

the feedback that I have received very strongly is that when they go to Washington, they are first of all going to be having to stand side by side with ANPA representatives to present their case in effect. They are then going to be linked anyway, and they would like to have the strongest possible resolution so that they can hit these congressmen with a piece of paper which is not going to be dumped in the garbage as just another piece of union propaganda.

I wish that some congressmen did not have that attitude, but it is a fact of life that they do, and in the meantime, we are fighting a desperate battle, and I urge you that you include this in the overall resolution.

Therefore I ask you to please vote "yes" for the minority report.

Thank you. (Applause.)

**BROTHER BRIAN BARGER** (Washington-Baltimore): I would like to speak in favor of the resolution as was adopted by the Resolutions Committee.

While I sympathize with Brother Dawson's concerns, I think that the role of this convention is to express the aspirations of The Newspaper Guild, which very rarely finds themselves in the same situation as the ANPA, and regardless of what happens on Capitol Hill I think that the resolutions that we adopt here need to be expressing our interests.

Thank you. (Applause.)

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: The mikes are clear. Are you ready for the vote? The vote will occur at this time on the Minority Report of the Resolutions Committee—the one on the blue paper.

All in favor of adoption of the minority report please say aye. All opposed? The ayes have it. (Applause.)

#### MOTION CARRIED

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: We now return to the main resolution, "Communications Law," as amended. Is there discussion on the main resolution? I see the mikes are clear. All in favor of adoption of the resolution, "Communications Law," please say aye. Opposed? The resolution is adopted.

#### MOTION CARRIED

**BROTHER MORRISSEY**: A resolution entitled, "For A Choice." It is on green paper.

#### FOR A CHOICE

Under the Criminal Code of Canada, a woman may choose a safe and legal abortion if a hospital therapeutic abortion committee exists. More and more often these committees are being disbanded. Doctors, who perform abortions without the sanction of a therapeutic abortion committee, risk jail and women are forced to risk their lives at the hands of unqualified abortionists.

**Women themselves must have the right to choose a safe and legal abortion.**

Therefore the Convention demands that the Canadian government remove abortion from the Criminal Code and leave the decision to the women.

**Brother Chairperson, I move for adoption of the resolution.**

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Adoption of the resolution has been moved.

**BROTHER SCHEER** (Ottawa): I move to postpone consideration of this indefinitely.

(Seconded by several.)

**BROTHER HUNTLEY** (Southern Ontario): I second that, Brother Chairman.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: It has been moved and seconded that consideration of this resolution be postponed indefinitely.

**BROTHER HUNTLEY**: Brother Chairperson, I move the previous question.

**BROTHER SCHEER**: Scheer, Ottawa, seconds.

**BROTHER HARPER** (Ottawa): I will second.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: It requires twelve seconds from five locals for the motion.

**BROTHER O'DONNELL**: O'Donnell, Canadian Wire Service, seconds.

**SISTER WENDY BATEMAN**, Northern Ontario, seconds.

**SISTER PETERSON**: Petersen, Ottawa, seconds.

**BROTHER MACDONALD**: MacDonald, Canadian Wire Service, seconds.

**BROTHER LA ROCHELLE**: Doug La Rochelle, Southern Ontario, seconds.

**BROTHER MALLON**: Mallon, Southern Ontario, seconds.

**BROTHER LEO MALTAIS** (Southern Ontario): Maltais, SONG, seconds.

**BROTHER ROHMAN**: Will Rohman, Peoria, seconds.

**BROTHER GOODMAN**: Goodman, Hudson County, seconds.

**BROTHER TOWNSEND**: Townsend, Brockton, seconds.

**BROTHER DALY**: Chuck Daly, Ottawa, seconds.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: That's sufficient.

All right. This motion is not debatable, and the question before you is to move the previous question which would cut off debate on the previous motion.

All in favor of moving the previous question please say aye. All opposed? The ayes have it.

#### MOTION CARRIED

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: We are now back to the motion to postpone indefinitely, and the vote will now occur on that question. The effect of this motion would be to kill the original resolution. All in favor of the motion to postpone indefinitely please say aye. All opposed? The "noes" appear to be it. The "noes" do have it. (Applause.)

#### MOTION LOST

**BROTHER SCHEER**: Excuse me. Scheer, Ottawa, moves for a roll call. (Groans.)

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: This will require twelve seconds from five locals.

**BROTHER HUNTLEY**: Huntley, Southern Ontario, seconds.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Are there any other seconds?

The mikes are clear, so we will have to say that the motion dies for lack of a second. (Applause.)

Now we are back on the resolution, "For A Choice." Are there any additional names to that resolution?

**BROTHER BARGER** (Washington-Baltimore): Brian Barger, Washington-Baltimore. Please add my name.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Any others? All right. Will there be debate? Center mike.

**SISTER WILSON** (Montreal): I would like to speak in favor of the motion. This motion came through the women's caucus and certainly has the support—it has my support as well as the people who worked at drafting it.

I would just like to address a couple of the issues which I think are contained in here.

I think that, first of all, the issue of abortion is a very appropriate one for this convention to be addressing. I think it has to do with human rights and certainly has to do with women's rights. This convention repeatedly takes stands on human rights and rights of minorities and women, and I don't think you can argue that abortion doesn't fall into that category. I think that women must have the choice. Nobody is proabortion. What we are for is the choice.

Right now it is in the criminal code of Canada. That means that it is illegal. The only time it is legal is if you go through an abortion committee. We have a lot of trouble with abortion committees. In Quebec, in fact, the money is taken from the provincial government and not used for abortion committees. Throughout most of the province of Quebec you cannot get an abortion. You can pretty well only get an abortion in Montreal. All of the population of Quebec does not live anywhere near Montreal, and I think the situation is the same in the rest of Canada.

I think that women have to have control over their own bodies, and that is part of having human dignity. It should be our choice whether or not we want to bear a child.

It is nobody's else's choice. It is not the choice or decision of the courts, it is not the decision of the hospital, it is not the decision of my doctor or anyone else's doctor. It has to be the choice of the woman if she is to have any self dignity at all.

I think what this motion does is, it asks that the convention demand that it be taken out of the criminal code and put into the hands of the people who are most affected by it—in fact, the only people who are truly affected by abortion—and that is women. (Applause.)

**BROTHER STEWART** (Albany): I would like to speak in favor of this. It may seem funny that a man stands at the microphone, but in 100 years of trade unionism, we have all fought for human dignity and the right to control our own lives as individuals. That is what unionism is basically all about, and there is a quote in the Bible that goes roughly that if it happens to the least of my brethren and sisters, it happens to me, and I think that my sisters deserve the right to control their lives also. (Applause.)

**SISTER LANE** (Vancouver): I move the previous question.

**BROTHER HUNTLEY** (Southern Ontario): Brother Chairman, I rise on a point of personal privilege.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: All right, proceed on your point of personal privilege.

**BROTHER HUNTLEY**: Brother Chairman, this may be slightly longer than the average point of personal privilege. It is a crisis of conscience on my own personal part. I do not believe in abortion. I do believe, however, that I have been sent here by a membership which mandated me to have my vote cast in conjunction with the majority decision of my caucus.

I am, therefore, bound to have my name registered as voting in support of a murderous act which I cannot accept. Therefore, I am asking for your permission, Brother Chairperson, and that of this Convention, to withdraw my name as a delegate to this Convention and to withdraw from the main floor of this Convention and sit as a visitor. (Applause.)

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: You have heard the request. I don't know whether that authority lies with the Convention, but at least you have stated your position.

Now, there was a motion to move the previous question.

**BROTHER SCHEER** (Ottawa): I would like some information on procedure. Is the motion for the previous question, after it's been moved and voted once, debatable?

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: No, it is not. The previous motion to move the previous question applied to another motion which was to postpone indefinitely. This motion to move the previous question applies to the principal question, the resolution, "For A Choice." There is a motion before you to move the previous question, but it will require 12 seconds from five locals if it stands.

**SISTER**: Second, Vancouver-New Westminster.

**SISTER WILSON**: Second, Wilson, Montreal.

**SISTER COOK**: Second, Cook, New York.

**SISTER SULLIVAN**: Second, Sullivan, Cleveland.

**SISTER FOLEY**: Second, Foley, Lexington.

**BROTHER BRYANT**: Second, John Bryant, Southern Ontario.

**BROTHER MERCER**: Second, Ernie Mercer, Washington-Baltimore.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: All right, that is sufficient. I will put the motion before you at this time to move the previous question, which will cut off debate.

All in favor of moving the previous question please say aye. Opposed? The motion is adopted.

#### MOTION CARRIED

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Now we are ready for the vote on the resolution, "For A Choice."

All in favor of adoption of the resolution, "For A Choice," please say aye. All opposed? The ayes have it. (Applause.)

#### MOTION CARRIED

**BROTHER MORRISSEY**: A resolution entitled, "The Human Life Amendment." It is on pink paper.

#### THE HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT

Whereas the Human Life Amendment, a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and legislation of similar intent

purport to define when life begins and "protect" it, and whereas they in effect outlaw abortion and many forms of contraception, use of which rightly should be a personal matter for a woman to decide, therefore be it resolved that the Convention opposes passage of the Human Life Amendment, Senate Bill 158 and House Resolution 900.

**Brother Chairperson, I move for adoption of the resolution.**

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: The resolution has been moved for adoption. Will there be debate? Jim Scheer.

**BROTHER SCHEER** (Ottawa): I don't know exactly how to say this because I would like to comment on what happened on the earlier resolution, and I know that is out of order. I just count myself fortunate in being in a position where Ottawa, which has voted consistently with one block of votes since I first came as a delegate since 1975, has a system whereby we can have a free vote on this kind of a moral issue and, therefore, I am not confronted with the same choice that another brother was.

But I do oppose it.

**BROTHER CARROLL** (New York): I oppose this motion basically because I do not think it is the proper area for this convention, nor The Newspaper Guild, to get into. We have passed a number of motions earlier today that had to do with issues that were not directly concerned with The Newspaper Guild—El Salvador, Guatemala, Poland, and so forth. But they did have some connection with The Newspaper Guild and with newspapering and with journalism and for me they were very easy to approve. I can't approve of repressive governments, I can't approve of corporations that do not believe in unionism, or in the Guild, or all that we stand for, but I was not prepared to come to this convention and vote on an issue that is basically a moral issue that is not associated with journalism except that all issues of public concern are probably connected in so tenuous a way with journalism.

However, this resolution speaks first of all, to something called "The Human Life Amendment." I am not familiar with that. I only know about it in broad outline from people who have talked to me

since I have been here at this convention. But I think on such an important issue the ramifications of this legislation should be made clear to everybody at the convention before they vote on this issue.

Beyond that, getting back to my original point, abortion is a very, very serious issue. It crosses over into a lot of areas, philosophy, religion, economics, social issues and so forth.

It is an issue about which I have conflicting ideas in my own mind. I have a moral repugnance against the idea of abortion, however, but my views are not completely closed to the necessity of some sort of accommodation with those who have a strong feeling about abortion. But the important thing that I want to make clear is that I do not want to have to resolve the differences that I feel about abortion and abortion legislation on the floor of this convention, and I do not want to see coming out of this convention some stand on abortion that I am not prepared to take and I presume that a lot of people at this convention are not prepared to take, nor are a lot of people in this country prepared to take. This is not the arena to discuss abortion.

Thank you. (Applause.)

**SISTER HOTCHKISS** (San Antonio): I have to disagree. Abortion and the opposite of abortion, which is carrying a pregnancy to term, affects a woman very fundamentally. If you don't have the option of abortion, which should only be used in the extreme case—as a last resort—then you are obliged to go through a physical process of carrying a child to term, rearing the child. The process doesn't stop at birth. It is just a beginning, and it is a lifelong obligation that you put a woman under if you oblige her to carry a fetus to term.

So when you want to impose a minimum twenty-year obligation on somebody else, you should do so very carefully, and people who oppose abortion, in my view, fail to realize that they are putting another human being through twenty years, a minimum of twenty years, of some obligation or another, and if they fail in that obligation then you get them for child abuse or something. But the basic premise is that you are forcing a tremendous obligation onto somebody, and that somebody in this case, in the case of



pregnancy, is a woman—an obligation men are not under nearly so strongly.

The problem with the human life amendment, especially one form of it, is that under no condition is any abortion allowed, and it defines life as beginning at the moment of conception so that many forms of contraception are illegal, not just abortion, but IUDs or the pill.

It affects a lot of very basic things and common practices of people in this hall, and also, if you don't allow a woman the option of contraception, you create breaks in her work. She can't build up the seniority, she can't build up a continuous work record because she keeps breaking it to bear and rear children, and that sets her back professionally, and I don't think that's fair, either. (Applause.)

**VICE PRESIDENT BECK** (Great Falls): No man or woman within the labor movement is an island. What happens to the freedoms of any of our members impacts on all of us. Our concerns for the personal freedoms of all our members should move us to oppose the human life amendment. Let's get government regulations out of our personal lives. (Applause.)

**BROTHER GOLDMAN** (St. Louis): Personally, I agree with this resolution. It fits my own philosophy. However, it is one of the most explosive and emotional issues in the United States.

In our local many of our members would be irate over the Guild adopting this resolution. I would suggest we consider carefully the ramifications of this and not have the Guild take a position on this matter that does not involve union affairs. (Applause.)

**SISTER LINDA TORNEY** (Southern Ontario): I strongly disagree that this matter is not a matter for a trade union. I know that in Canada many individual unions at their conventions, through their women's caucuses—the Ontario Federation of Labour, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto have all adopted a policy on the question of abortion, and that policy is that it should be removed from the criminal code and that it should be the right of an individual woman to choose. I don't understand—I can understand debate on the issue—what I don't understand is that

people can get up and say that it is not a union's affair to try and change a repressive law. (Applause.)

**SISTER SCRIVANI** (Buffalo): There have been several resolutions before this convention today that arguably have nothing to do with the trade union movement per se, and I really think that that particular argument is not valid.

I also want to say that the members of the Women's Caucus who worked on this resolution are not pro-abortion, but we are definitely prochoice, and since I heard this brought up by some other delegates here today, I just want to be on record here as saying that I am a practicing Catholic, and I support this resolution. (Applause.)

**BROTHER BACHELLER** (New York): I just wanted to express my disagreement with the viewpoint that this resolution is not properly a trade union matter. I feel that it is, that in addition to being a matter of general concern to society, it also directly affects women's ability to maintain employment, and therefore definitely falls in the province of a trade union.

As grievance chairman of the New York Times unit, I am frequently dealing with questions of matters relating to pregnancy leave. It affects our contracts. It affects, as Joyce Hotchkiss pointed out, a woman's ability in the long-run to maintain employment and build up seniority.

I urge the convention to pass this resolution. (Applause.)

**SISTER PALTER** (San Francisco-Oakland): The opinions expressed by some of my brothers here I think reflect the reason that some women in the labor movement went out and formed the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In some circles we felt that we were not first class citizens in our unions, not so in my own union, incidentally—my own local—but I think that is the reason that CLUW was born.

I think for our brothers here to wash their hands of this is to turn their backs on their sisters in the labor union movement, and I urge adoption of the amendment. (Applause.)

**SISTER FOLEY** (Lexington): I, too, believe that this is an issue that trade unions need to take up. In fact, I am very

tired of the trade union movement in general skirting this issue. I think it is a workers' issue as well as a human issue, and I don't think that we are debating here the pros and cons of abortion, but we are debating the pros and cons of giving a human being a choice and control over their own body, and I would urge adoption of this resolution. (Applause.)

**BROTHER TOWNSEND** (Brockton): Are we going to take a stand today on capital punishment? Are we going to consider whether or not we should legalize pot? Are we going to put a good or bad on Bobby Sands? I hope not.

**SISTER COOK** (New York): I am aware of the sensitivity of this issue, and I wish to speak strongly in favor of it, because we are talking about the right to work. Guild women have been denied employment because of pregnancy; Guild women have been denied advancement because of pregnancy; Guild women have lost their jobs because of pregnancy.

The need for good, solid information on contraception is crucial, particularly in these days of rapid growth of the single-parent family, both male and female. Therefore, I urge you as Guild members to support the right of all women to work and their right to choice. (Applause.)

**BROTHER GOODMAN** (Hudson County): I have to disagree with much of what my sisters have said here today, and I really mean my sisters because the dearest brothers and sisters I have are in the labor movement, but this happens to be an issue on which I have deep philosophical and moral convictions, and therefore, I urge the defeat of the resolution.

**BROTHER NELSON** (Twin Cities): I was going to rise to move the previous question, but I see no other speakers.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Very well. (Laughter.)

(The question was called.)

**BROTHER BARGER**: Brian Barger, Washington-Baltimore. Please add my name to this.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: All right.

**BROTHER NELSON**: Then I would move the previous question.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: It seems there is only one other person at the mike.

**BROTHER WALLACE** (Wilkes-Barre): God is here.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Is it all right if Jack speaks?

**BROTHER NELSON**: Yes.

**BROTHER WALLACE**: Yes, I oppose it.

I am a little disturbed by the young lady who mentioned she is a practical Catholic. I am a practical Catholic. So let's balance the issue.

(Cries of "Practicing.")

A practical Catholic, and I am a practicing Catholic. I am just very happy that the blessed mother didn't have an abortion. I am glad everybody that is a woman has a choice, and I am very happy for my sisters that do have a choice, but they didn't get pregnant by themselves.

**BROTHER HOWARD** (Washington-Baltimore): I find it interesting that all the sisters who have spoken in favor of this resolution have attempted to make the point that this resolution gives them certain rights, whereas all of my brothers who have come and opposed it have discussed moral ramifications.

My wife, who used to be a newspaper reporter until recently, told me repeatedly that one of the things that she found very strange was that the subject of abortion was being discussed in Congress by a bunch of doddering old men, sitting at little desks—especially since they didn't have anything to do with it.

So I suggest that my brothers here, whether they are for or against this issue, should follow my example and leave this hall and let our sisters decide it. (Applause.)

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Are you ready for the question? The mikes are clear.

The vote will occur on "The Human Life Amendment."

All in favor say aye. Opposed? The ayes have it. (Applause.)

**MOTION CARRIED**

**SISTER PETERSEN** (Ontario): I should like to record Jim Scheer of Ottawa as voting "no" on that resolution.

**CHAIRPERSON CULVER**: Very well.