

LEFT: During breaks at the November CBTU conference, dozens of attendees descended on founder Bill Lucy (center) to ask questions and seek advice. At his side was one of event's main organizers, Tony Rainey.

RIGHT: To pump her up for battles with the now dominant power structure, Stephanie Bloomingdale received boxing gloves as one of many gifts from hundreds of friends gathered Nov. 12 to celebrate her new role as state AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer. She warned rambunctious sons Nicholas and Spencer that she would keep the gloves at the office.

More photos Page 7.



MILWAUKEE

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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Thursday, November 25, 2010



(USPS 350-360)

What worked

By Dominique Paul Noth Editor, Labor Press

The results were devastating to Democrats and progressives. In Milwaukee, the labor community was disheartened but defiantly unbowed Nov. 3 after months of leading the best ground game in Wisconsin politics.

In just the final five days, hundreds and hundreds of 12-hour marchers and phone bankers, most unpaid volunteers, made thousands upon thousands of personal contacts and added sizably to Tom Barrett and Russ Feingold's nearly 62% dominance of the Milwaukee County

That was the unions' target numbers in its GOTV (get out the vote), aided by other campaign groups,

"Everyone knows the key to politics is staying in your lane," Sheila Cochran told the Milwaukee labor council the day after the election at the monthly delegate meeting. "We can't be responsible for what happened" on the other side of the hill "but we should be proud of fulfilling our responsibility."

MALC President Willie D. Ellis echoed that reaction and the attitude of getting right back into action -- now clearly equipped with the most effective and proven troops of political action. The volunteers who did their job can start right away at turning Wisconsin voters around after a year of legitimate frustration mixed with a blitzkrieg of phony accusations.

"If this means we have to



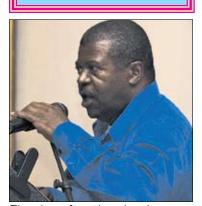
take the campaign to Madison, so be it," he said.

Said secretary-treasurer Cochran: "So it's understandable we all want 20 minutes of sadness. Time's up. Let's get back to work; we have a lot to fix."

For Cochran that work includes making sure the election runs smoothly as well as organizing events for labor candidates. She spent Election Day in the non-partisan role of Election Protection observer-in-chief, instructing citizens how to watch at the polls as neutral helpers for all sides, calling in lawyers and election experts when any voter needed support and reporting any gaps in staffing or basic knowledge. Year after year such reporting has led to better, cleaner, faster elections and engaged more neighbors in the process.

Another Election Protection veteran, Vice President Annie Wacker, stepped up to the Serb Hall mike at the delegate gathering to further thank area service organizer Jenissee Volpintesta and the hundreds of tireless volunteers who had spent months

on Nov. 2



The day after the election, council delegates heard improvised commentary from top officers Cochran. Ellis and Wacker.



collating packets, distributing flyers, signing up volunteers (setting up a powerful database for future campaigns) and running phone banks, neighborhood walks and other special events.

"I wore black because I felt sad," said Wacker, "But the black is only for today. Tomorrow it's back to making the future better."

Speakers at the meeting. such as veteran leader Bruce Coburn, now with SEIU, added thanks and also some historic cold water, having lived through and survived Republican control

Be warned, he said, that the opponents - yes, he labeled them "enemies" and said "they're nothing else for labor" based on past performance - will now unleash every legislative trick and hostility in their lavish arsenal.

GOTV continued Page 11

What didn't

MILWAUKEE AREA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

t seemed November 2 that nothing could lighten the pain. Even Bloomberg News said the results slammed the door in the face or organized labor, that -- while the Senate remains a safeguard against violent change -- the Republicans' 50-seat (at least) pickup in the House assured "a huge sinkhole for labor."

Yet the pundits who declared worker rights dead and the Democrats in the grave were the same folks who declared the Republican Party dead 24 months ago.

Analysts on both sides have been offering some suspect extreme interpretations in the weeks after the election, ignoring the historic reality that mid-term elections benefit the party out of control and that, given the worst economy for workers since the Great Depression, turnover this time was historically smaller (compared to 1994, for instance, when the GOP grabbed both Houses from President Clinton).

The American voters once again blamed the incumbents for the slow recovery -- but recovery is also the pace of reform. So it wasn't a rejection of change but disbelief that change was happening either at all or fast enough -- simply put, where are the jobs?

Central in the voting seemed idespread belief that President Obama wanted to put government more in people's lives, rather than believing he felt forced by what he inherited to move quickly to rescue the economy from its own sinkhole.

In times of war or to fight terrorism and floods, the government can't move fast enough to suit us. Economic distress results in a schizophrenic battle cry. It's not government's responsibility to create jobs, we say, but then we say: you'd better start creat-

Analysis

By Dominique Paul Noth

ing them.

Some say that will happen with tax cuts for all, rather than targeted cuts for those who actually create US jobs. Others think less government spending will by magic create more private sector jobs.

Yet today, if the government takes chances on transit or technology, it's slammed for moving too fast. Makes you wonder if Edison would ever get a grant for playing with glass bulbs and filaments.

If Obama provides the middle class with its largest tax relief in history, which the stimulus did, he had better emphasize he did it, not just quietly give workers more money in each paycheck. That may be good government, but taking credit is what wins elections.

Not ducking the shellacking, as he called it, Obama stepped calmly up to a press conference



Demons dancing in front of the Courthouse to symbolize what Walker as governor would do to job growth -- well, street theater was one of the things that didn't work in this midterm election.

Rushing to save train and JOBS!

JOBS! JOBS! JOBS was the chant, but the messages to Scott Walker were eloquent and heartfelt even beyond the obvious. Hundreds gathered before TV cameras Nov. 15 at the Talgo rail center being landscaped and constructed at 30th and Townsend.

The messages? Replace "political sense with common sense." Be a governor for all the people, including the 50% of black males of eligible age out of work in the city, not just a few SUV drivers. Listen to the simple facts that turning down \$810 million on a pipe dream while other governors, even Republican ones, are clamoring to steal the money and the jobs is just wrong. Grownups admit mistakes. You weren't elected for taking away jobs. The road builders who flooded your campaign with cash forget how many highways are constructed around rail lines.

All that common sense is a gathering storm that officials say Walker should be made to hear. Common Council President Willie Hines (inset) and Ald. Willie Wade (far right) pointed out that Talgo was the linchpin of a revitalized Century City community in which the city has invested \$33 million to

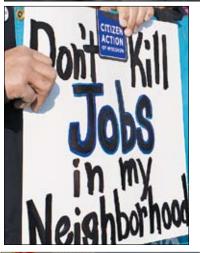
grow thousands of jobs. The new state AFL-CIO president, Phil Neuenfeldt (see profile opposite page), surrounded by TV cameras, pounded out the need. Rep. Barbara Toles, laid out the future as well as the historical significance of a site where her

Niws Color and this

father worked more than 30 years to support his family.

She stood next to State Sen. Spencer Coggs who offered Walker a discount coupon from an optometrist -- Wisconsin Vision.







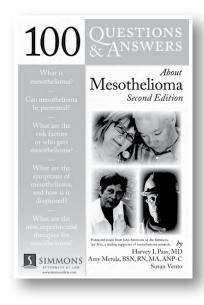




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Tough leader for a tough agenda

Spotlight

By Lynnda Guyton Editorial Assistant, Labor Press

hil Neuenfeldt came through the ranks, starting as a union steward in 1974 when he worked as a machinist affiliated with Lodge 1916, he chaired that bargaining committee, worked with the AFL-CIO creating LETC (a dislocated workers organization still a key component of the HIRE Center) and is founder of the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership (WRTP), now with Big Step operating the highly regarded Center of Excellence preparing Milwaukee residents for familysupporting jobs.

He was elected secretarytreasurer of the State AFL-CIO in 1994. After listening to many of the affiliates in the statewide federation, he ran and was elected president of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO at its Green Bay convention in September 2010.

Working closely with the newly elected secretary-treasurer, Stephanie Bloomingdale, board members and affiliates of the AFL-CIO, Neuenfeldt has developed a vision for solidarity in Wisconsin.

He explained that Solidarity Wisconsin as a movement through which unions and their allies design and implement collective strategies to empower working families throughout the state

"We honor the struggles of the union brothers and sisters who went before us," he said, "and recognize that their hardwon gains on behalf of the labor movement are under assault."

e says unions must stand together to mount an aggressive response to the challenge of the 21st century and bring justice and prosperity to Wisconsin's working families. Neuenfeldt and company's solidarity vision includes:

• Establish and actively utilize board and committee structures that promote participation



While union members know Neuenfeldt best as a speaker rallying them to acton, he has also earned quite a reputation as a negotiator, legislative infighter, planner on social issues and stalwart in community causes, the last role finding him chatting with United Way CEO Mary Lou Young (right) and MALC Secretary-Treasurer Sheila Cochran at an event at WRTP – which was another project he helped initiate.

and allow all of Wisconsin's unions and their allies to develop a common agenda and coordinate strategy and hold each other accountable.

- Maintain an active communication network that educates and informs our members across the state and mobilizes them around relevant issues.
- Leverage power with coalition partners to hold elected officials accountable, supporting those who support us and confronting those who oppose us.
- Build the labor movement by creating an environment for organizing in solidarity with other affiliates through political support and comprehensive community engagement in organizing campaigns.
- Develop our research and think tank capacities to guide our agenda and align our strategies with the demands of a changing labor environment.

Bloomingdale are now in the process of developing goals to move this vision forward and are committed to this important work not as a slogan but a way of life.

Phil spoke highly of his

grandfather who received a severe injury while working at Allis Chambers. He recalls how, as a youngster, his grandfather told him it was the union that really followed up in making sure that he received all the benefits he deserved and made sure his family was properly cared for. He said his grandfather instilled in him those values of people working collectively in their workplace and community

to take care of one another.

Pamela Y.

M.D.,

Thomas-King,

Medical Director



Shortly after being elected, he joined an AFT protest against for-profit colleges making money off the student loan program.

Today, Neuenfeldt has the ability to open doors for others and his contributions are unparalleled. He is a founder of Hope House and cites his greatest accomplishment as creating organizations in the community that raise money to provide resources around education, training and shelter. As a labor leader he developed a working family agenda and helped influence laws and policies that help people organize unions, get better wages and benefits and provide family medical leave. He's also proud of instituting Labor History being taught in schools.

ithin the next few months Neuenfeldt plans to start educating union members about an economy that works for all and

develop defense measures against so-called "right-to work" handcuffs and other attacks that are bound to come against working folks and their unions. He will soon be working to establish committees of the state AFL-CIO to come together to promote and protect jobs and rights of workers in their respective industries.

In light of the elections held on November 2, he acknowledged, it's going to be a challenge to restore jobs in the middle class. He noted how proud he is of all the union members that came together and worked tirelessly and voted for endorsed candidates in a sea of unprecedented spending by corporations.

Phil Neuenfeldt is a father, grandfather and the oldest of three brothers and one sister. He was raised in Metropolitan Milwaukee and attended Brookfield Central High School and MATC. He has also participated in numerous leadership academies.

His many interests include, world music, cooking, alternative art, theater, glass work (including glass windows) and movies.

Phil's final thought is to remind people "their union is only as strong as the over-all movement. "It's about retaining and growing the middle class," he said. "We grow the middle class by helping people rise up the economic ladder."

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Coalition fights free trade legal loophole

¬he Commerce Group, with its main office in Milwaukee at 6001 N. 91st St., a company that has tried to make money in the mining business for four decades and largely foundered, is seeking to revitalize its presence by forcing the government of El Salvador to pay \$100 million for protecting its workers and environment.

A broad coalition of scholars, churches, environmental and fair trade groups is now calling on Commerce Group and its cohorts to withdraw that lawsuit seeking to use a much criticized clause within CAFTA (specifically the U.S.-Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement).

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In mid-November, the Commerce Group citing a Salvadoran mine it owned but stopped operating in 1999 according to its own report, the San Sebastian Gold Mine, was willing to pay the \$25,000 filing fee to force the government of El Salvador to mount its first defense ever of a decision to protect the country's environment. That decision several years ago halted gold mining due to environmental damage and health crises for citizens.

Sources, including an accompanying story about the world's mining industry, report that Commerce Group also has a love-hate agreement with Pacific Rim, a huge transnational mining company based in Canada with connections through the Americas, including Salvadoran gold and silver mining operations attacked for years by antipollution activists. Pacific Rim's CEO has denied charges that it has been involved in the death of anti-mining activists murdered in El Salvador, but insiders say it is eager to see Commerce Group win its lawsuit.

In the free trade rush to allow multinational corporations to ride roughshod over local governments, CAFTA sought to protect foreign investors by sweeping statements about the trade

pact's ability to limit local rules. The plaintiffs hope the lawsuit will force El Salvador to compensate them with \$100 million, but there is strong history behind the government's decision to step in.

The Commerce Group's mining ownership in El Salvador over the past 40 years has resulted in severe environmental and public health problems in the municipality of Santa Rosa de Lima, where the mine in question is located. The Salvadoran government revoked Commerce Group's mining permit on September 13, 2006, citing a level of environmental damage bevond what modern technology could address.

A 2006 study found that the river through the town is 100,000 times more acidic than uncontaminated bodies of water in the same region. The study also found levels of cyanide more than 10 times higher than the maximum allowed by the World Health Organization (WHO).

The Investment and Trade Research Center in El Salvador more recently filed a lawsuit against Commerce Group with the Salvadoran Attornev General to investigate the connection between mining activities and disproportionate rates of death due to renal failure in nearby

Join our Holiday

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ll hands are on board, all food and drink are being sumptuously assembled and all weather systems had better be go Friday, Dec. 17, from noon to 4 p.m. when the Milwaukee Area Labor Council hosts its annual holiday get-together. Yatchak Hall at 633 S. Hawley Rd. will be decorated for the holidays and good cheer is the command of the day.

All union members and affiliates are welcome to this great party tradition customarily attended by a range of public officials and community and religious leaders. Join our good time!

communities from elevated levels of heavy metals in the San Sebastian River.

The CAFTA lawsuit is seen by critics as an attempt to deflect attention from Commerce Group's ongoing problems with the Salvadoran government.

The lawsuit, the critics say, "is a cynical attempt by an unsuccessful company to exploit international trade agreements to make money which they have been unable to make by legitimate means." Instead, they suggest, the Commerce Group "should be paying for the toxic legacy they have left behind."

The critics of the lawsuit have organized under the name MCALM, for the Midwest Coalition Against Lethal Mining.

AFL-CIO MILWAUKEE

They are planning protests and group actions in this country, including in Milwaukee, the city where Commerce Group is headquartered.

Supporters of the developing protests include Milwaukee's Clean Clothes Campaign, Fair Trade Coalition, and Latin America Solidarity Committee; the Wisconsin John Muir Chapter Sierra Club, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Global Economy Project, Institute for Policy Studies, the US -El Salvador Sister Cities Democracy Center, Jamie Moffett Media Design & Production, Canadians Against Mining In El Salvador (CAMES),

The SHARE Foundation, the Atlantic Regional Solidarity Network. and the Centro de Estudios Inversión y Comercio (CEICOM).

Those who wish to fight the Commerce Group's attempt to use an obscure portion of CAFTA to penalize El Salvador can use several contacts:

In Milwaukee, contact Babette Grunow at (414) 447-

In Washington, DC, contact Alexis Stoumbelis at (202) 521-

In La Crosse, contact Al Gedicks at (608) 785-6782.

In El Salvador, contact (in Spanish) David Pereira at 011 503 2225-1906 Ext. 106.

In El Salvador (in English), contact Sarah Bishop at 011 503 785-727-2252.



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Chilean TV show buried global mining horrors

By Manuel Perez-Rocha For OtherWords

emember the joy shared by millions around the world as we watched the Chilean miners rescued one by one? Celebrating their survival made me wish that the global mining industry could find itself in the spotlight, too, with lights glaring on each aspect of its destructiveness and criminality.

Sure, it was wonderful for the world's TV networks to bring this act of human prowess into our living rooms. But once the last of the 33 miners was catapulted to the surface, and Chilean President Sebastián Piñera declared the mine would be shut and the small San José mining company punished, the TV show came to an end.

The mining incident has exposed the precarious conditions that miners face each day, as well as the industry's devastation of the environment and ecosystems, on which millions of livelihoods depend. But it doesn't look like large transnational mining corporations and their vested interests will be pressed to change their ways.

Though they should. Mining accidents have caused more than 200 deaths this year alone in Latin America. The vast majority died in Colombia, with 73 coal miners killed in a single disaster on June 16. In Chile, 32 miners have died already this year -- eerily just about the same number as those who were rescued in October.

In Mexico, 65 miners lost their lives in the Northern state of Coahuila in 2006. Unlike in Chile, the Mexican government never tried to save them. Only two bodies have been recovered. Their widows and families are still fighting for the right to bury their loved ones.

Even more miners are dying in Africa and Asia. Although the number of South African mining fatalities is gradually decreasing, 96 miners have been killed in 2010 so far. And last year, more

RETRADES UNION COUNCIL



Manuel Perez-Rocha

than 2,600 people were killed in mining accidents in China alone.

Hundreds of TV crews and media organizations were on hand covering the Chilean rescue. But where were the legions of international TV crews to report on all these other accidents?

In the United States, the media did pay some attention after 29 miners perished in West Virginia back in April.

Reports following that accident, the worst of its kind in this country in 40 years, detailed how mining companies spend heavily on lobbyists and US elections.

(Editor's Note: The company involved, Massey, has just seen the US Department of Labor forced to step in, invoking a rarely used federal safety law to take over operation of one of its mines in Kentucky, yet that state just elected to the senate Rand Paul, who says mining deaths are just an unfortunate side-effect of profits.)

These mining giants' lobbying efforts focus on undermining labor rights and safety regulations both inside the United States and in other, poorer coun-

Consider the case of the USbased Commerce Group mining company. It had its mining permits cancelled in El Salvador, in large part because of its poor environmental record. Yet Commerce Group, together with

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Pacific Rim (a Canadian company with a US subsidiary), is suing El Salvador in an obscure tribunal in Washington. They're asking for millions of dollars in compensation, basing their case on investment rules in an international trade pact. See story opposite page.

Pree trade and investment protection agreements are a new way for companies to snatch profits they "expected to have" from other countries.

In this case, companies are claiming damages because sovereign governments halted their operations to enforce laws and regulations to protect the environment and public safety.

Mining endangers communities everywhere with safety hazards and environmental destruction. It often creates rifts within communities and leads to the criminalization of legitimate protests

In extreme cases, such as in Africa's Niger Delta, it can even unleash murder and terror.

In many Latin American countries, such as El Salvador, community leaders who ran against destructive mining have been murdered. Communities everywhere are awakening to these problems, as well as the fact that mined resources bring very scant economic benefits to the locals.

When we know our history, we learn from it. Like Salvadorans, Mexicans, Chileans, and West Virginians, people all over the world are contending with destructive and criminal mining practices. But don't count on seeing anything about that on TV.

The author is an Institute for Policy Studies associate fellow. www.ips-dc.org



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Election results seen as opportunity to mislead on Social Security facts

eliberate distortions, much of it inspired by media outlets editorially opposed to Social Security, are using the election results to further mislead the voters and even further confuse some of the newly elected members of Congress.

That is the inevitable conclusion from a new policy brief that details what is going on.

There is so much inaccurate information -- much of it deliberately cultivated -- about the solvency of Social Security that it's leading policymakers, analysts and lawmakers to believe there is an urgent need to make major changes to Social Security.

Add to that some newly elected representatives and senators who back raising the retirement age, privatizing Social Security or making other cuts to the nation's most successful social safety net program, and it becomes even more important to not distort the real picture.

Plus came a very complex set of budget cutting recommendations surprisingly released by the two chairmen of the federal bipartisan deficit commission, a report unexpected by all sides and roundly condemned ahead of the official full commission recommendations scheduled Dec. 1. In contrast, the Social Security policy brief offered very specific facts and recent history. It even named several media outlets (including some the country's traditionally high-regarded newspapers) who believe that fighting their own falling readership will be best served by spinning the facts.

The Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) calls attention to the reality -- that Social Security will be fully solvent for the next 27 years and any premature action to make changes to the program will have a severe impact on millions of near retirees.

Says CEPR Co-Director Dean Baker: "Misinformation about Social Security has led many to believe that Social Security is in immediate danger of insolvency but the program will be fully solvent for almost three more decades."

While everyone concedes fixes should be in the works, much as was done successfully when Regan was president, fixing things in a charged atmosphere of falsehoods could be dangerous, Baker suggests. "Even if no changes are ever made," he pointed out, "a child born in 2010 can expect to see a benefit that is more than 50%

larger in real terms than what current retirees receive today."

In the amusingly named "Action on Social Security: The Urgent Need for Delay," CEPR researchers argue that proponents of strengthening Social Security should fight to delay any action on changes because:

- There is good reason for believing the public will be better informed about the financial state of Social Security in the future, in part because of the weakening of some of the main sources of misinformation.
- The concern over "maintaining the confidence of financial markets" is an empty claim that can be used to justify almost any policy.
- Many more people will be directly dependent on Social Security in the near future. These people and their families will likely be strong defenders of the program.
- The group of near-retirees, who may be the victims of early action, will desperately need their Social Security since they have seen much of their wealth eliminated with the collapse of the housing bubble.

The full report is available in the Take Action section of www.milwaukeelabor.org and also at www.cepr.net.



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The celebration, \$25 a person and \$50 a couple, includes cocktails, dinner, a special program and historical displays centered around the Crystal Ballroom of the Hilton Milwaukee City Center, 509 W. Wisconsin Ave.. Black tie is optional. The ballroom is on the hotel's fifth floor,

Reservations are recommended by December 10 and guests of the event, including many who are traveling to Milwaukee for the occasion, can reserve \$99 rooms.

Payments by cash or check can be made to the Milwaukee Building Trades Council Entertainment Fund and sent to the council at 5941 W. Bluemound Rd., Milwaukee, WI 53213



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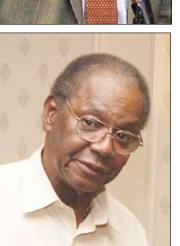








Even during the Bloomingdale festivities, dozens of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists members and guests mingled after workshops (at bottom) or in the hospitality suite during a busy regional conference that drew from Midwest states. Honored at a dinner Saturday night were founder Bill Lucy (also shown on our cover), whose ideas have grown the CBTU into one of the nation's most powerful minority organizations, munity leader Martha Love, who didn't know the honor







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THE WYNDHAM HOTEL was the place for undeterred progressive activists Nov. 11-13. "WE NEED A PARTY!" proclaimed Candice Owley as she welcomed guests (above) to celebrate the elevation of Stephanie Bloomingdale to state AFL-CIO leadership. Mentor and host Owley, veteran AFT leader and president of the Wisconsin Federation of Nurses & Health Professionals, was sad to see her longtime director of public policy depart, but the nurses' union kicked it out with gifts, a memory lane tribute and much laughter - poking fun at Bloomingdale's endless flow of ideas, organization and enthusiasm.

WHILE OWLEY (shown top right with Bloomingdale) kept the tributes moving and gifts humorous, she was probably topped in aplomb by Mayor Tom Barrett (photos left). With easy self-deprecating humor 10 days after his defeat -- though the crowd embraced him with sustained applause despite the loss Barrett reflected the sort of pluck, grace under fire and undefeated spirit that he praised Bloomingdale for. He recalled how many years he had watched her grow into her iob. expected great things from her in her new role and proclaimed Nov. 12 the city's



Bloomingdale Day in her honor. Among the dinner guests were many officials, including (above, from left) such county supervisors as Marina Dimitrijevic (now a veteran but still the youngest supervisor) and Nikiya Harris (still the newest but not for long with new elections looming). They posed with Stephanie, whose family was there as were legions of friends.



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Source of pain never questioned in FDR's day

By Dominique Paul Noth Editor, Labor Press

Torget all the other historic parallels you've been hearing and think about FDR's first election in 1932.

FDR took office in 1933 facing an even worse economy --more than three years after the crash of 1929.

The depth of the Great Depression left no one in America questioning either the cause or the need for government to step in with unprecedented boldness. Soup lines were the only hope for a meal, banks had failed, farms and shops were deserted, millions were out of work, and neither the business leaders that spurred the crash nor the previous administration were offering any light to combat the

Maybe that should have been the parallel for the Nov. 2 election. It isn't. Obama - fortuitous in his 2008 audacity - could have used FDR's lucky timing (lucky if you overlook the horrors he inherited).

FDR didn't need to erase doubts - three increasing years of suffering did that. The public welcomed action.

But most Americans didn't suffer that badly under the Bush years, so they were still absorbing pain as Obama took office.

Most had never experienced so devastating an economy.

In the Bush years, wages had stagnated for so long that the public almost accepted it as normal. Clinton's budget surplus was goners and after feeble fits jobs resumed plummeting -- but at a lower steady pace. Foreclosures and the fading housing market were gathering storms. Credit still felt easy to come by -- especially for consumers. Those bulging credit card balances make it a myth that Americans were sitting around the kitchen table balancing the budget.

And the rich were stashing away profits and assuring the middle class that their upscale wealth, foreign partnerships and outsourcing would eventually benefit everyone.

Obama won because of personality and longing for change but also out of growing doubt: Three-quarters of today's deficit still belong to Bush's years, he largely ignored that loss of jobs and the crippling cost in human and economic treasure of an unnecessary war.

ut doubt is not stabbing pain. Obama never had FDR's three years of acid

It was only at the end of the Bush era that the weight of economic brinksmanship took hold

Comment

through failed financial institutions, Main Street swoon, credit evaporation, foreclosures, higher unemployment.

ut most of that weight crushed in as Obama became president - more than a million jobs lost before his policies took hold. It's gotten better since, with positive job growth, but there are lingering memories that it's worse now than in the final Bush years. True enough to those who can't look around the corner. Be grateful Obama did.

Perhaps you can blame the new president for not making that case clear, but there was no obvious time frame as FDR had. There is a great difference in living through a Great Depression and acting to avert one.

Intellectually America may have understood it needed government rescue from the philosophy that had caused the problems, but at the polls we need to feel things emotionally, visceral-

The emotion Nov. 2 was apparently that the government was unnecessarily stepping in. Blame the voters for a slow learning curve, blame the president for not making the case, but

include all the other reasons. The media wasn't about to educate in the facts -- it was making a lot of money feeding the hysteria. The Democrats were blinded by a victory that convinced them the public would automatically understand. The Republicans had every reason to obfuscate and attack.

So it's understandable, but still a shame, that Obama's actions didn't win the credit deserved. Instead, the voters of 2010 - including those who identified themselves as Democrats believed overwhelming that taxes went up under Obama when his administration actually cut them by \$240 billion

wo to one the voters hadn't heard that jobs fell every month of Bush's final years and have now grown steadily for five quarters. They definitely didn't know the economy grew 3.1% in the last year and they have very mixed feelings when they hear the stock market is booming again.

The mixed feelings stem from the \$700 billion taxpayer bailout known as TARP. A late October poll of voter attitudes revealed the majority of voters didn't know that the troubled assets bailout started under Bush and had bipartisan support - and was only then tweaked and operated successfully under Obama.

Most didn't know that Wall Street had already paid back its portion of TARP with a \$16 billion profit for taxpayers and that all that bailout is on track to become a positive government investment.

So TARP worked -- as did Obama's rescue of the auto industry and the Democrats' stimulus package so erroneously maligned as a failure by those winning GOP candidates. It may not have done as much as was

promised in early speeches, not in the face of the continuing damage, but the stimulus actually has created millions of jobs and provided the largest middle class tax cut in the nation's history.

You have to know you're falling off a cliff before you reward the rescuer. It's hard to prove the negative of a bigger disaster avoided. The opposition just saw political opportunity and didn't throw Obama or the nation a lifeline.

That is the historic lesson. FDR could fight hard and even nasty against his opponents because the public knew what he had inherited and wanted him to take chances. They even cheered him on. Obama didn't have that sort of time to get the message over or didn't even think he had to explain the obvious.

n hindsight, perhaps he should have anticipated that voters might doubt his intentions in an increasingly partisan nation. They sure proved quick to accept a warped ideological premise that painted him as a tax-crazed liberal who wanted more government in our lives, as opposed to a cautious progressive correcting what previous governments should have done.

The next two years will probably prove his remedies are right - that the best course for lasting economic vitality is to provide health care to more people, restore infrastructure and push basic advances in education and preparation. But are these enough remedies for an impatient country in pain? FDR didn't have to worry about exposing the roots of the pain before pushing for immediate relief. Obama still does but also has to provide speedier relief. Timing sure is everything in pol-

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AFL-CIO MILWAUKEE LABOR PRESS, Thursday, November 25, 2010 — Page 9



WHAT WORKED -- US Rep. Gwen Moore, sailing to victory against the tide and working for the entire Dem slate, jokingly picked up the phone to join CWA's Claire Zellner and others in phone banking. This was labor's GOTV headquarters where Jenissee Volpintesta (below) was shepherding dozens of volunteers through packets and walks. RIGHT: Organizing for America and Democrats brought in Washington State Sen. Maria Cantwel to Laborers Hall to inspire hundreds for her friend in Congress, Russ Feingold. Her speech was more needed outside the city.





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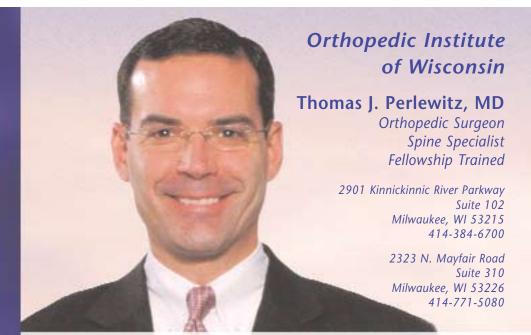




WHAT DIDN'T -- If satire is what closes on Saturday night on Broadway - a critics' saying that is actually not true, just ask Woody Allen - it closed even faster than that in Milwaukee before the election. A slap-dash satire organized by labor and fair trade groups before a Marquette University candidate debate with Mike Gousha to poke fun at Ron Johnson's outrageous statements on outsourcing, the secret corporate money flooding into his campaign and his denial of human causes of global warning brought dozens of revelers to wear Mao masks, ride big limos and use his own campaign material to lance him. But no students stopped and hardly any media appeared. (Neither did street theater work a few days later when more jesters warned of what Scott Walker was doing to Milwaukee's jobs in a rally at the Courthouse.) The reality: The "RepublicCorps" spoof of corporate America may have angered Kentucky



voters into stomping on a MoveOn activist, but in Milwaukee such frivolity and humor didn't raise a ripple. Maybe a sense of humor will return in two years.



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Analysis From Page 1

the day after, noting that the public mistook his emergency measures as a preference for government intrusion. The mistake was not changing Washington's way of doing business first. Critics also say he needed to explain dot by dot (in big crayons) what he was attempting.

e were in such a hurry to get things done that we didn't worry about changing how things got done," Obama conceded. "We've made progress but too many Americans have not felt that progress. I take responsibility."

He has no choice. There

may be historic reasons he could cite, as a column details on Page 8, but there is no way to whitewash the results and he didn't try

Most other Democrats may feel like railing against the voters or at least against the liars on TV and in Congress, at the outright falsehoods -- and everyone should record disgust at a media making so much money from the ads that it no longer challenges them. But all that sounds today like sour grapes, no matter how bitter the grapes were.

Obama didn't whine, though many of his followers urged him to get mad, attack and demean. He sent out a different message of faith in the public and the corrections that time and willpower

can make. He saw the election as a call to listen better and act faster, either expecting or pretending to expect a willing ear in the other camp.

The exit polls confirmed that the midterm voters were generally older and more conservative -a trend that could either get bigger or dissipate in these volatile times. It was understandable that many voters were judging the entire economy by what was happening in their own family circumstance about jobs and foreclosures, but others bought into what they heard on the TV or the Internet. Most, even conservative-leaning polls suggest, did not even think there was a recovery going on at all, despite steady job growth and improvement in GDP.

That realization led one journalist to note that Obama's quick actions "effectively saved capitalism -- and for that, he paid a terrible political price."

ut in a democracy we listen to the electorate, who also judged that the roadblock of another party might be just what the country needs. By and large the voters nationally (not so much in Wisconsin) rejected the inexperienced outsiders seeking office and replaced Democrats in Washington and the state houses with Republicans who had once held office and were out of a familiar playbook.

Cable news did not salivate over such statistical realities. They searched instead for the Tea Party inspired additions to the House (less than half) and hardly noticed that half of the blue dog Democrats who ran away from Obama ran into defeat. The surviving Democrats are smaller but notably more progressive. Nor did the media note the success of both Republicans and Democrats who emphasized fair trade and American jobs.

The comedowns of strident, outspoken Alan Grayson of Florida and Obama's Virginia profile in courage, Tom Perriello, set off Fox News glee, without mentioning that most progressive Democrats survived. The results echoed that Harry Truman line: "Given the choice between a Republican and someone who acts like a Republican, people will vote for the real Republican all the time."

As a consequence, blue dog Democrats are not a factor even to Republicans and liberal Democrats are a united voice of opposition looking for considerable gains in 2012. Their leader will be the much maligned Nancy Pelosi, whom the right forgets was first elected running against an avowed Socialist!

■ xpect historic forgetful-→ ness and partisan simplicities to abound in the aftermath. It's really hard to write accurately about the complexities of America. New House leader John Boehner reduced the mandate to a clarion call for the GOP to "follow the people's agenda" but he can't detail that agenda beyond general mistrust of public officials in both parties. Democrats said it wasn't about them - and yet it was.

Exit analysis show the voters did not oppose health care reform as too costly, just as too

Given the choice between a Republican and someone who acts like a Republican, people will vote for the real Republican all the time.

- Harry Truman

murky and frankly scary given contradictory charges.

Progressives foolishly overstated that removing the public option cost the Democrats the election. In fact, even retaining private companies' central role in health care, which the reform bill did, was demeaned as too much of a government overreach.

Equally naïve were conservative pundits who saw the rise in health premiums as a consequence of Obama led reform, without noting that increases had been runaway for years. The new law, according to nonpartisan federal analysis, will slow the growth of costs while adding coverage for millions.

What is true is that the new bill worried the majority of voters who already had health insurance. Those without are a small percentage of the nation and the vote. Older people may be the biggest beneficiaries of the reform but they were also the most vulnerable, voting analysis shows, fearing all those misconceptions about death panels and government takeover. The insurers took advantage of this fear, raising premiums before the ax of reform limits that ability by 2014, when exchange options guarantee less expensive choices. But the fear-mongering worked.

enetrating analysis was not evident on any side of the vote, and some of the blame game in many exit surveys was alarming.

The voters' villains were Wall Street first and Bush second - and only then moved to Obama. Obama wasn't on the ballot but his supporters were, so the voters lashed out.

The chief culprits were beyond reach. Bush sits comfortably in retirement - revealing in a memoir that it was Cheney (whom he later wanted to dump as VP) who pushed him into war

And Culprit No. 1? Wall Street was actually strengthened by the election results and is free to go its merry way.

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From Page 1

oburn's view was echoed by veteran labor writer Mark Gruenberg in a nationally syndicated column who warned that "trying to get anything positive out of the 112th Congress will be next to impossible."

"After two short years of playing offense, and still seeing their top legislative goal, the Employee Free Choice Act, pigeon-holed," Gruenberg noted, "workers and their allies must return to playing defense."

But he outlined many ways that mobilized unity would keep anti-worker legislation bottled up. Gruenberg pointed out success in the past by finding bipartisan allies at state and district levels and by rallying around causes that are good for the county but not necessarily centered on unions.

Among those are unemployment benefits, immigration rights and fair trade initiatives. The last worked in the mid-term elections for both Democrats and Republicans who emphasized American jobs first and caution about outsourcing without national gains. In fact, fair trade escalated into a winning issue for both parties.

et however triumphant labor was in its Milwaukee mission, results merchants point out that Barrett and Feingold didn't win statewide -- and lacked the minorities and students here and elsewhere.

Unlike 2008, millions of those national voters stayed home, helping make this one of the most conservative voting bodies in a long time. It might stay that way in 2012.

The Democrats outside the city were pretty near destroyed. For Barrett and Feingold, the 52-47 endings - -a 100,000 plus margin in each case -- were closer than most had predicted and not much publicized, but still quite decisive. If you want to cry over spilled milk, just count the 2008 voters who stayed home this time but would have carried the Democrats to victory.

Along the way to assuring one-party dominance of Wisconsin, the electorate abandoned some highly respected moderate Democratic legislators such as Jim Sullivan and John Lehman and took control of both houses of the Madison legisla-

Labor support worked best in the immediate Milwaukee area. With the exception of Sullivan and Tom Michalski's insurgent campaign in Assembly District 21, Chris Larson was easily elevated to the state Senate and JoCasta Zamarripa romped to become the state legislature's first Latino woman (Assembly District 8), Beth Coggs easily took over for retiring Polly Williams (District 10) and all the Milwaukee legislator

veterans such as Sandy Pasch, John Richards, Tim Carpenter and Fred Kessler buried their opposition.

But Wisconsin voters split up the US House further, providing dominant presence to the

While Gwen Moore sailed to re-election victory in Milwaukee, as did Tammy Baldwin in Madison, while Ron Kind held on against a late barrage of outside GOP third party ads, twoterm Democrat Steve Kagen went down in Green Bay to an unknown GOP candidate unimpressive within his own party, while even Dave Obey's veteran seat in District 7 went Republican after four decades to Sean Duffy.

A sad side-result whatever your political outlook was the loss of some veteran champions who had ballooned Wisconsin to influential proportions in the US map. Obey had retired on his own. Feingold was forced out.

If you look at the final results, Wisconsin has slithered off from front-runner in national impact to minor player.

Only on the GOP side could you argue that Paul Ryan will still play a major role, though his own party is now moving to distance itself from his policy ideas. Jim Sensenbrenner, who always seems to escape tough challenges in Waukesha and still has a salty tongue, is in the twilight of his influence and will have to maneuver to escape primary challenges,

So Wisconsin's electorate moved the state to the back row of national impact, the Uecker seats as it were.

It will take years if not a generation to recover.

Startling election realities

The governor and senate races had noteworthy aspects - and it is inescapable that any interpretation will be regarded as partisan no matter how fact based.

• There were similar voting patterns and margins in the Feingold and Barrett losses, suggesting that party label was indeed most important this time around, rather than individual accomplishments.

That's the sort of thing everyone says America has to move past -- Democrats saying all Republicans look alike and vice versa, Except, of course, until this year few Republicans would say that with a straight face about Russ Feingold. They could handle many Dems; their issues with him went deeper.

Feingold's fights bucked party lines and his views and bipartisanship were more visionary and even daring than left or right. Insistent, progressive, maddening, he defied party labels.

- It's notable that Walker couldn't win the vote in his own county, which may be largely Democratic but spoke louder against him than pundits expected, He won big where Wisconsinites had not experienced his leadership up close.
- · Waukesha County, which turned out heavily for its conservative son, had in fact just raised its own property tax to protect the economic base, something Walker has consistently refused to do for Milwaukee. Were they happy he hadn't? Perhaps, given the lingering animosity between the suburbs and the city. Or didn't they know, as many

Waukesha residents told me after the election? Whether you agreed with the outcome or not, the issue of how poorly the voters were informed is going to trouble all Americans for months to

What is true is that the entire state is about to witness Walker in operation, from high speed trains to budgetary facts to investigations of his administration, no longer hidden until after a vote. But Milwaukee County will be haunted for a long time by budget tricks and fiscal naiveté. A partisan view? Perhaps, but also factual.

• Yet urban Milwaukee seems surprisingly cheerful about the consolation prize, welcoming back Barrett, who pledged to run for re-election as mayor and continue job growth and responsible budgeting.

Another irony -- Walker quit rather than face Jim Doyle in the governor's race four years ago. Eight years ago, Barrett never quit and came in second in that primary. Yet it was Walker -using party label politics, and it worked -- who convinced voters that Barrett would be a third term of Doyle.

• An emerging problem for Sen. Elect Ron Johnson is not to be seen standing right behind Rand Paul from the curious state of Kentucky, as the only Tea Party chamber's survivor in the Senate. Wisconsin bucked the national trend in electing an unknown but rich (or richly supported) Tea Party candidates. (Among the losers: Linda McMahon of Connecticut, Christine O'Donnell of Delaware, Dino Rossi of Washington State, Ken Buck of Colorado, Sharron Angle of Nevada and apparently Joe Miller of Alaska).

Another issue is how to follow a Russ Feingold, who came out of a progressive tradition started in Johnson's party. All the tributes that followed Feingold's defeat made a point of citing him as the fallen progressive, not the fallen Democrat or fallen liberal.

It is that sense of losing such an independent thinker that seems to most disturb the nation. Feingold was an acknowledged giant striding the Senate. Feingold and others wished the new senator well, but many are understandably skeptical -- and apprehensive.

-- Dominique Paul Noth



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Calendar

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Wednesday, December 1

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

Saturday, December 11

Hospital Christmas for Veterans Help with donations, email docdentice@wi.rr.com

Friday, December 17

Holiday Open House

Food, drink camaraderie, open to all union members and affiliates, noon-4 p.m., Yatchak Hall, 633 S. Hawley Rd.

Friday, December 17

100th Anniversary Gala Building Trades Council Special dinner and program, Hilton Milwaukee, see story on Page 6

Wednesday, January 5

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

Trade issue wins voters

The issue of trade proved surprising successful for both parties, research confirms.

House Democrats that ran on fair trade platforms in competitive and open-seat races were three times as likely to survive the GOP tidal wave than Democrats who ran against fair trade, according to a comprehensive 70-page report released by Public Citizen.

The GOP tsunami obliterated many candidate-specific features of the midterm contests, the report points out, but trade, job offshoring and/or government purchases of foreign-made goods were a stunningly persistent national focus of midterm election campaigns, with 205 candidates campaigning on these issues

A record number of 75 Republicans adopted some fair trade messaging as well, 43 of whom won their races.

More than sixty races became "fair trade offs," where both the Democrat and Republican ran on fair trade themes.

Only 37 candidates campaigned in favor of more North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)-style trade agreements - about half of these candidates lost.

Even fair trade advocates who lost in the tidal wave came a lot closer in their districts than observers expected.

"That Democrats and GOP alike ran against the trade policy status quo highlights the intensity of public ire about our job exporting trade policy - a phenomenon also seen in national polls.

"It also reveals the trouble that the White House and GOP leaders will face if they try to pass the leftover Bush trade pacts with Korea, Colombia and Panama, to say nothing of the threat such a move would cause to President Obama's re-election in 2012," said Lori Wallach, director of Public Citizen's Global Trade

(Wallach traveled to Wisconsin in the last week of the Nov. 2 election, to campaign for Sen. Russ Feingold, a devout fair trade advocate who lost, and to attend a rally in Kenosha as the last Chrysler came off the assembly line there.)

<u> Holiday Fair Trade Calendar</u>

Sunday, Nov. 28, 8 a.m. -1 p.m., Gesu Parish, Milwaukee; also First Unitarian Church, noon-4:30 pm

Wednesday, Dec. 1, 4-9:30 p.m., Elmbrook Church's International Bazaar, Brookfield

Thursday, Dec. 2, 11 a.m.-3 p.m., UWM Green Holiday Fair, Union Building

Friday, Dec. 3, 5-8 p.m., Quaker International Gift Shop, Milwaukee **Saturday, Dec. 4,** 9 a.m.-4 p.m., Quaker International Gift Shop, Milwaukee.

9-3 a.m., Atonement Lutheran Church Sustainability Fair, Muskego **Dec. 4-5**, 4-7:30 p.m. Saturday, St. James, Menomonee Falls, 8-1:30 p.m. Sunday.

Sunday, Dec. 5, 9 a.m. -12:30 p.m., St. Agnes Church, Butler. 12-4 p.m., Our Milwaukee Buy Local Gift Fair, Lakefront Brewery

Tuesday, Dec. 7, 10-2, Milwaukee Area Technical College, downtown S building.

Wednesday, Dec. 8, 10 a.m.-2 p.m., Carroll University Fair Trade Fair, Waukesha

Thursday, Dec. 9, 10 a.m.-3 p.m., MU Fair Trade Fair, Marquette University Union.

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