in private manufacturing. *See related manufac-*

turing story on Page 9.

On December 10 at the Manitowoc Cranes Municipal Baseball Field, 2200 Grand Ave., the machinists were joined for a rally by public and private union members on their own time and weekend. They chartered busses or doubled up in cars.

While the numbers involved in the marches and speeches were sizeable, the media reporting was certainly bizarre. One FOX station said "hundreds" joined the strikers while an ABC affiliate said "thousands" and had the footage to prove it.

Members of AFSCME councils, MTEA, boilermakers, laborers and steelworkers were there to wave their banners and flags and yell support.

The reaction of unions showed determination. The reaction of the company was typical, bringing in outside workers in order to stay in business despite the striking machinists. Democratic state legislators also



Widespread conviction brought more than a thousand public and private workers and their families to Manitowoc Dec. 10 to stand alongside striking machinists.

held press conferences ridiculing the company's approach.

Private employers who thought Walker's actions could be emulated and make unions run faster discovered how poorly they had read the tea leaves.

Walker had actually brought private and public sector workers together, strengthening the union image and reputation for standing up.

Significance added to annual installation dinner

Always crowded and important annual gala dinner may be taking on special significance this January for incoming and outgoing officers of all the lodges affiliated with District 10 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

The January 28 installation was announced in the shadow of an overwhelming strike vote -- and immediate support from other private and public sector workers -- by the machinists at Manitowoc Crane. The company demanded yearly recertification of the union as one of the conditions of a new contract and also sought an open shop.

The January installation dinner starts at 5:30 p.m. with cocktails, followed by dinner and program at the Wyndham Airport Hotel and Convention Center, 4747 S. Howell Ave. A block of \$59 rooms has been set aside for the IAMAW. Music and dancing follow the 7 p.m. dinner and program. A \$55 ticket includes a free cocktail and there is also free beer and soda for those attending.

A deadline of January 13 has been announced to ensure tickets and/or hotel room. Please contact Kathy Johnson as the IAMAW office, (414) 643-4334, ext. 10, or make checks payable to IAMAW Special Events Fund, 1650 S. 38th St., Milwaukee, WI 53215.



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Hold your nose, you're diving into the Act 10 world

By Candice Owley

Special to Labor Press

Act 10, the so-called Budget Repair Bill, took effect on June 29, 2011. The bill has an immediate impact on public locals without a contract and, for those with a contract, it goes into effect when the existing contracts expire (or if extended, modified or renewed).

The following are some basic questions and answers about the "Act 10 world" as our union's attorneys call it.

What rights are workers still guaranteed?

The law still gives public employees the right to organize and even bargain collectively, but the only area still legal to bargain over is base wages. We are still waiting for the final definition of base wages, but we know it does not include things such as wage steps, shift differentials, charge pay, etc. Employees can still engage in activity such as collecting and presenting petitions regarding wages, hours and working conditions, and it would be illegal to discriminate in any way towards an employee exercising those rights.

Employees can attend meetings of county boards and open government committees, and petition for changes to wages and working conditions, and the board can respond to these concerns. But what they cannot do is bargain with the employees.

Can employees discuss union and workplace matters and distribute fliers and other material at work?

The law still gives protection for concerted activity (concerted means activity by two or more employees) whether or not there is a certified union. Employees can engage in actions such as distributing fliers and information, picketing, holding vigils, etc., but not on work time. In addition, employees cannot be retaliated against for activities generally associated with unions, such as filing grievances and organizing protests.

Can the union or group of employees hold meetings at work?

Yes, if such facilities are open to the public.

Do employees still have the right to union representation when called into the boss?

Yes, while the union is still certified, but that could change if the union is no longer certified by the state.

How does the union become certified?

In order to be formally recognized as a certified union, each year the union must file for a new election and a majority of the workers must vote to be certified. This is a very high standard, because it means if an employee doesn't vote, forgets, is out of town, etc. then that is considered a NO vote. What it means is if there are 300 members of a workforce, then 153 (a full 51%) must vote YES for the union to be certified. If 151 of the 300 show up to vote and, even if they all vote YES, the vote still fails. And, this process must take place each and every year.

Clearly, the law was written to make it almost impossible to recertify. In addition, the union must pay a fee for the election each year so that a local -- like ours for health

The conditions of Act 10 were outlined in an analysis by the state AFL-CIO. They are devastating, including:

- Prohibited subjects of bargaining are sick days, seniority rights, transfer and promotion rights, health care, pension benefits, vacations, health and safety, layoff and recall rights, medical leave and work rules.
- Public employee unions are required to hold a decertification election every year and the union will be decertified if it does not receive a supermajority of at least 51% of ALL in the bargaining unit, regardless of how many actually vote.
- Payroll deduction of union dues are outlawed. Any employee can opt out of union representation and no public employer can make a "fair share" deal with a union.

professionals at Milwaukee County -- must pay \$500 to the state each year just for the right to have an election. If we compare this to the private sector, there is no fee no matter the size of the group, and the results are determined by a majority of those voting, not of the entire potential membership; and, once the union is certified, it stays certified unless 30% of the members petition for a new election.

If this Act 10 were the standard for general elections, then none of the current politicians would be in office because it is extremely rare for a majority of voters to vote in each election.

When do dues stop being collected?

When a contract expires, then the law states that it is illegal for the public employer to collect dues through payroll deduction, even if the member asks to pay dues. So, even if a union member wants to pay dues, they will have to pay directly to the union and will no longer have the convenience of payroll deduction. It's another action clearly designed to make it much more difficult for members to pay dues, and with the goal of destroying the union. There is no such rule in the private sector or in the federal sector.

When do pension contributions begin?

The contribution to the state pension or, in the case of Milwaukee County, the county pension, began in August for those without a contract. For those with contracts expiring December 31, 2011, the contribution will begin in January of 2012. The deduction will be approximately 5.8% for those in the state system, and 4.7% for the Milwaukee County members; and, it will be deducted from pre-tax wages.

Can employees still file grievances or complaints?

It is illegal for the employer to bargain for a grievance procedure or arbitration -- however, the law does state that each public employer must create a grievance procedure for discipline, terminations and workplace safety. In addition, the employer may create rules or policies that cover many



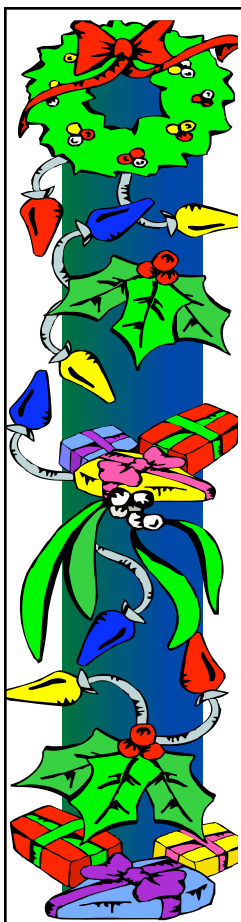
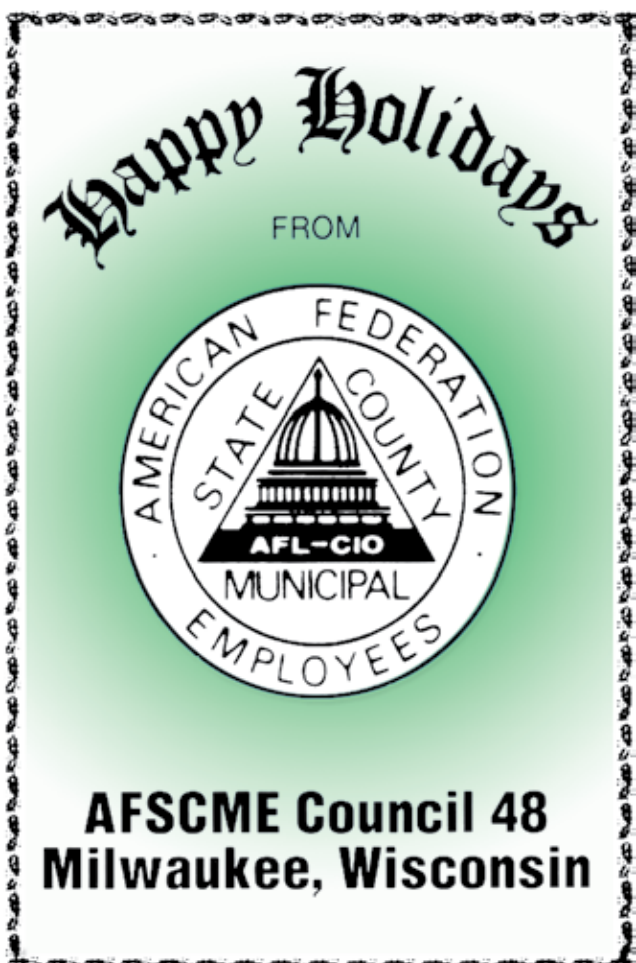
Author Candice Owley, a leader in the AFT as well as president of her nurses union, was shown last winter, bullhorn at the ready, leading a union protest at Milwaukee County's medical facilities.

other subjects but, of course, none of these things can be bargained.

It is permissible for the employer to seek input from the union and to include recommendations in the rules. In addition, if the procedure provides for employee representation in the grievance procedure, then the union can provide that representation. It is possible if the union does not get certified, either because it chooses not to or fails the required super-majority certification vote, then the employer can deny union representation.

Over the next months we will see how the law actually works as our local contracts expire. Our hope is that we will continue to represent workers in grievances and disciplines -- and that members will be active with the union in "lobbying" on a wide range of wages, hours and working conditions.

The author, cowley@wfnhp.org, is president of the nurses and health professionals union (WFNHP). This Q & A for the union's newsletter -- with the help of a legal expert in the area, Atty. Jeff Sweetland of Hawks, Quindel, S.C. - was adapted by the Labor Press staff.



Merry Christmas and Happy New Year

From

District No. 10 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO

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Fired janitors stir up Downtown

When unions say an injury to one is an injury to all, that actually means they'll go to bat big-time for a dozen. That's what has been stirring up downtown in holiday season rallies and protests as SEIU Local 1 seeks fair dealing for fired janitors, "the most vulnerable of the 99%," said SEIU organizer David Somerscales.

The story is this. The unionized workers were employed by Regency Janitorial, which in late November was suddenly replaced by a non-union firm to clean the office building at 875 E. Wisconsin Ave. owned by an affiliate of Wangard Partners, Inc. Janitors who handle the building were fired.

After switching to a firm that pays \$8 an hour with no known benefits, Wangard representatives refused to let the new firm - not called Lowball but Purity -- rehire any of the laid off workers.

The building manager, employed by Wangard, says the change was made based on merit and competitive bidding but there is not much merit in \$8 an

hour -- and by competitive, apparently the building operators mean bottom feeding. At Regency under a union contract, the janitors received \$11 an hour -- still low but with benefits.

The fired janitors have been turned away when applying for jobs with the new cleaner. This, too, is a game familiar to unions because if the laid off workers don't apply, the company can say they didn't want the jobs in the first place.

Other unions are joining SEIU in these winter rallies. Warning this could be along bat-

tle, Somerscales emailed me: "The building manager said he was dissatisfied with the work, but if a couple of people are allegedly goofing off, we told him we don't support that and they should've been written up" -- not fire everyone in sight and hire minimum wage fill-ins.

"This is about money and nothing else. It's a sad and classic example. Moreover, if this building gets away with it, it could spread to other buildings downtown and threaten the very existence of the janitors' union in Milwaukee."

Voter ID myths stir major attack

A new website, ProtectingtheVote.org, makes the case that actual instances of voter fraud are rare, despite Republicans' success in passing stricter laws to combat fraud in dozens of states.

The Democratic National Committee (DNC) in announcing the site and national effort accused the Republican Party of trying to stifle minority votes as a way to win elections.

The site and an accompanying report, "A Reversal in

Progress," are the first step in an "unprecedented voter protection effort," DNC Chairwoman and Florida Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz told the press Dec. 1.

"We're aggressively engaged in making sure that we help voters remove these obstacles and barriers," she said, adding that the voter ID laws favored by Republicans are "essentially designed to rig an election."

In addition to registering voters and recruiting volunteers to help with voter-protection efforts, Democrats plan to begin organizing lawyers in January to help monitor the 2012 presidential election - as they have in past cycles.

Bowling

MALC MIXED SENIOR BOWLING

NOVEMBER 2011 RESULTS

TEAM	WINS	LOSSES
8 BALLS	50	34
CRAZY 8'S	47	37
ONE BOARD OVER	44	40
SLAMMERS	41	43
GUTTER RATS	35	49
PIN PALS	35	49

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DON WIEDMANN	538

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DEL GROSS	222
DON WIEDMANN	219
GREG MARTIN	195

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RAE MATOWSKI	495
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PHYLLIS NAVARRETE	169

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Calendar

Visit www.milwaukeeelabor.org for updated events

Through January 3
Happy Holidays! MALC Offices Closed

Saturday, January 7, 2012
UAW's Annual Dr. King Celebration
Honor the Legacy
6 p.m., Laborers Local 113 Hall, 6310 W. Appleton Ave.

Wednesday, January 11
Monthly Delegate Meeting
Includes Election Endorsements
6:30 p.m., Serb Hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma Ave.

Wednesday, January 25
Executive Council Meeting
2 p.m., 633 S. Hawley Rd.

Saturday, January 28
IAMAW Installation Dinner
Annual Gala for District 10 Lodges
Wyndham Airport Hotel

Wednesday, February 2
Monthly Delegate Meeting
6:30 p.m., Serb Hall, 5101 W. Oklahoma Ave.

Tuesday, February 21
Primary Election
Polls open 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.

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Danny Gokey

History

From Page 1

that, the law made each side deal with the other and consider the public's needs."

In Wisconsin, overseeing that law fell to a civil service division to interpret rules and provide arbitration, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission.

One sign of Walker's meddling is that he has imposed political appointees rather than civil service neutrality and ethics in such key positions as the WERC general counsel. Wisser heads prevailed on him to keep longtime general counsel Peter Davis, who himself joked at a Milwaukee luncheon in September that the change "doesn't affect me - everyone knows I'll keep operating as I always have" and he has a reputation for fair and open dealing

"It's the next guy that could be a problem," smiled Davis, since that appointment is now political if Walker remains in office. The dangers of key political appointees in jobs that previously were civil service are becoming clear in many state divisions. Further affecting agencies like the WERC and the GAB, which oversees election procedures, is that Walker has given himself the kingly authority of seeing and potentially vetoing without question new operational rules rather than trusting the experienced experts.

Looked at this way, Walker surprised even his supporters by cutting neutrality out of once respected agencies and procedures - and also cut the public out of the bargaining rights process while neutering WERC's responsibility in this regard. Substituting his vision of what the public is and needs is not the same.

Other historians note that the upsets usually came when the legislature started interfering with collective bargaining out of immediate economic concerns or to reward friends. Almost all the uproars between unions and state governments stem from rules about how workers can be rewarded through state money or paid through established wage procedures by private companies hired by the state.

"Think about it," said Jones. "The public may elect the officials but once elected their concerns don't always mesh with the public's basic wants and desires.

"It might be in the interest of city managers to drive labor costs down by every means possible, but that's not necessarily in the interest of the public, which would like better teachers, better municipal services, better law enforcement.

"You want to have a happy workforce, you don't want to have angry nurses, for goodness sake, and you want people working for the city who pay your local taxes.

"And all that is now in jeopardy."

Walker carved the public out of Act 10 even as he emasculated the rights of union workers to bargain across the board as well as across the table

"He didn't campaign on this," one angry rural Republican official told me, insisting on anonymity because of his political situation.

"Frankly I'm not the only one upset. Listen I was never going to have the votes of these union workers and they knew when I sat down at the table they were facing a hard ass and they had to have damn good facts on their side. But they also knew I was concerned about service.

What FDR actually said



THE DESIRE OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES for {unions} is both natural and logical, but meticulous attention should be paid to the special relationships and obligations of public servants to the public itself . . .

A STRIKE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES MANIFESTS nothing less than intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of Government until their demands are satisfied. . . . It is, therefore, with a feeling of gratification that I have noted in the constitution of the National Federation of Federal Employees the provision that "under no circumstances shall this Federation engage in or support strikes against the United States Government."

"Walker makes it sound (like I was) the wimp afraid to stand up to my duties, and I resent that."

Jones is also amused at how Walker inflamed the power of the unions in order to sell the public on his changes to the law. "The idea you can sit down at bargaining table and impose rules distorts what bargaining is and why the system was created," he noted. "It's a myth to say public officials were selling the farm away. Any who did were clearly violating his or her public duty."

Other historians and economic analysts describe this as scapegoating unions. Among other think tanks, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities analyzed how, contrary to Walker's assertion, there is no direct correlation between public-sector collective bargaining and yawning state budget deficits. Such deficits -- and Wisconsin is in the middle of the pack -- reflect the varying impact of the recent recession on individual states, the integrity of fiscal monitoring and the fairness of revenue collection and dispensation.

So how did middle class health benefits and pensions get in there? Enter the old political adages of never letting any economic crisis go unexploited and finding someone to blame.

Workers in the private domain who deserve pensions and better health care support couldn't get that equity from their employers, but they do regard themselves as "the boss" when it comes to public workers, whose unions worked hard to get them what every worker should have.

Walker didn't advertise his tactics in advance but now exploits those feelings of "Why should I pay someone else for what I don't have and richly deserve?"

It becomes an emotional as well as an ideological conflict, but it is a knife that cuts both ways. The Wisconsin public doesn't fully know it's bleeding. It's a case of punishing yourself in the delusion you're sticking it to someone else, in this case the unions

No wonder that private sector unions are even angrier at Act 10 in their public pronouncements than public unions. They see the real target.

The paradox of course is that in attacking unions so broadly, Walker has emboldened and spread the union ideal. He went after the essence of Wisconsin's reputation. This is the state Theodore Roosevelt once called "the laboratory of democracy." It led in innovation for the workers and the middle class -- introducing workers' compensation, in 1911; unemployment insurance in 1932; and the public employee bargaining in 1959 that served as a model across the US because it worked.

Walker's Act 10 threw its essential elements away without warning and without having a substitute on hand. The result is described on all sides with such terms as "uncharted waters," "class warfare," "Armageddon."

Such terms may sound extreme, "but only if you are on the outside looking in," said one irate suburban teacher now facing double the class size without help and no paid time in her new handbook to prepare lessons, grade papers or talk to parents.



WERC's Peter Davis

Historical perspective exposes the real offended party ought to be the public.

"I understand how a lot of moderates might be upset with Walker and anxious to oppose him," noted Sid Hatch, the new executive director of Milwaukee's public teacher union, MTEA. "But they balk at the idea of recalls as somehow not American."

It's actually very American, he noted -- as does noted administrator Kathleen Falk in facing article on Page 7. Government is required to provide avenues of grievance and objection, says Hatch, and he points to Ohio. There, the legal process allowed the public to rise up in referendum and prevent destroying public bargaining rights before such a law took hold. No such avenue exists in Wisconsin, which means recalling an official from public office "is one way the public can speak out and fight back," said Hatch. "That's why it's there."

Labor historian Joseph A. McCartin an associate professor of history and labor studies at Georgetown University, is blunt about why Walker thinks he can get away with this. "Walker's inflammatory rhetoric" is just "a bald attempt to exploit the bad economy, undo 50 years of legal precedent on labor issues, and win a political victory, no matter the cost," said McCartin.

"What Republicans are now seeking in Wisconsin and elsewhere has nothing to do with helping put America back to work. It is really all about politics."

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Kathleen Falk on why this recall is right, legit



Falk dropped by AFSCME 48's holiday party Dec. 8 and chatted with executive director Richard Abelson.

By Kathleen Falk
Special to Labor Press

We are in uncharted waters here in Wisconsin. For the first time that anyone can recall, we have a governor who did not tell the truth about what he was planning to do as governor.

And Scott Walker would not have been elected if he had been truthful about his intentions.

Walker's deception isn't about politics or policy. This is about more than a politician making promises as a candidate that he cannot fulfill as an elected official.

Walker's deception is of a fundamental kind: Truthfulness is a fundamental duty of our elected officials.

I was born in Milwaukee, later raised in Waukesha County. The moral compass instilled in me by my Irish and German families made telling the truth a real clear and basic measure of character.

One of the most frequent comments I hear as I travel the state is: "I never would have voted for him if I had known

what he was going to do."

"Walker never campaigned on disenfranchising public-employee unions," the Journal Sentinel editorial board noted. "If he had, he would not have been elected. He got a spare 52% of the vote - hardly a mandate for what he is trying to do."

If a deception that was key to an election is not a recallable offense, then what is?

Walker did not need to throw away 50 years of workers' rights to balance the budget. In describing his attack on collective bargaining as the only way to fix the budget, he ignored the concessions on pensions and health insurance agreed to by the unions, he concealed his wholly partisan motivation and he knowingly misled Wisconsinites.

Walker used a big deception to get elected. Once elected, he has continued to try to mask his extreme agenda by saying one thing but doing another.

He said during the campaign that he didn't intend to cut kids off health care, but he has. The nonpartisan Legislative Fiscal Bureau noted that Walker's cuts will mean 65,000 people, 29,000

of them children, will lose access to their current health care. Walker said he would maintain the state's commitment to fund education that keeps our schools strong but then proposed the largest cuts to education in Wisconsin history.

He said after Republicans lost two seats in the state Senate that Wisconsinites want more bipartisanship on the very same day he signed into law the most partisan redistricting law that anyone can recall.

He said he is focused on cre-

ating jobs, but since Walker took office, we are losing jobs at rates not seen in decades, and his own administration recently admitted that he won't fulfill his promise to create 250,000 new jobs.

Walker - by what he's done and how he's done it - has pitted family member against family member, neighbor against neighbor.

He has grabbed power to enact an extreme agenda that satisfies his richest far-right donors. And he has done so in the most

divisive manner imaginable.

There are serious problems before us - health care, education, the environment and jobs - that require leaders who bring us together to move us forward in tough times.

Our elected officials should be recalled when they violate their fundamental duty to their constituents. Walker's failure to be honest about his agenda violates that trust, and he should be recalled.

The author is the former Dane County Executive.

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from the

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Another vision of how to help kids

In early November volunteers from Wisconsin Vision spent two days visiting Milwaukee public elementary schools, Clark Street and Gwen T. Jackson, to administer eye exams and provide free of charge prescription glasses as part of the company's "Clearer Days Ahead" program for underprivileged children.

A special guest came along that really made the children's eyes open up - Danny Gokey, the "American Idol" finalist and Milwaukee native, now Nashville recording artist who also serves as a spokesman for Wisconsin Vision.

Among the results of this program coordinated with the teachers' union, the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association:

On Dec. 13, the MPS board presented Wisconsin Vision with its "Award of Excellence" for the "Clearer Days Ahead" initiative.

More lastingly, those two days turned into 134 children receiving eye exams their economic circumstances would otherwise not allow and 111 of

PHOTOS: Technicians give a Clark Street student an eye test while Danny Gokey helps another pick out the right frames.

them received prescription glasses at no charge.

Readers of Labor Press will recognize Wisconsin Vision as a longtime advertiser and may also know its workers are represented by United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1473.

But this story of business-labor-community cooperation touches on an ongoing neglected "good news" reality in our society. People care in a way that puts to shame some of the partisan simplicities that dominate our media. Several stories in this issue reflect that.

Wisconsin Vision has been offering its services and outreach for 33 years. A test run of "Clearer Days Ahead" early this year at an inner city school provided 47 children with free eyewear.

The MTEA works with the company identifying the needs within MPS schools and coordinating with teachers and families. One of Wisconsin Vision's suppliers, whose workers are also represented by the UFCW, sister company LBC Optics, donated the lens material, helped with the eye frames and did the finish work for the children's glasses.

Even Gokey's involvement was more than celebrity watching. He spent his time helping children find the "coolest" frames to be their own.

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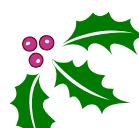
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Nice talk won't keep manufacturing from flying away

By Michael Rosen
Special to Labor Press

Wisconsin's manufacturers are facing a skilled labor shortage of machinists, operators, craft workers, distributors and technicians. In response, the Milwaukee 7, southeastern Wisconsin's regional development of business and community leaders, has announced a public relations campaign.

News flash: It will take a lot more than branding to solve these labor shortages.

Another news flash -- President Obama clearly knows that as he created a national Office of Manufacturing Policy Dec. 12 in the Department of Commerce.

Any solution must start with defining the scope of the problem. Why is there a shortage of the kind of skilled workers that for decades made Milwaukee a destination for manufacturers?

Outsourcing is a huge part of the answer. One day after the M-7's announcement, Dana Corp. announced it was closing its Milwaukee operations and moving more than 150 jobs to low-wage Kentucky.

Similarly, the Thermo Fisher Scientifica in Two Rivers, which already had moved hundreds of jobs to a Reynosa, Mexico, plant, announced it may shut down entirely.

The list of companies that have offshored or outsourced production reads like a who's who of Wisconsin's manufacturing: Briggs & Stratton Corp., A.O. Smith, Rockwell, Badger Meter - and many more.

The loss of manufacturing jobs has been going on since the early 1980s. Milwaukee's working families have had their lives turned upside down by plant closings, downsizings, outsourcings and offshoring -- meaning job loss, declining wages and benefits and economic insecurity.

My former student, John, did everything we ask young workers to do, earning two journeyman cards while working and attending MATC full time. John left Briggs when it began moving jobs to low-wage states and Mexico. But his new employer, Rockwell, began outsourcing to nonunion, low-wage plants even before it eliminated all hourly workers last year. So John started over again at Harley-Davidson. But, a year and a half ago, Harley laid John off.

John's experience is unfortunately not unique. Almost everyone with roots in this community knows family that experienced the instability. Nationally, manufacturers shed 2 million jobs during the Great Recession.

Wisconsin lost 58,300 manufacturing jobs, 11.6% of its total, between December 2007 and June 2009, the official end of the



Economist Michael Rosen

recession. The state continued to lose manufacturing jobs for several months even after the recession ended. By September 2010, Wisconsin had lost 69,800 manufacturing jobs, 14% of its total.

The occupational programs at MATC most popular with waiting lists are culinary arts, automotive, heating and air-conditioning, physical therapy, barber and cosmetology, occupational therapy and nursing.

What do they all have in common? These are jobs that cannot be offshored.

Our working-class students are voting with their feet by choosing careers that provide more secure employment. They'll continue until manufacturers offer the same level of security as other occupations or sufficient compensation to justify the insecurity that has characterized manufacturing employment.

What can be done to address this? Manufacturers need to:

- Abandon human resource strategies that treat employees like variable costs instead of the

Analysis

strategic assets they are. Offering security will attract students to skilled manufacturing careers.

- Revive apprenticeship programs eliminated or downsized in the 1980s under the illusion that automation would result in workerless factories.

- Insist that state government restore the 30% slashed from Wisconsin's technical colleges in the last budget.

Technical colleges train the very skilled and technical workers manufacturers need. Yet, over 20 years, their state funding has been cut by more than 50%.

- Support public school investments in reviving technical education and participate in the state's youth apprenticeship program.

- End free trade deals that do not have or enforce labor and environmental laws, an unfair advantage over responsible American manufacturers.

Solving labor shortages requires more than public relations.

Henry Ford recognized this when he doubled his hourly workers wages to \$5 a day. Ford's 400% turnover rate and 10% absentee rate vanished and at the same time created a market for his cars when his workers finally could afford them.

Wisconsin had a similar experience in the 1990s when hospitals were facing acute nursing shortages. In response, they increased nurses pay and instituted incentives such as signing

bonuses. Enrollments in nursing programs soared, technical colleges invested in nursing education and students flocked to occupations that promised employment security and decent compensation.

It's ironic that the area's business leaders, who are among the fiercest proponents of market solutions to most problems, are reluctant to use pricing to solve the skilled worker shortage. Any Econ 101 student knows that pricing efficiently allocates resources.

As Melanie Holmes, a vice president at Manpower Group,

said, "The No.1 reason why employers are having trouble filling these positions is they're not offering pay that the candidates are demanding."

I applaud the M-7's decision to focus on advanced manufacturing. But it will take more than glossy brochures and television ads to persuade the next-generation workforce that becoming a skilled manufacturing worker is a stable and secure career path.

Michael Rosen, an economics professor at Milwaukee Area Technical College, is also president of the institution's teachers union, AFT Local 212.



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Only those state antics make redistricting a dirty word

By **Dominique Paul Noth**
Labor Press Editor

The best known national story about redistricting occurred quite naturally in Massachusetts, where the population shifts and growths in the US Census changed almost half the area served by 71 year old Barney Frank in the US House.

Frank is one of the Democrats' progressive lions who survived his own scandals decades ago to emerge as a noted wit, acerbic moral touchstone and fiscal expert. But he also takes seriously that citizens deserve to know their incumbent and vice versa, so he looked hard at whether he could do a good job for a district that after the 2010 census included 325,000 people who never before had a chance to know him or vote for him.

Frank was openly analytical. He hates raising money and he would need a lot. He loves to talk, but he would have to campaign hard among newbies. So he announced his departure, noting that at least in retirement "I don't have to pretend to be nice to people I don't like." There were salutes all around for his service and for accepting change without rancor.

Back in the city of Milwaukee, consider in contrast the reaction of Ald. Bob Donovan when the census added a mighty growth of Latinos to his local district and took away some low-hanging fruit of conservative households.

His first reaction was to fret and fight some of the obvious change, then to fume



A would-be third county supervisor, Peter Blewett at right, posed at the AFSCME 48 holiday party with Theo Lipscomb and Marina Dimitrijevic.

to other members of the Common Council about "politics" and this month to lay a lot of money into three-fold brochures and door-drops to beef up his re-election campaign -- because this time he is facing some articulate opponents and has to defend a pretty lame track record.

To the south of his borders, there was a different reaction - enthusiasm and welcome. County of Milwaukee Supervisor Marina Dimitrijevic even introduced the resolution that would make her a minority white candidate in a majority Hispanic district.

High time to recognize change, said Dimitrijevic, whose politics and issues dovetail with those of Voces de La Frontera

and other Latino groups that support her re-election. (It is the worst kept secret in Milwaukee politics that she is aiming not just for re-election but also for her peers to pick her as the new County Board chairman, now that Lee Holloway has announced his retirement.)

Last summer there was another enthusiastic even if career-destructive embrace of the growth of Hispanic citizens at the Milwaukee school board, led by a cry of "Si Si pueda!" from longtime school board member Peter Blewett when the first predominantly Hispanic district was redrawn to match the new population information.

But that was District 6, where Blewett has served on the school board for a decade. And the new map moves his house out of his district into that of fellow board member Annie Woodward, leaving the choice in 2013 to run against her in a heavily African American area.

He could have fought rather than lead the change charge, but "I'm imagining 10 years down the road," Blewett explained. "I'd rather be an example of what elected officials should do."

Only a few months ago, the veteran liberal activist was unsure of a future path, but by December he had decided, announcing his candidacy for a county supervisory district that neatly meshes with the eastern half of his old school board district. Yes, he's running for

the seat being abandoned by Holloway, cheerfully entering a race against six other candidates. And with his entry and experience, he's already a leading contender.

Such is the inevitable if sometimes wounding side of natural redistricting. For the nasty side we have to turn to state politics, and this one is a doozie.

Obviously, when the state legislature adjusts its own and US House district maps, it is for balance, to protect minority rights and ideally to encourage natural boundaries and competitiveness. Most often it's partisan opportunity. Everyone understands that and looks away - unless the results are too warped, fabricated and blatantly politicized.

That happened when the GOP majority jammed through new maps for November 2012 elections - and now, faced with recalls of several GOP state senators, wants the new districts put in place immediately to protect themselves.

Even Republican observers know the maps are extreme, only they tend to chuckle gleefully at the legal snookery executed by their side. But here come the judges with some pointed questions about the two federal lawsuits and other maneuvers in state courts. Putting lawyerly niceties aside, the key questions may well be: "Were these insiders instructed to arrange the results so Democratic could never regain control?"

Quite naturally, the judges want to ask the people who did the maps. The Republicans scrambled mightily with every legal trick they could muster to keep them from being deposed.

The federal court is now demanding the key figures testify, which moves the cases from longshots -- since the courts tend to defer to the people's elected representatives, the legislature, on such issues -- to better than even money.

"Three months ago I wouldn't have given the federal challenges more than a 30% chance," one lawyer told me. "Now I think it's likely the federal court will hear it through."

But even the threat of this GOP redistricting has affected the April nonpartisan election and colored next November.

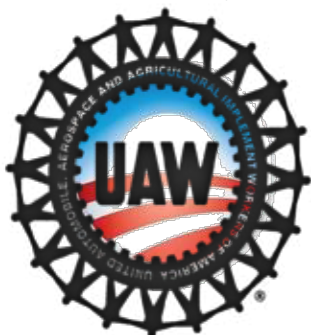
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Election board pieces and properties are shuffling

In a few months as supervisor, firebrand Eyon Biddle has stirred up the pace and temperature of the County Board. On Dec. 12, he announced intentions to attempt the same at the city, taking on Ald. Willie Hines (actually Common Council president and long rumored to be weighing other positions).

The news is just part of the ferment that always exists in politics but seems on steroids this season. Many factors are creating Monopoly board games.

In some cases, you can add fear to opportunity. If you look at the redistricting maps the GOP majority wants to push through - see Page 10 --- they eliminate some Democrats' entire bases of support. It doesn't happen until November 2012 if current court rulings hold up, but it already is churning up April, where results could affect what several state legislators do next. It already has.

Democratic Rep. David Cullen envisions Republican

communities dominating his region - his 13th Assembly District would extend way into Waukesha County. While some doubt the blatant redistricting will go through, Cullen is clearly not waiting.

He is already collecting signatures to run for County Supervisor District 15 against mainly Dan Cody, a fellow Democrat and Parks People president who has been working for years, doing doors and positioning himself to take over for retiring Lynne de Bruin in this non-partisan (on paper) contest.

Other maneuvers may be influenced by the Democrats moving from the majority to the minority. But mainly they seem about change and fresh circumstance.

Not under threat of recall or challenge next November, two Milwaukee area state senators are seeking to move their political base close to home. Tim Carpenter and Spencer Coggs are two of the

Fabulous 14 praised because of their flight to Illinois to prevent a financially-need quorum.

They are also deskmates in Madison with districts that probably would stay in Democratic hands if they left. And they now are competing against each other for the better paying job of city of Milwaukee treasurer.

And they are only two of the four well known candidates fighting for the seat opened up by the retirement of Wayne Whittow. The others are socialist Rick Kissell, a tireless and frequent campaigner who first ran for treasurer in 1988, and former state treasurer Dawn Marie Sass. That brought an amusing but friendly

moment when Carpenter and Sass bumped into each other in the cold outside Serb Hall Dec. 7, seeking nomination signatures from the Recall Walker town hall.

Change is in the air, and you can learn a lot about people watching the wheels go round.

-- Dominique Paul Noth



Carpenter (left) and Sass ply the crowd at Serb Hall Dec. 7 for the same nomination signatures.

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Took effort to print voucher truth but city taxpayers now mailed facts

It's hard to get government to reveal truth, but a distinctive moment of transparency in the face of bureaucratic roadblocks was celebrated by school, city and state officials Dec. 12 at City Hall. The real victor was the city property tax payer, finding out in mailed bills that over \$50 million they thought was going to MPS was going to pay private school tuition in the voucher program -- a 22% increase!


Like the vouchers or not, the taxpayer has never before told its huge cost, assuming the state was picking up the tab. No indeed, homeowner. The 22,000 children in the misnomer Parental Choice school district are also excluded from the public school aid formula.

"I am glad taxpayers will finally see the effect the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program has on their property tax bills," said Rep. Fred Kessler, who has fought for years to get the state to own up to the citizens. "Milwaukee taxpayers are forced to pay for public, private and parochial school programs. Public schools are the only ones required to educate students with special needs, not just when it's convenient. Because of this, MPS is left educating a disproportionate number of special needs students at significantly higher costs."

"This simple change will clarify to what extent public schools have been bailing out their private and religious counterparts," said Rep. Christine Sinicki.

The MPS had to pay \$5,000 to create the mailed insert after bureaucrats argued that it might cost much more. (The same Dec. 12, the city revealed it had goofed up another part of the mailing, comparing and mislabeling this year's tax levy to two years ago.)

Speakers agreed more transparency should be in the works and necessary so taxpayers no longer play dodgeball. -- D.P.N.



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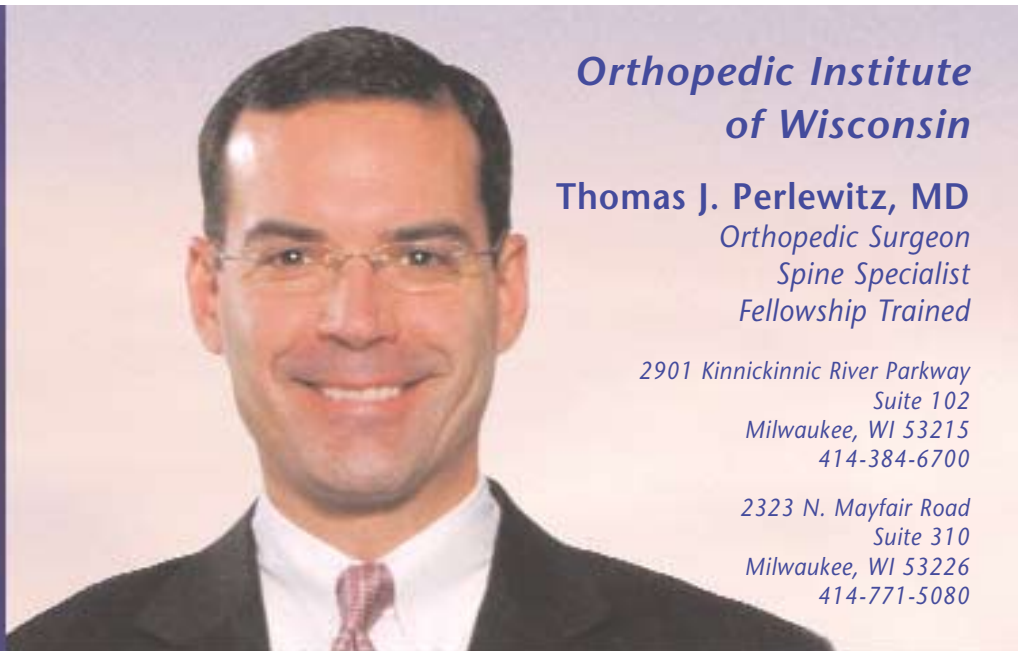
A. Philip Randolph
"In every truth, the
Beneficiaries of a system
cannot be expected to
destroy it."

PUSHING FOR RECALL

Displaying the special street newspaper created by the council, Secretary-Treasurer Sheila Cochran took over the Dec. 7 town hall to outline the do's and don'ts of petition signing and gathering in the Recall Walker campaign. Aside from instructing those attending, those already in the know brought thousands of signatures to the Serb Hall event, which replaced the usual monthly delegate meeting.



Attendees at the Dec. 12 City Hall press conference included (not pictured) Common Council's Nik Kovac and Milele Coggs, keys to city action, and (from left) Rep. Chris Sinicki, school board member Terry Falk, Rep. Fred Kessler, Sen. Spencer Coggs -- one of the candidates for treasurer, see Page 11 -- MPS board's Larry Miller who ran the event and Sen. Chris Larson.



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Kleefisch recall: Why her 15 minutes of fame are up

By **Dominique Paul Noth**
Labor Press Editor

Unquestionably the recall of Gov. Scott Walker roars ahead, but ticking more slowly along with it is Rebecca why?

This is the under-the radar state recall campaign -- to the shock of both sides.

Her invisibility to the public is not just embarrassing to Lt. Gov. Rebecca Kleefisch, it emphasizes how even back in 2010 everyone was focused on the Humpty Dumpty atop the wall.

How disappointing for the perky brunet, arch-conservative, self-described Palin-like Grizzly Mamma, former morning TV anchor with the deer-in-headlight stare who popped up with Scott Walker in 2010 campaign ads and boasted in her own commercial that the state didn't need federal health care or \$810 million in rail money ("I'm a mom, I've got a minivan").

Personally, I thought the public would laugh so hard at that one that they would have to remember her. Turns out not. None of her media strutting apparently lit up the state's memory bank, judging from door to door responses.

Citizens are quick to sign up to recall Gov. Scott Walker - they fall all over themselves, they bury shivering clipboard holders with thousands of sign-ups in a six-block walk, they even leave signed petitions in the neighborhood bar (which obviously voids them).

But when it comes to Kleefisch - who would step in if the governor dies -- they keep asking, huh? Even Barbara Lawton didn't go through this -- most knew she was Doyle's running mate, but maybe because she spoke up for women and did polite battle with the governor to express her views, she was quite memorable. Liberals liked her and conservatives openly spit.

Kleefisch on the other hand can't seem to defer often enough to Walker and has clearly been instructed to stay quiet and nigh invisible, except to occasionally push a "business friendly" agenda or write an op-ed gushing how well Mein Scott is doing.



Credit politics for getting Wisconsin's creative juices flowing as unsolicited recall art floods into newspapers and onto the Internet.

All this has rendered her both an electoral curiosity and an after-thought. It seems hardly anyone voted for her consciously. They were simply elected together and she isn't even named in the historic wire service election returns.

But all this has revealed how fair-minded Wisconsinites are. They keep asking petition distributors, "What's she done?" (Not much, alas). And "Why a separate petition?" For that, blame GOP Atty. Gen. J.B. Van Hollen. He ruled that while the duo was elected together (you could sign one box and get 'em both), separate petitions are now required. A constitutional nightmare looms if the state recalls him and leaves a Democratic governor with a lame duck Republican heir no one can remember.

So let's remember a little. Despite her TV credentials, Kleefisch was nowhere as good at glossing over her real agenda

and rabid intentions as Walker was. Her high energy social norms were actually starting to cost him votes until he gently cast her aside on the 2010 campaign trail.

Kleefisch briefly side-tracked the Walker bandwagon in October 2010 with her extremist opinions in a radio interview when she compared gays to a clock or chair. No kidding. Direct quote, which she later claimed was taken out of context: "At what point are we going to okay marrying inanimate objects? Can I marry this table, or this - you know, clock? Can we marry dogs?"

Out of context, eh?

Her other claim to fame was cancer. She now says she beat it, for which voters of all stripes are grateful. No one would make political hay over disease, would they? I mean, leaving aside Republicans and Obama's health plan.

But she didn't reveal her ill-


Comment

ness to the world or even her running mate until after she had won her GOP primary -- at which point she also slammed Obama's affordable care act. (Which is easy to do when you can afford it.) Several of her primary opponents were quietly disturbed that she never told voters of her health issue even when she had a tumor removed two days before the primary, but none wisely made an issue of it. She assures the public that after chemo the colon cancer is

gone.

Kleefisch's "no-there-there" reputation may be an advantage right now since everyone is so focused on getting rid of Walker and can't even think of the consequences of her hanging around. But the consequences are pretty bizarre if the recall petitions fail to force her to face a Democratic challenger (or prevent Walker from replacing her on the ticket with a less flawed GOP candidate).

Other than pending constitutional madness, imagine having this kind of mindset in a position of power.



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THE UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS

of United Steelworkers Local 2-209 – hundreds of laid-off Harley-Davidson workers – learned by letter from the USW how their union brothers and sisters have not forgotten. “Many are our younger workers, last in seniority with lots of kids who need to feel the holiday spirit,” local leaders told me. If the company can’t give them work right now, at least the union can give them Christmas. Hundreds of the laid-off workers who registered received a frozen turkey and a \$25 Pick n Save gift certificate and separate \$15 Target gift certificates for each dependent under 18. The recipients and the USW helpers



crowded into Iron Workers Hall all day December 10, with food and drink and coloring tables for the kids (left) as USW members helped tote out the turkeys from a waiting truck (photo at the top).



SOME VETERANS FROM SIX MAJOR CONFLICTS arrived in the third floor auditorium from the spinal repair unit. Others came from other medical wards at the Zablocki Veterans Center and hospital. Families and friends joined the 23rd annual holiday show. Old, young, in wheelchairs, with walkers or under their own steam, Milwaukee's military veterans were in the spotlight of a caring community. Shouts of "Welcome!" and "Merry Christmas, sir!" echoed after them in the hallways, where the two-dozen Trinity Irish dancers were practicing their steps and staff was wheeling in more pies and feasts of food. Hundreds of veterans streamed in (photo at right). Gifts were supplied by a community of givers with a raffle awarding some nifty prizes. The helpers came from the staff, merchants and community but primarily from union veterans themselves, who posed in top photo for the Labor Press camera.



NOTE THE GUY AT THE END on the right, top photo. Jeff (Doc) Dentice, the famous docdentice@wi.rr.com, came up with the idea for the annual event and remains its tireless organizer.

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A lesson for children about being stomped on

By a Regular Reader who wants to stay anonymous
Special to Labor Press

On Thanksgiving Day, as much of Wisconsin and much of the country watched the Green Bay Packers take on the Detroit Lions before digging into turkey and stuffing, an outrageous thing happened. Ndamukong Suh, the huge defensive tackle for the Lions, stomped on a Green Bay Packers lineman as he lay on the ground and then pretended it didn't happen.

The problem for Suh was that everybody saw what he did. Other players saw it, the refs saw it, the announcers saw it and

little kids, mothers, fathers, aunts and uncles watching at home saw it.

Even league officials saw it, suspending him without pay for two games on Nov. 29.

It was obvious what happened, the replays showed it.

After the game (one that he had been kicked out of, by the way) Mr. Suh denied that he did anything wrong and tried to flip reality on its head by claiming that he was merely trying to keep his balance.

Unfortunately, Wisconsinites have seen this kind of behavior before. This past spring Scott Walker slashed \$1.6 billion in education funding from

Comment

Wisconsin's public schools and then pretended that he hadn't done anything wrong. In fact, he made the incredible claim that he was merely balancing a budget -- even though funding in other areas was increased.

The problem for Mr. Walker is that people in Wisconsin can see what is happening for themselves. School districts across the

state have been forced to hire fewer teachers and fewer staff. These are the facts -- a recent survey of school districts provided irrefutable evidence.

Incredibly, Mr. Walker sticks to his denials and even claimed that the majority of districts hired more staff. Schools are the same or better, he's said.

But according to a PoliticFact piece in the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, the governor's "fuzzy math turns reality on its head." Schools are

hurting because of Walker's actions and everybody in touch with reality knows it

What Mr. Suh and Mr. Walker have in common is that they are learning that facts are indeed stubborn things.

Where they differ is that under the weight of the evidence even the snarling Mr. Suh finally saw the light and apologized for his actions.

We're still waiting to hear from Mr. Walker.



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In or Out?

From Page 1

quietly working out their own strategies to maintain relationship with the state's hundreds of governmental units.

Labor experts, even some associated with the state agency overseeing the process, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission (WERC), concede that staying outside of Act 10 gives these unions some startling power to maneuver.

One unspoken power. Workers who don't stay within the union lose the right to have that representation on their side when managers treat them like at-will employees or target them without cause for replacement. If they leave a union and stop paying dues because Walker has forbidden more than a sliver of union bargaining, they may quickly discover the real limits of such rugged individualism. It is slowly dawning on some workers that it is self-protection to stick with the union as well as belief in solidarity.

"We've always had two kinds of union members," said an outspoken, colorful, newly energized union member. "There's one who believes that all workers are brothers and sisters and must stand up for each other. The other is the 'I'm all right Jack, I got my own' kind that only supports the union if the dues mean immediate rewards.

"Thank to Walker, I hope the Jack side is on its way out."

Another power? Many public officials want to maintain good relationships with their workers and rely on union expertise on all sorts of work rules and connections. Whatever Walker might say, even conservative officials don't want to throw that overboard and are seeking ways to consult with "employee representative groups."

Here's yet another. Walker thought he would splinter the union movement by creating special "protected classes" of workers, exempting select fire and police from loss of collective bargaining. He did create pockets of resentment, but it is against government managers and officials taking unfair advantage of Walker's new rules, bowing to the pressure to save some money short-term without measuring the long-term dissatisfaction caused among nonprotected employees.

You can argue that these officials would be excoriated no matter which way they swing, taxpayers on one side demanding every penny of savings and workers on the other saying equal treatment for all should be the goal. But how they do it has become an issue.

"It's one thing to stay within the law," one public worker told me. "It's quite another to enjoy the dancing."

But even these special categories produced a result Walker never expected. With rare exceptions around the state, many police and fire unions completely agree that Walker was unfair and are working shoulder to shoulder with other unions to both get rid of him and change the

bargaining law back to common sense and full bargaining rights for all unions.

The unions staying outside Act 10 also upset the mass media, since they refuse to share their strategies in the press. Politicians drop press releases like doo-doo at the birdhouse. But unions learned at the organizers' knees to negotiate and counsel in private. The sniffs of disapproval from media types are outweighed by keeping plans under wraps, the media guessing and just pounding home the awareness of how Walker never campaigned on these excesses.

Inside and outside Act 10, the concept of unionizing

has been strengthened statewide, not weakened as Walker intended. But burrowing from inside Act 10 has some advantages, those burrowing unions say. One is learning how to fight another day.

The nature of their workforces or situation allows them some time to treat Walker as a temporary annoyance (the teachers' various unions have proven hyper successful in gathering recall signatures). Some unions see Act 10's restrictions as a way to work on the community at large to join the resistance.

In or Out? continued next page, **Page 17**

Even some in GOP are getting ticked

One thing conservative communities understand is cost. Another is lost quality. In November a detailed respected analysis from administrators found the state's public schools employing 3,368 fewer people (1,655 fewer teachers, 765 fewer aides, 776 fewer support staff and 172 fewer administrators) than in the previous school year, which dovetails with a Department of Workforce Development report -- yes, Walker's own appointees -- of 4,000 public school jobs lost within a year.

That sure saves costs, but what does it reveal about values and quality?

An even more chilling statistic -- 16,785 government workers had filed retirement applications in Wisconsin as of Oct. 31, while in all of 2010, 11,750 workers did so. "It's about fear," Jim Palmer, executive director of the Wisconsin Professional Police Association, told the New York Times. "A lot of people are seeing this war on public employees and saying, let's get out."

When Walker goes on TV to speak about scams, laziness, tricks with sick days and similar abuses he races through his insults against unions to make the work goof-offs seem particularly onerous if not just weird, one union leader told me -- until you remember how both sides agreed and how managers sometimes have reasons other than union contracts not to change.

"He never explains the management role in reporting abuse or how often the union moves in to correct things. He never explains how some things aren't failures and real failure exists on both sides -- and since work rules were mutually agreed to, both sides have a responsibility to clean things up. He's not in the real world, is he?"

Yet there are many elected leaders and public managers around the state who have to live in the realities. They know how it often takes years of bargaining and explanation across a table to work out efficient operations and effect savings and how many deviations come

from poor management or careless supervision as much if not more than worker failings.

Many of these leaders - the conservative ones refusing to be quoted on the record - fear what will now come to pass under Act 10: Fewer workers daring to take responsibility and more managerial naiveté and excess. "I don't want docile workers afraid to speak up and fix things," one city administrator told me. "I need their knowledge. Besides, I'll be buried in lawsuits."

One leader of a public works department described it to me - "new office staff feeling their oats or playing up to an elected official, green about how work is done and pushing untested ideas. It's reinventing the wheel."

Many of these comments are not coming from Milwaukee and Madison where unions represent voting blocs. Even elected officials in conservative communities confess they want to maintain good relations with the workers they hire and are struggling to find ways to do so without breaking Walker's "version of the law," as one put it. Whatever the ideology, many are realists about how work gets done and how workers expect to be treated. The conversations with Labor Press over the last months are a potent signal of what is happening in the state.


Even Republicans who voted for Walker didn't expect this attack on what turned out to be their own neighbors. "We're going to be drowned in debt if we can't keep our best workers satisfied and our communication with their unions open," one community leader told me, adding "I've voted Republican all my life and I am not a fan of your unions in the first place. But I don't like shifting the blame or the facts. People expect to be treated like people."

"We've done the math," another manager told me. By cutting education and community aids so drastically, he believes, Walker has "negated the gains" in worker givebacks he keeps harping on.

"There's no reason to cost the taxpayers money by throwing out the good rules because the governor says we can't negotiate across the table. It's more important to maintain long-term harmony and respect."

-- Dominique Paul Noth

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In or Out?

From Page 16

Others just had confidence in their own head counts. Six state unions in November went through the Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission election process. General counsel Peter Davis confirmed that all six recertified the unions with remarkable ease. In one case, with a scattered union of 655 employees around the state, the State Professional Education and Information Council No. 1 saw 82% of its members participate in the November WERC vote. 98% of those who showed up voted to stay within the union. The 18% of members who didn't show were automatically counted as a no under Walker's edict, but that still gave the union an official 80-20 win ratio.

"Had the governor decided to use fair rules for the election, the result would have been even more lopsided in

favor of the union." said one member, Chip Brown, training specialist and member at the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The head count and union activism also dominates Wisconsin Education Association Council (WEAC), but with some minor difficulties given how small some of the units are - under two dozen in one case - and how elusive getting full turnout can be. (Remember, if an employee fails to call in for an election, that is a vote against, a legal standard that would prevent every politician in the legislature from being elected).

Already because of Act 10, WEAC has been forced to radically cut its support staff - a problem hitting most public unions in or out of Act 10 participation. Many WEAC locals don't have to commit to recertification votes since two-thirds have existing union contracts that supersede the provision. But a third did. On December 8, 206 of these small education workforces around the state completed the WERC election process and Davis quickly reported the results as again strongly in favor of the unions. But not for 29 of the smallest and often most distant units, which found too many of its members failing to answer the bell (phone voting), thus succumbing to the Byzantine election rules.

In one case the vote was 31 to 1 in favor of the union but the union lost because the unit had 64 members and 32 failed to pick up the election call.

The cost of the recertification election is not that high for small units. Plus the teachers are sticking with the process because win or lose they can confront the local public with some horrifying results. Once community leaders realize how little teachers can bargain for the community's children (they share the same work conditions), once the taxpayers realize they must now absorb the human resource and grievance costs the unions once ran interference for, outrage is expected to wipe away any pretense of savings.

(Walker tries to counter the reality facing schools in an ad blitz with easily debunked claims that it's all working. But the savings he cites in Kaukauna schools as one example come largely from increasing class sizes and making elementary school teachers provide six, not five, hours a day of class instruction, cutting into planning and lesson preparation. A new ad tried to paint Monona Grove schools as saving money and was immediately slammed by the officials in charge.)

Note, too, that WEAC has other units that are stepping



No, they don't always talk collective bargaining politics. Old friends Phil Neuenfeldt, state AFL-CIO president, and Marty Beil, AFSCME leader of state workers, kicked back and shared a laugh at AFSCME District 48's holiday party Dec. 8 in Milwaukee

outside Act 10 and WEAC supports that approach as well.

Each case is different, says WEAC spokesperson Christina Brey. Pay-to-vote restriction and tight scheduling requirements "could understandably cause some local unions to opt out of the process." In some cases there are also influential ties to local school boards that encourage stepping away. So while WEAC President Mary Bell has said she sees "value in recertification" for many of her locals, she has expressed respect for those who don't.

Other unions resisting Act 10 recertification are often much larger and convinced that the tiny prize isn't worth the big price.

First this is an unbelievably high hurdle for many unions with scattered and even transient workforces or special circumstances. They may well make the 51% of all workers but why risk getting thousand of workers to the polls at your own expense, only for a skimpy sliver of real bargaining? Only for the danger of losing on a gross technicality?

Whether fully in the Act 10, or legally insisting on staying a union but not submitting to Walker's interpretation, let's not pretend the loss of full collective bargaining rights hasn't hurt, as well as being so obviously unfair and divisive. Making workers pay directly, not on their paychecks, to support union activity isn't going to be easy. But while conservatives are confident that time is on their side, they apparently don't remember recent American history and an old union saying:

"One day longer, one day stronger."

That was the perseverance that changed the country. There were those back then who thought that harsh rules would make the workers cave. Instead they became more determined. Today's workers never thought they would have to go back and do it all again. But they will if they must. And Act 10 constitutes a must.



WEAC's president who helped set the union's policy, Mary Bell.

Greed trumped ideology in Walker's decisions

Walker has now undercut his own characterization of noble ideological concern in why he let police and fire unions continue as before in bargaining rights, claiming it was all about vital safety and protecting the public. He was amazingly selective about it all, somehow not missing a single such union that supported him for governor and skipping several law enforcement entities that didn't.

Hence AFSCME's corrections officers were thrown out with the rest of AFSCME workers with hints of sending protective officers into the prisons, a nasty implication with no evidence that they might skip out on their duties. It was yet another effort to suggest some public workers were "lesser" than others.

But then Walker showed his true colors - in this case green as in money. He belatedly realized that his law would immediately cost revenue because the federal government would not underwrite transit workers whose working conditions changed. Walker may pretend to hate federal money, but politically there are limits to how much taxpayers would tolerate in letting actual hard cash slip away.

Suddenly, Walker's legislature scrambled to change the bargaining law, clumsily defining a "transit worker" as merely one who might be paid with federal dollars. Not all are. So now only those so defined have had full collective bargaining rights restored, though everyone is hard-pressed to explain how they are protecting public safety when nurses aren't. This change revealed the mercenary slime rather than principle that really motivates the governor. -- D.P.N.

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The 1897 contract was published in German as well as English and stated "No workingman shall be employed who is not a member of the National Union of the Brewery Workmen."

Among the responsibilities it laid out was \$12.70 a week for "stable men" but \$15 a week for "route peddlers," and the contract established "ten hours in succession (including 15 minutes

lunch time), only interrupted by one hour for dinner, shall constitute one day's labor."

Ah, as Newt Gingrich might say, those were the good old days.

That old contract, a sort of memento of what the brewery workers fought for and won back a couple of centuries, was distributed as a memento for the 125th anniversary - a remarkable record - of the continuation of the old union, Brewery Workers Local 9, part of the United Auto Workers family.

The local threw a big party Saturday, Dec. 10, appropriately in the Miller Coors Stables on State St. (photo above), though those "stables" have gone through quite some changes. Multiple video screens covered the event, strobe lights and digital starbeams accompanied the dancing, free beer and popcorn competed with conversation. More than 160 dressed up people took part and a hired bus took

people to their cars parked blocks away.

Other unions participated but this was the local's show - and UAW's. The international's secretary treasurer, Dennis Williams, posed for a photo (he's far right in photo at left) next to the local's new president, Lance Agbuis. Other regional and international UAW leaders attended, among them UW regent John Drew (second from left).

Enjoying the festivities was (photo below) the local's recording secretary Marie Britt-Sharpe and her husband. But then again, she helped organize the gala.

All these UAW leaders obviously have negotiated much better contracts over the years. Though in fairness, in the 19th century the brewers did agree to something many of today's tycoons would balk at, that "during dull times nobody shall be discharged . . . and nobody shall be laid off over one week at a time." -- D.P.N.



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Energized and angry teachers propel the recall

By **Dominique Paul Noth**
Labor Press Editor

"It's chaos. For teachers the situation with school boards is all over the map." That's the state map, according to Christina Brey, speaking for WEAC, the state teachers union.

Much of her union -- which is scattered in contingents around the state, some sizeable, others tiny -- is sticking with Act 10, going through the recertification process local by local and deliberately pointing out to the public what it is losing, not gaining, in the process. Several locals are not and recent events expose how a tiny handful of the smallest and least organized will be decertified because of those weird rules. Even when a vast majority show up to vote yes, the workers too distracted, lazy, unaware or opposed who don't show up are counted as no votes.

Walker lopped \$1.6 million in education aid and government flexibility from schools while expanding the unproven voucher school program and also slashing half a billion dollars for Medicaid/Badger Care. If budgets are "a moral document," as so many religious leaders keep insisting, no one can find the morality in that.

Brey describes how even with Act 10, teachers and other unions noted for public service and quality are exposing the real loss to the only public that counts - not legislators but parents, school boards, local merchants and civic groups, in other words, the voters. Walker's policies handcuff not just teachers but nurses and others who can no longer work through their union to improve classrooms, clinics, basic safety, training policies and effective teamwork.

Instead of detailed, carefully worked out and bargained mutual contracts, "We have handbook rules being put together by people who have never worked in schools, who don't leave any time for lesson plans or any concern about class sizes or support staffs," said Brey. "When parents find out they are outraged."

"We can't pretend that handbooks are any kind of a substitute for collective bargaining and we don't. We are still a union despite Walker's limitations. Now many of our members are forcing changes and influencing these rules by going directly to parents and school boards and getting them to understand the problems."

Public school teachers around the state who never were politically active, or even engaged in union affairs, are among those feeling most betrayed and working to change their local school boards as well as recall the governor. In rallies and meetings from Saukville to Superior, where political fury among teachers had once been unheard of, many of the new speakers and voices that can't be silenced are the once heads-down leaders of the local classroom who have been admired from afar by generations of their students.

A few unions have time to strategize which way to go with the Act 10 election rules, noted Sid Hatch, executive



All day long December 10, teachers and other community members flocked into the basement of MTEA headquarters on Vliet St., to pick up maps and clipboards, get directions, drive all over the county to work on recalling Walker (and don't forget Kleefisch). Helping organize the Saturday effort on their own time were such We Are Wisconsin volunteers as 9to5's Dana Schultz and (center) AFT's Paul Sickel.

director of MTEA. The Milwaukee Teachers Education Association has four units. Three -- education assistants, bookkeepers and related, and substitute teachers - have contracts until June 2012. The fourth and biggest, teachers, have a contract until June 2013. A lot can happen before MTEA decides in or out with Act 10, which may no longer exist when you consider the current political turmoil.

That gives the MTEA room to think, consult with other unions, with administrators and to work out a creative but unpublicized future.

Meanwhile, the ramifications of Walker's extremism made crystal clear to MTEA members the once elusive connection between union activism and political involvement.

"Act 10 really woke teachers up," said Hatch. "They got it."

"It mobilized union leaders out of the rank and file

members. They are energized and see the connection between classrooms and political activity."

The contracts MTEA bargained for have put them in the gun sights of the conservative media, which claims that these were the reasons the Milwaukee public schools had to levy slightly higher property taxes and "couldn't take full advantage of Walker's tools."

It is an argument that Hatch is happy to take on. "Tools?" he says. "Explain to me how cutting \$82 million from Milwaukee's schools is any way a tool to help education or establish deficit priorities."

"I would say these are clearly the wrong tools. Walker has just made it obvious to all what we are fighting for. If you look at what we want, our teaching conditions are the students' learning conditions. It's all connected. We are attached at the hip. And while we don't have the deciding votes in this contest, the public sure does."

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Given the feistiness of keynote speaker Russ Feingold's "talking points," the RECALL lights behind him were appropriate Dec. 11. It was the décor theme at the Italian Community Center as Milwaukee Democrats honored their own at a dinner that bulged with dignitaries and appeals to stir up the state.

Feingold, the former US senator now Marquette University law professor, was not only the star but the illuminator. He urged persuasion not flame-throwing. "This is not a power play" or sour grapes in political terms, he said, just the only road left to restore sanity to a great state.

Many dashed from watching a Packers victory to attend Judicial candidate Mark Sanders

Democrats can read the signs



(below) buttonholed the crowd for nomination signatures, in this case landing Milwaukee County Clerk Joseph Czarnecki.



A special drop-in guest, retiring Sen. Kohl, chats with Democratic activist (and business manager of OPEIU Local 9) Dawn Martin.



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