

Support Of Youngstown Unions Helps Guild Close Vindicator



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3 Papers, ITU Cease Toronto Bargaining

Toronto, Ont. — Bargaining in the 50-day-old dispute between the Typographical Union and the three newspapers here broke down this week following a management offer which a prominent Toronto labor lawyer termed "callous and cruel."

The printers rejected the offer by a vote of 588 to 5 at a meeting Aug. 26. No further discussions are scheduled.

The publishers' offer included a new proposal which would make permanent employees out of the 60-odd strikebreakers now doing printers' work at the Star, Telegram and Globe & Mail, and would give them seniority over 115 printers.

It would end all reproduction of mat advertising by the end of 1964, and at the end of the dispute would give the publishers a month to schedule the return to work of ITU members.

The publishers announced that the proposal was not negotiable.

Attorney David Lewis, ANG and Toronto Guild counsel for a number of years, who now is representing the printers, said that in the dozens of strike settlements in which he had taken part "never have I experienced such a callous and cruel demand from an employer—not even the most anti-labor of them." He was speaking of the demand on jobs for strikebreakers.

"And remember," Lewis added, "that the publishers refused to bargain on this point also. The union had to take it or else. The union committee could not in conscience agree to such a demand. In my opinion they were fully justified."

Meanwhile:
► An assembly of some 200 Toronto labor leaders passed a

Romney Tries To Resolve Detroit Strike

Detroit, Mich. — Gov. George Romney this week began efforts to find a solution to the 46-day-old Detroit newspaper strike that has idled 360 Guild members.

The governor yesterday called together representatives of two striking Pressmen's locals and the Detroit News and Free Press in the wake of Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh's failure to obtain progress at two meetings he convened during the preceding week.

A meeting between the Pressmen's local and the publishers Aug. 21 broke off with angry statements on both sides after the publishers rejected a new union proposal that modified a bid for time-and-a-half pay for Saturday night work at the Free Press, which has been one of the principal points at issue.

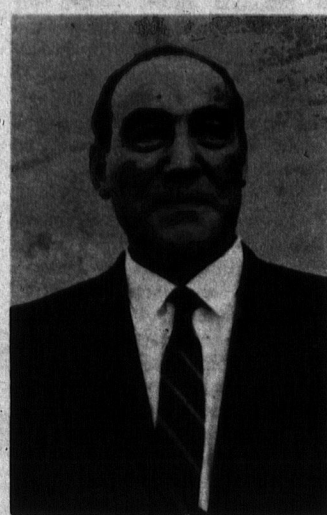
A meeting Aug. 24 between the publishers and the Paper and Plate Handlers local also ended in deadlock.

Freeman Frazee, Pressmen's local president, said "the publishers, without any consideration for the public, not only rejected our proposal but failed to offer any counterproposal."

The company charged that the pressmen had asked for "even more penalty and pay demands than had been previously agreed on."

The pressmen, who have been seeking time-and-a-half for Saturday night work at the Free Press, reportedly shifted to a proposal that the premium apply only to work after midnight.

While the News, an evening paper, already pays the premium, the Free Press, a morning paper,



MURRAY TATE

resolution of complete support for the printers.

► Murray Tate, a member of the Toronto Guild's executive and treasurer of the Toronto and District Labor Council, continued to disregard management's demands that he return to work in his job as a Star classified advertising salesman. Tate received a telegram expressing the American Newspaper Guild's "unqualified support" for his "courageous stand" in observing the ITU picket lines.

► Fifteen other Guildsmen, employees of the Telegram, were observing the ITU picket lines. The Telegram contract contains a clause which protects the jobs of those who honor picket lines.

► The presence of Robert M. Ameln of St. Louis as ITU strike director and George Hogan of San Francisco as his assistant raised a question in the House of Commons. John Diefenbaker, leader of the Opposition, asked

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Publication Limited To Skeleton Edition

Youngstown, Ohio — The Youngstown Vindicator, struck by the Guild Aug. 18, was publishing a skeleton edition this week with few copies getting outside the plant's door.

The Vindicator Unit struck after a bargaining deadlock on a contract for 42 newly organized circulation employees was reached after two months of fruitless discussions. The Guild also represents about 70 editorial and classified advertising employees at the Vindicator.

A major stumbling block to a settlement was the company's insistence on a contract clause giving it the right to eliminate or combine circulation districts and to hire "independent contractors" at will.

Management said that if the distributors' present seven-day work week is changed to a five-day, 40-hour week, it wants to subcontract a substantial part of the work out of the bargaining unit.

Virtually every other provision of the company's proposals was inferior to the existing contract covering editorial and classified advertising personnel, and at least a dozen provisions of the latter contract are missing entirely from the company offer.

The company offer, slightly sweetened in four items just six minutes before the strike deadline, included: nothing on union security, no guarantee against pay cuts, a six day week, no regulation of daily hours, no sick leave, no guarantee of specific mileage, inferior severance pay and a requirement of five years service to earn the third week of vacation compared to three years in the editorial-classified contract.

In its last-minute revision of its long standing offer, the company proposed to match the exist-

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Guild Strikers' Jobs Protected

Youngstown, Ohio — A law restricting the use of strikebreakers was approved by the city council here Aug. 19, just a day after the start of the Guild's strike against the Youngstown Vindicator.

The Citizen's Job Protection Law, passed by a 6-1 vote, is the 43rd adopted by a U.S. city.

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Guild Wins Layoff Ban In Vancouver

Vancouver, B.C. — A wage increase of more than 10 percent over three years and a job-security clause prohibiting layoffs because of economy, new equipment or sale and suspension have been won at the Vancouver Province and Sun.

Top minimums are increased by up to \$16.50 in the case of key circulation employees, reducing the gap between district advisors and key editorial and advertising employees from \$13.75 to \$11.50.

The contract also provides for the formation of a Guild-management "human-relations committee" to deal with problems caused by automation. The committee will operate on the policy that employees whose jobs are eliminated by automation or organizational changes should be relocated and retrained at company expense.

Other gains include:
► An increase in the severance-pay ceiling from 40 to 46 weeks in three steps.

► A reduction in the service requirement for a fourth week's vacation from 25 years to 19 years in three steps.

► Extension of the contract's full Guild shop to all new editorial employees except reporters, editorial writers, deskmen and editors, who continue to be covered by a 90-percent maintenance-of-membership clause.

► An increase in the company's share of health-insurance payments to 50 percent.

► An increase from 5,500 to 7,000 miles per year in the guaranteed mileage allowance, at 9 cents for four-cylinder cars and 11 cents for those with six or eight cylinders.

The contract, retroactive to July

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'Hazard' Firing Could Lead To Lockout, N.Y. Guild Says

New York City — The New York Guild, reacting strongly to a threat by management of the New York Journal-American to discharge newsmen who refuse to accept hazardous assignments, said last week that such a dismissal would be a firing without just cause and could be considered a lockout.

The threat came as the Guild was meeting with newspaper managements on a proposal that additional protection be provided for Guild members asked to risk death or injury on dangerous assignments, such as riots.

The Guild declared in a city-wide bulletin that the publishers "have done nothing to meet the

Guild's program for maximum protection on hazardous assignments, and some of them have indicated that they intend to do nothing."

Journal-American management posted warnings on newsroom and photo-studio bulletin boards that refusal to go on a hazardous assignment would result in firing after a photographer, who had been first on the scene at recent riots in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Elizabeth, N.J., declared that he had had enough and declined to cover a riot reported at Hicksville.

Several newsmen—including two at the Journal-American—have been hurt covering riots.

The Guild said that any employee discharged for refusing an assignment or for leaving the scene when, in his judgment, it had become too dangerous, would after consultation with Guild officers "be justified in forming a one-man picket line in front of his newspaper."

"Of course, Guild members do not cross a legitimate Guild picket line," the bulletin said, "so that soon the entire Guild unit would join the locked-out member on the street."

"This, if nothing else," it said, "might drive home to the paper's management the folly of taking an arbitrary position and ignoring human values of employees."

None of the publishers provides adequate protection, the Guild said, noting that only the Times takes sufficient notice of excessive risk to provide additional insurance, medical and sick leave benefits over and above contract provisions.

General publisher reaction to the Guild program, the bulletin said, has been that law and the contract provide sufficient protection. "Despite the immediacy of the problem," it said, "one publisher stated that these are questions for collective bargaining, and not to be discussed now."

Both the New York Guild and the Wire Service Guild have proposed that Guild members who

accept hazardous assignments be provided with \$100,000 life insurance, full medical expenses for any injuries suffered, and full salary above sick-leave requirements during recovery.

At a meeting last week with the Wire Service Guild, the Associated Press said it would undertake a study of the Guild proposals. A meeting with United Press International was scheduled for next week.

Recognizing the danger to newsmen, who often have been primary targets of rioters, some newspapers at New York, Chicago and Elizabeth, N.J., have issued plastic crash helmets with face shields.



PORTFOLIO: Best wishes of the Empire State District Council go along with an attaché case presented by council president Charles R. Booth of Utica, right, to International Vice President Bernard W. Stein, of New York. The presentation is recognition of Stein's recent election took place at an Aug. 15-16 council meeting in Utica. Joining in the ceremony are Philip Feldman of Rochester, left, council secretary-treasurer, and Dorothy Naret, Kingston, council vice president.

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ing contract on health and welfare coverage, fourth week of vacation and pension coverage, except that the pension benefits would be computed on circulation salaries as of 1955. Added was an inferior offer on severance pay, which does not match the present contract.

In May, after months of litigation, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that circulation district managers are in fact employees rather than independent contractors as management had contended, and the Guild won an NLRB representation election, 37 to 5.

The Guild picket line went up at 10 p.m., an hour after a bargaining session broke off. Members of the ITU, Pressmen, Stereotypers, Building Service Employees, IBEW and Teamsters have observed the picket line since its inception. Besides the Guild's 110, there are 178 members of other unions at the Vindicator.

The ITU printers and mailers have refused to cross the line despite a series of telegrams from ITU headquarters at Colorado Springs ordering them to ignore the Guild pickets.

The Guild strike won the unanimous support of the Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council at a meeting Aug. 17.

Members of unions represented by the council, notably the Steel

workers, joined the picket line to publicize their support of the Guild's position.

Later, in the wake of management complaints that mass picketing had taken place, the Guild agreed to limit its pickets to 13.

Union employees of a photoengraving company occupying space in the Vindicator building also refused to cross the line.

The Guild agreed to open its picket line so that the engravers could go to work in good conscience after the company proposed not to make engravings for the Vindicator. Engravings, ordered through a third party, are being made in an outside plant.

The company later filed charges with the NLRB, however, accusing the Guild of inducing its employees to refuse to work unless the company stopped doing business with the Vindicator.

Vindicator management, refused permission to hire off-duty Youngstown policemen as company guards, put two armed men from a private police organization on patrol along the sidewalks around the building.

The Guild, fearing for its pickets' safety, asked the Youngstown police chief either to provide protection or to order the Vindicator to confine its guards to company premises. The police chief ordered that one guard be kept inside the building and the other in the paper's loading area.

About 25 Vindicator super-

visors have stayed inside the plant since the strike began. Supplied by management with food and bedding, they have been producing an eight-page paper each day which is offered for sale over the counter inside the Vindicator building. The paper normally runs 50 to 60 pages a day.

Those who have responded to the company's appeal over the air waves—"To get tonight's newspaper, come to the office and buy one"—have found that it contains only a few legal ads and wire service copy. There is no local news and no retail advertising.

Observers have scoffed at company claims that enough people have crossed the Guild picket line to buy a thousand copies a day. The paper's normal circulation is 101,830 daily and 157,089 on Sunday.

The Guild's original petition to the NLRB on Sept. 20 of last year was backed by membership application cards signed by 35 of the 46 workers in the department at that time.

Management, pointing to individual contracts signed by the 33 district managers, said they were independent contractors and therefore ineligible for union representation, a claim that eventually brought the case before the full labor board in Washington.

In April the board rejected the company's claim, ruling that the degree of control exercised over the distributors made them employees.

Just before voting began in the election held May 7, the company submitted a written challenge to the ballots of the 32 distributors. An NLRB representative rejected the challenge.

At a meeting May 19, Vindicator management indicated that it might defy the NLRB and refuse to bargain with the Guild for the circulation department. The Guild threatened to take a strike vote.

Although the company backed down and attended a bargaining session the following week, 12 subsequent sessions produced no results beyond agreement on a contract preamble and the Vindicator Unit voted Aug. 6 to authorize a strike.

Labor Briefs

An 11-month ITU strike against 14 commercial San Francisco print shops has ended with the key issue—jurisdiction over jobs created by new processes—to be decided by an arbitrator as the occasion arises.

The settlement provides for dismissal of 350 strikebreakers. It sets up a procedure under which jurisdictional disputes arising from new processes will be decided by an arbitrator to be appointed by San Francisco's mayor.

The protracted stoppage was marked by a sharp clash between the ITU and the Pressmen's Union, which claimed that the printers were seeking to invade its jurisdiction.

SHORTS STORY

With New York temperatures in the 90s, five Railway Express truck drivers reported for work in Bermuda shorts. When the company objected on the ground that it was unbecomingly for housewives to see the drivers' knees, 75 drivers called a work stoppage. The drivers said an informal poll among housewives disclosed no objections.

Japanese labor unions have evolved a new bargaining technique, dubbed the "washing-machine" approach, in which "union members form a ring around a management representative, churning round and round him, pushing, picking, hazing and plucking." In at least one case, the Chicago Daily News reports, these tactics induced a coal-mine manager to accede to the union's requests.

PRICES MOUNT

The Consumer Price Index rose two points in June, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, climbing to 108 percent of the 1957-59 average.

The bureau attributed the increase largely to a seasonal advance in food prices and expanded housing and transportation costs. The June index was 1.3 percent higher than it had been a year earlier.

Rules Set Up For College Press Contest

Rules for an expanded collegiate newspaper contest to be sponsored by the Guild's Conference of Councils have been dispatched to all district councils.

The rules, formulated last month at the conference's annual meeting during the ANG Convention in Long Beach, Calif., were sent out by Philip Feldman, contest co-ordinator and secretary-treasurer of the Empire State Council.

All college papers, from dailies to semimonthlies, will be eligible for the competition, which will be conducted in three classifications: for colleges with more than 4,500 students, for colleges with 4,500 or less, and for foreign-language newspapers.

Issues of March 13 or the closest preceding date will be judged, with separate contests taking place in each district. District winners will compete in the international contest to be judged at next year's convention in Detroit.

Until now, only two councils—Middle Atlantic and Southern—have participated in the contest.



From the issue of August 22, 1964:

REPORTERS TO SHARE GOLDWATER JET

A way of life for Presidential campaign reporters was revealed by Paul Wagner, Goldwater press aide. Providing an insight into the non the press will deal with and the elaborate plans for press coverage is right up Editor & Publisher's alley.

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Matty In L.A. Post; Deegan Is N.Y. Secretary

Los Angeles, Calif.—Joseph L. Matty, administrative secretary of the Denver Guild, has been appointed administrative officer of the Los Angeles Guild. He is resigning the Denver post to take up duties here about Sept. 1.

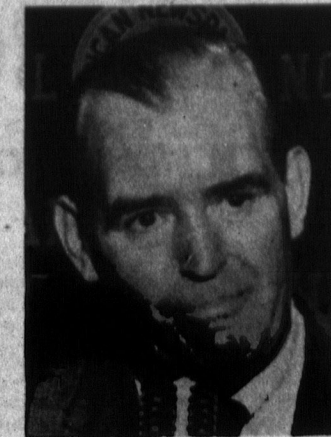
Matty was appointed by the local executive board to fill a position vacant since Justin F. McCarthy, Jr., departed to become executive director of the Chicago Guild a year ago. International Representative Loel Schrader has been serving as temporary administrative officer.

Matty was a member of the executive board of the Denver local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers when he accepted an assignment as temporary ANG international representative to negotiate for the Pueblo Guild in 1963. He was appointed to the Denver Guild post a short time later.

Besides serving as a vice president and executive-board member of the Denver Federation of Labor since 1960, Matty has served as a staff representative of the Denver Adult Education Council, as a counselor of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee and as a member of the Colorado Central Committee of the Democratic Party. He is a past president of the Denver Toastmasters Club.



JOSEPH L. MATTY



JOHN E. DEEGAN

Guild Keeps Paste-Up At Baltimore Papers

Baltimore, Md.—Paste make-up work presently being performed by Guild members at the Baltimore Sunpapers has been denied to the Baltimore Typographical Union by arbitrator Alexander H. Frey.

Frey ruled that paste-up work on a "TV Week" pull-out newly incorporated into the Sun's Sunday magazine section should continue to be performed in the pa-

per's editorial and commercial-art departments.

The Baltimore award is the second paste-up case involving the Guild. Three years ago an arbitrator awarded paste make-up work at the Philadelphia Inquirer to the typographical union.

The Sunpapers' case arose last January when the paper transformed a four-page TV pull-out produced by conventional hot-type processes into a 16-page pull-out inserted into the magazine section and produced by paste-up methods.

The Sun, in accordance with a typographical union contract clause providing that paste make-up presently being performed by employees of other departments be continued, assigned the work to Guild-covered employees who had been producing the magazine section by paste-up.

The typographical union, however, protested that the assignment violated another contract clause providing that paste-up be assigned to printers in the event of an increase in its volume beyond "normal fluctuations."

The union contended that incorporation of the TV pull-out into the magazine section could not be considered a normal fluctuation, but Frey disagreed.

"It was normal business efficiency," he said, "for the publisher to transfer the TV section from the Sunday paper to the Sunday magazine, and the resulting increase in the paste make-up work involved was a normal business fluctuation."

Guild, ITU Share Ideas In Jersey

New Brunswick, N. J.—A Guild-Typographical Union liaison committee has been established at the New Brunswick Home News, where both unions are currently bargaining for a new contract.

Richard M. Gilliam, the North Jersey Guild's unit chairman, at the Home News, said the two unions "hope to establish a committee as a permanent body in order to formulate company-wide programs, such as better hospitalization and pension plans."

In this year's elections, 221 workers were eligible to vote, of whom 65 were newly hired. Last

year, 229 were eligible.

The group includes commercial and editorial employees of the company, which publishes the Wall Street Journal and the National Observer.

Claims 'Vigorous' Competition

Scripps Asks End Of Trust Suit

Cincinnati, Ohio—The E. W. Scripps Co. has moved for dismissal of an antitrust suit filed by the U. S. Justice Department, denying that its ownership of both the Cincinnati Enquirer and the Post & Times-Star has lessened newspaper competition here.

Scripps, in reply to a government suit seeking to force the chain to divest itself of the Enquirer, contended that "vigorous and unrestricted competition has at all times existed and continues to exist" between the two Scripps-Howard papers.

The company denied that it has attempted to exercise control over the Enquirer, in which it purchased a majority interest in 1956. But it conceded ownership of 11 percent of the Enquirer's voting stock and voting trusts representing an additional 47 percent.

Scripps said the reduction in the number of Cincinnati newspapers to two was the result of "inexorable economic pressure" generated by rising costs and the absorption of advertising revenue by competing media.

Scripps said the Times-Star was "a failing enterprise" before it was purchased and merged with the Post in 1956.

The purchase, it contended, "did not lessen competition among newspapers of general circulation

in Cincinnati" despite its ownership of both the Post and Enquirer.

The government, in filing suit against the company in May, charged it with monopolization, restraint of trade and consummating an illegal merger. It said Scripps' purchase of the Enquirer and its subsequent merger of the Post and Times-Star "have deprived newspaper readers and advertisers of the benefits of free competition."

Hollywood Paper Is Sold

Hollywood, Calif.—The Great Western Publishing Co., owner of the San Fernando Valley Times, has purchased the adjacent Hollywood Citizen-News. The sale was announced in a statement that said the two papers would continue to

publish "without any diminishment" of their separate identities.

The Citizen-News, with a circulation of 26,500, is covered by a contract with the Los Angeles Guild. The Times, with circulation of 47,400, is non-Guild.

New York City—John E. Deegan, New York Guild staff director, will succeed M. Michael Potoker as the Guild's secretary-treasurer.

Deegan was elected without opposition to fill the post vacated by Potoker July 1 when he became a New York Criminal Court Judge. Deegan served previously as secretary-treasurer in 1947 and 1948 but did not seek re-election after a two-year term. He was succeeded by Potoker and became staff director in 1950.

Deegan was a circulation branch manager at the old Brooklyn Eagle and served as unit chairman during the 1937 Eagle strike. He was elected local vice president in 1943 and became a full-time staff member a year later.

Deegan was nominated for the secretary-treasurer post by the representative assembly July 29. When no other nominations were made by Aug. 14, he was declared elected.

Locals In U.S. To Receive COPE Packet

A packet of COPE materials to support a renewed effort to obtain funds for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education was sent this week to each United States local and district council.

The material will arrive, as the accompanying letter pointed out, just as the second major political convention has ended and the 1964 campaign goes into full swing.

This is the second appeal of the year from the Research and Information Department to locals to conduct COPE drives.

It is not too late, says the letter from Richard P. Davis, ANG associate R & I director, for Guildsmen to support COPE.

"Is there not a desperate need for us to do so this year?" it asks. The letter is also responsive to a suggestion from the political action subcommittee of the Long Beach Convention that locals could use more COPE literature.

The accompanying material includes the Political Action report itself, COPE descriptive pamphlets entitled "What Is COPE?" and "365 Days a Year," an appeal for voter registration entitled "I Vote Counts," and a new document entitled, "The Extremists."

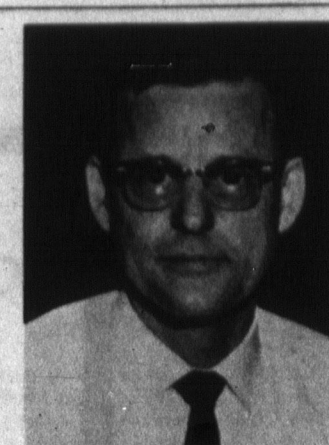
A few COPE receipt books are also being sent to each local.

Direct treasury contributions from locals or district councils will go to the COPE Education Fund, to support registration drives and publications. Personal contributions will be used to support the campaigns of specific candidates supported by COPE.

Speed IRS Forms, Locals Are Urged

Guild locals have been urged to return new Internal Revenue Service questionnaires promptly lest they imperil their tax-exempt status.

The questionnaires are being dispatched in connection with the agency's conversion to automatic data processing. Ruth B. Zwick, ANG office manager, has called locals' attention to an agency warning that organizations not returning the questionnaires "will be presumed either inactive or no longer interested in maintaining their tax-exempt status."



WILLARD V. YARBROUGH

Yarbrough Set For New Try At Congress

Knoxville, Tenn.—Knoxville Guild President Willard V. Yarbrough will try again to become the first Democratic congressman from Tennessee's Second District since 1855.

Yarbrough said last week that he had decided to accept the Democratic nomination which he won Aug. 6 over two other candidates by 60 percent of the votes, even though he had insisted that he could not afford to run again and was not a candidate.

Last March Yarbrough, 48, assistant editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, staged a campaign to fill the unexpired term of the late Rep. Howard Baker, Republican, losing out to Mrs. Irene Baker, the congressman's widow.

In the November election, Yarbrough will be opposed by Knoxville Mayor John Duncan, who won the Republican nomination in a close primary.

The Second District is in the heart of Appalachia, often called the nation's most distressed area.

In his March campaign Yarbrough hit hard on the unemployment issue, emphasizing the need to attract new industry to replace jobs lost to automation.

He was supported by organized labor and by his paper, a Scripps-Howard publication that is normally Republican.

Yarbrough holds card No. 1 in the Knoxville Local and has been its president several times. He was twice president of the ANG's Southern District Council and has been a delegate to several Guild conventions.

During his six-week campaign in March, he campaigned 18 hours a day. He collapsed at a polling place on election day and was ordered to rest by a physician.

Shriver Urges Job Guarantees

Unions and managements have been asked to negotiate "Peace Corps clauses" guaranteeing re-employment, seniority and pension rights and service credit to workers who take two years off their jobs to serve in the Peace Corps.

Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps director, asked the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to urge "the assistance of both management and labor to help the Peace Corps establish a new program so that thousands of American workers can serve their country as volunteers."

Several Guild locals have negotiated leaves of absence for Peace Corps service, but a number of managements have refused to grant them.

The Press And Its Critics:

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

ALMOST no one objects out loud to the abstract idea that the press is a legitimate target for criticism by society at large. Yet of all the great institutions of our country, the press is the least subject to over-all systematic study, it is the least cooperative with its critics and students, it runs less critical news of itself than of other segments of our social system, and it is the most easily outraged at suggestions by other institutions that the press might have some serious failings.

Let me make plain that I am not saying that individual newspapers never are responsive to criticism; some are and some are not. Neither am I saying that anyone is required to love his critics or to take criticism lying down. What I am saying is that the press as a whole ought to raise its threshold of righteous indignation at the idea of outside criticism and disinterested study and end what is largely a zone of silence in the news columns about problems of the press.

The idea of expose, complaint and reform is built into the heart of American newspapering—when it is applied to others. Papers ought to resign themselves to this same therapy for themselves. And to the fact that they are no more entitled to select their critics than are politicians or playwrights.

I am devoted—I guess addicted is the better word—to that Mother Hen of the Trade, the magazine Editor & Publisher, but I grieve to see it print the words "press critic" in quotation marks, as though to prevent contamination of the surrounding prose, or refer to "so-called press critics" in the manner of Black Muslims referring to Negroes, as though they don't really exist. This kind of doctrinaire unbridge strengthens the rather widespread belief that the press is a bully when it attacks others but a crybaby when someone pokes back, that it can dish it out but it can't take it.

This is a ridiculous state of affairs for the institution in our national life that is forever telling its readers—and rightly so—that it has a constitutional right and a social duty to criticize anything and anybody at any time.

One demonstration of this followed Adlai Stevenson's complaint in 1952 that most of the press is against Democrats the way dogs are against cats. The whole national audience of those seriously concerned with politics and social affairs was listening when he made this statement, and the serious readers knew very well that editorially this had been true for a whole generation. One hour later the head of the American Newspaper Publishers Association was on the wires saying it wasn't so.

The crucial point, of course, was whether the undoubted editorial hostility affected the news columns. Press treatment of the 1952 campaign didn't do a great deal to strengthen the press's insistence that news judgment is unaffected by editorial opinion. So in 1955, Sigma Delta Chi proposed a study of press treatment of the 1956

campaign and even got some unbiased money for it. But the great majority of publishers polled refused to go along with the idea.

This rejected a professional, inside group on a subject about which every serious reader of papers is concerned. Most of the other great institutions would weep in gratitude if they could arrange such a sympathetic study.

When Carl Lindstrom published his book, "The Fading American Newspaper," it was greeted with outrage, not in the reviews or in rebuttals to specific arguments but in the official, front-office response that pictured Lindstrom as a traitor to his trade. Francis Williams in England has said worse things about the British press and its proprietors than Lindstrom said about ours, but Williams didn't have to answer for his motives or his honor.

When Ted Rowe wrote his book, "Slanted News," on press handling of two campaign stories, of the 31 major papers involved, not one, he tells me, would accept a book advertisement whose caption was a question asking if that paper, by name, handled its news fairly.

During the Fulbright hearings last year, newspapers generally gave good coverage to testimony showing that some foreign agents manipulated congressional and bureaucratic action, but when testimony showed that they had also manipulated favorable press treatment, with some serious journalistic conflict-of-interest, most of these same papers modestly averted their gaze from such vulgar evidence.

It is dangerous that the most serious failings of the press are so often exposed by outsiders or other media. I hate to admit it, but Time magazine often prints important press matters that almost never get into the columns of dailies. It took a Senate committee to expose a state of affairs that papers themselves should have uprooted.

It is a rebuke to the press's claim of exclusive jurisdiction on its own problems. Local medical societies act more swiftly on complaints of malpractice. Why, a few weeks ago even a public-relations society suspended a member for unethical behavior, these improprieties having involved newspapers.

I didn't appreciate the intensity of the press's reflex against criticism until I drifted into the work of studying the daily press a few years ago. . . . My study involved talking to some publishers, and that is when I discovered this terrible trauma.

THE first dozen interviews left me shattered. In 20 years as a newspaper reporter I had been toppled with an umbrella, hit by a bottle of ketchup, been sat on, poked, scratched, had a gun pulled on me and been chased by interviewees intent upon impressing me with the strength of their convictions. But nothing prepared me for the reaction to some of my questions about newspaper publishing.

No one tried to shoot me or to add yet another bump to my nose, but my ego as an interviewer was bruised. In the middle of an otherwise happy interview, all I had to do was ask a proprietor, "Can a man make more money putting out a mediocre paper than putting out a good one?" This strikes me as a rather unimaginative, somewhat vague but useful starting point for a discussion. But in a remarkable number of instances, it was the last coherent sentence uttered for 15 minutes. Certainly not in all cases but in quite a few, there was simply an explosion. And at times from good men who put out good papers.

The explosions varied in temperature and fall-out, but one factor tended to run through them all: Without my ever having mentioned his name, the late A. J. Liebling would be thrust into the discourse by the enraged proprietor. Some would say things like, "It's people like Liebling and you . . ."—a flattering association that would have surprised Liebling.

I came to look upon the length and intensity of references to Liebling as a measure of publisher reaction to criticism. I never really knew Liebling; we were both alumni of the Providence Journal, though in different classes. I think he made mistakes, but he also made vivid perceptions. Yet over and over he was referred to as the ultimate in critical depravity.

IN Liebling's memory and in the light of my experiences, I would like to propose a new unit of measurement to be used in journalism the way volt, ohm and ampere are used in electricity. Since so many proprietors seemed to have normal blood pressure of 120-over-80 when we talked about other things but zoomed to as high as 220 when Liebling or money-making came up, I would like to suggest that five points of publisher blood pressure constitute one Liebling, and that this scale go up to a terrible maximum of 20 Lieblings, the equivalent of absolute apoplexy. . . .

Liebling, of course, was an essayist, his criticism expressed in metaphor, not in numbers. He wasn't always literally correct, but he was usually essentially sound and his ideas lively and useful. He wasn't a management consultant; he was a needler. But aren't these characteristics often true of the press in its criticism of others?

How many times has a politician complained to a newspaper, "Why don't you print constructive criticism?" and how many times has he been told, "You mean you want us to print only nice things about you?" How many editorials have been run saying foreign aid is terrible without bothering to offer a workable alternative? Or condemned high taxes without documenting how to reduce taxes without cutting services? Or exposed a public officeholder the day his hand got stuck in the till but never mentioned it the day he didn't steal a cent? Newspapers as a whole rightfully reject simple-minded boosterism as the basis for criticism of politics; it's about time they stopped looking for it in criticism of the press itself.

Let me mention one more personal experience. One thing I wanted to study was how much newspapers of given sizes and community situations had to spend in order to provide good, comprehensive news coverage, and if, when they did this, they could still make an attractive profit. This meant looking at financial statements.

You will be surprised to learn that among proprietors of newspapers there is a certain reserve about displaying financial statements, a reserve roughly equal to the CIA's attitude toward its list of agents in Peking. So, beyond some happy exceptions, I was resigned to looking at combined figures for groups of papers.

One of the better-known newspaper associations entertained the idea of letting me see their combined figures. At about this time, I had picked up my Washington Post one morning and read about Fidel Castro on Page One, Fidel Castro on the jump, Fidel Castro on the editorial page, Fidel Castro opposite the editorial page and then, by God, there was Fidel Castro in Little Orphan Annie, Buz Sawyer and Dan Flagg. So I wrote a piece of frou-frou called, "Stop Laughing, It's the Funnies," complaining that funnies aren't funny any more and saying that I really didn't want Daddy Warbucks instructing my kids on foreign policy. And I sent it to that subversive publication, The New Republic. Shortly thereafter, I heard from the newspaper group saying that I



Ben H. Bagdikian, from whose address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors the above text has been excerpted, is a free-lance writer whose own pungent criticisms of the press appear regularly in the Columbia Journalism Review. A former Guild member at the Providence Journal—also the home paper of press critic A. J. Liebling—Bagdikian was until recently the Journal's Washington correspondent.

Don't Shoot The Piano Player

could not look at their combined figures and for the reason which I now quote directly from their letter:

"Since your request first came to our attention, there have been a number of articles published which, in the opinion of the committee, have reflected on newspapers generally and in which research data have been used in a way which they believe to be inaccurate. Among such articles was one published in The New Republic on Jan. 8 entitled, 'Don't Laugh, It's the Funnies,' which the magazine attributed to you."

Individually, some newspapers take their lumps manfully. Now and then groups do, as did the New England Society of Newspaper Editors, which supported and accepted a critical study in 1960. The ASNE is masochistic at its annual meetings, and the Associated Press Managing Editors undertake some intramural hazing. But on the whole the American daily press is close to neurotic about outside criticism and dangerously resistant to the kind of basic study that comparable institutions in our society consider necessary and inevitable. . . .

I'd like to guess why this is so. First, every proprietor has to live with the built-in schizophrenia of the American daily. Dailies have to be godless, profit-making corporations and at the same time be selfless community institutions devoted to the unbiased education of the public. No one has come along with a better combination for maintaining a free press, but this double character is the main source of tension between the press and society.

It isn't always clear to the public when the press acts as a money-making enterprise and when it is being a professional medium of news and opinion. Enemies of the press deliberately obscure these distinctions, but, then, so do some proprietors. A public figure caught in a reprehensible act will cry out that the press is just trying to make money by sensationalism; a publisher caught in a questionable business move will run out the First Amendment in red, white and blue.

Publishers have to live these two lives, and it is a terrible task, especially because the normal social life and ambitions of a publisher produce tensions when he ignores the special desires of the business community.

A good reporter hard at work is a joy to behold, an editor who has worthy objectives and knows how to achieve them is the indispensable man in newspapering, but I think the greatest unsung heroes of the trade are the newspaper owners and publishers who invite the disapproval, contempt or even the hatred of their peers by protecting the independence and professionalism of their editorial departments, not in the trivia but in basic policies and practices.

FEW powerful businessmen in other occupations really understand the obligation of a publisher to have his paper represent values other than his own, and local press councils, as suggested by Barry Bingham, are needed as much to educate community leaders in the true nature of a newspaper as much as for anything else. Good publishers are often lonely men. But whether a publisher is fighting the good fight or has never raised a finger, he is apt to resent an outsider who pokes around in this inflamed area.

Another reason for violent reactions is that all of us, myself included, tend to speak of the daily press as though it were a single institution instead of 1,764 individual operations. When I looked at conventional studies of the press, it seemed to me that most of them didn't know what they were talking about, for the simple reason that no sane man is even going to try to read 1,700 papers, let alone learn something about the character of their communities.

We go through the parlor game of picking the "Best Ten" papers in the country when in fact no man knows. Even Henry Luce doesn't know enough to pick the Best Ten though, of course, he has. The dirtiest trick you can play on a judge of the "Best Ten" is to walk into his office and ask to see his file of the 1,754 papers that he rejected.

Similarly when a critic says something nasty about "the press," it is perfectly obvious that whatever he says isn't true of all papers equally. But it is necessary to generalize at times, and inevitably this is unfair to some.

Papers themselves are not above exploiting this confusion. Everybody hates the New York Times, which is natural enough for the best behaved kid on the block. But let someone accuse the whole American press of printing inadequate foreign news or of being chintzy with its newshole, and what do the weak sisters do? They hold up the New York Times in rebuttal or quote averages in which the Times raises the worms into orbit.

ALSO, proprietors get angry on the subject of monopoly, partly because there is a great deal of senseless moralizing about this economic fact of life and partly because publishers, though monopolizing local printed news, are in fierce competition for advertising dollars, fighting against magazines and broadcasting.

One sign of the insecurity this fight produces is Editor & Publisher's campaign to make television disappear by printing TV in lower case. It would have been wiser simply to refer to the other advertising medium as "the high-priced spread."

Another reason for resentment at criticism is that the newspaper industry is eighth in size on the basis of value added by manufacture, after automobiles, steel rolling, aircraft, chemicals and so forth. But it is the only major industry that is still typically a local, personal operation. This is good because our country is unique in its degree of organization around local self-government. And there is a sad history of newspapers edited from afar or by a committee. Nevertheless, this remains a serious challenge to the community paper: we have a fragmented, parochial leadership for a great national institution. . . .

One more vague surmise. . . . Publishers preside over what is essentially an educational institution, yet they spend a great deal of time railing against the student body, which insists on being younger and different. . . .

Whatever the reason for hostility to criticism, one side effect has been to defuse a great deal of journalism research. I think most academic research involving newspapers is pretty arid, at least so far as newspapering is concerned. This is partly because a lot of it is really research into something else, like communication theory; partly because too many academicians don't know enough about newspapers, and partly because so many journalism schools are afraid to tackle the central problems of their regional papers.

There is a kind of Lysenkoism in American journalism research, in which you stay out of dangerous areas that will bring down official condemnation, which is to say the disapproval of publishers who hire journalism school graduates or support the college appropriations at the state legislature. As a result, too much journalism-school research is limited to measuring quantities—expressed in square inches or ratios or other numbers that no one will dispute or, preferably, understand. The important judgment on substance and on quality are largely lacking.

This is too bad, because journalism schools are one technique for handling the problem of getting to understand 1,700 different papers. I'm not sure they are the best way to train modern newspapermen, but they are one ready-made network for constant study of regional papers. Yet the dialogue between scholars and critics on one side and the newspapers on the other remains sterile. Part of the blame, though not all, must fall on the newspapers themselves.

I'll close with an observation all of you know but which I discovered in my own plodding way. Putting out a good newspaper is uncommonly hard work, every day and night. So if a man turns aside a critic by saying, "Leave me alone, I've got a newspaper to get out," I say, good. A fine newspaper is more to be desired than the best criticism ever written. But too many men turn their backs on criticism only to waste their time on a mediocre product.

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Papers' Demands On ITU Halt Toronto Talks

(Continued from Page 1)

the government if the newspapers had not been asked to get rid of imported strikebreakers and if the two United States unionists did not come under the same principle. A second assistant is Robert Jeffries of Vancouver.

The 200 Toronto union leaders declared that "the fight of the printers is the fight of all organized labor and every trade unionist must be ready to do whatever is necessary to win this crucial battle." The group initiated a drive in the labor movement for cancellation of subscriptions to the papers. It also formed a 10-man action committee to investigate other ways in which the labor movement could be effective in helping the printers.

The Guild, along with the photoengravers, stereotypers, paper handlers, pressmen's and bookbinders' unions, abstained from the motion, having filed a statement with the group that they were pursuing other avenues directed toward a settlement.

Tate, for many years a Guild leader, has not reported for work although he was refused a leave of absence. He had been a conciliator on behalf of the printers previous to the work stoppage. He was ill as the dispute began July 9.

On Aug. 15 he wrote his supervisor: "There comes a time when every man must look into his own heart and search his conscience, then do what he feels is necessary. I know that if I had crossed the picket line of those who placed their confidence in me as their representative on the Conciliation Board, then I would not only be a traitor to my own principles, but I would be condemning myself to a lifetime of self-contempt, which could only end in an institution."

Tate is not protected by a picket line clause. His supervisor denied his leave of absence and instructed him to return to work immediately. The Guild has filed a grievance on Tate's behalf, citing a provision that permission for leave must not be "unreasonably withheld."

The message to Tate from ANG President Arthur Rosenstock and Executive Vice President William J. Farson was: "Guildsmen everywhere can hold their heads a little higher today because of your

courageous stand in observing the picket line of the Toronto Typographical Union. You have the unqualified support of the American Newspaper Guild just as we are sure, you have the full and complete support of the labor movement not only in Toronto but across the North American continent."

The newspapers have continued to publish ever since the dispute started July 9 over an automation issue. The sole remaining question in negotiations at that time, concerning the future introduction of computers, has since been settled. But in the course of the dispute management has raised additional issues, including those of reproduction, union membership of foremen, and extension of the contract for a total term of four years.

Most Guild members followed

a directive of the Toronto Guild that both law and their contracts (except at the Telegram) required them to continue working. And at an Aug. 14 meeting the Telegram Unit reaffirmed the position of the local that it would not strike illegally.

But while most of its members were working, the Guild took a position earlier in August which was strongly critical of management in negotiations Aug. 4. The Guild charged the publishers appeared bent on destroying the Typographical Union. Similar stands were taken by the pressmen's and stereotypers' unions.

Management's chief new concession appeared to be that instead of attempting to exclude all foremen from the bargaining unit,

it limited its demand to exclusion of non-working foremen and the head machinist.

It also modified its position regarding a present contract clause permitting the typographical union members to observe picket lines of its sister union, the ITU Mailers. In its new proposals, management asked not to remove the clause, but to suspend its application for the remainder of the term of the contract.

The Telegram Unit, at its Aug. 14 meeting, asked for the resignation of Cy Brimicombe as unit chairman in protest of his use of the phrase "Basset's goons." John Bassett is publisher of the Telegram. Brimicombe explained to the meeting that he was referring only to employees who were performing ITU work. The meeting made it plain that its criticism was not connected with Brimicombe's refusal to cross the picket line. Brimicombe took the request for resignation under advisement.

Two typesetters from Timmins, Ont., who had just been interviewed for jobs on the paper and three pickets were arrested following a picket line scuffle Aug. 17. All were released on bail.

Printers at Pacific Press, Ltd., of Vancouver refused to set help-wanted ads for replacements on the Toronto papers.

Robert Buchanan, former executive secretary of the Toronto Guild—who as a Telegram employee had been observing the picket line, has been designated a special ANG representative in Toronto. As such he will work with International Representative Fred Jones.

Christopher Crombie, executive secretary of the Vancouver-New Westminster Guild, visited the Toronto local for three days as an observer of the dispute.

An injunction has limited the number of printer pickets. Support on the picket line has been offered by members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Toronto Civic Employees Union and the International Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. Printer pickets, relieved by members of other unions, gathered across the street from the Telegram and jeered as cars came out of the parking lot. Jeers were loudest for Bassett, who left in a Rolls-Royce.

UPI Ordered To Pay 300 Hours' Overtime

New York City—An arbitrator has ruled that United Press International must pay 300 hours of overtime to Wire Service Guildsmen in San Francisco because a work schedule was changed in violation of the contract.

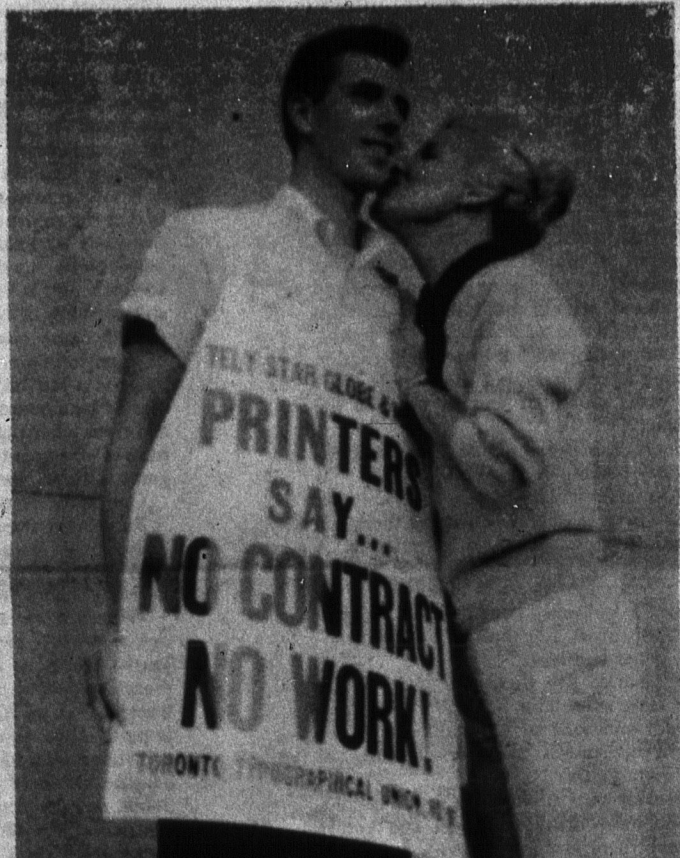
The ruling was part of a triple arbitration in which Monroe Berkowitz held that UPI must pay bureau assistants higher classification rates when they perform photo-printing and desk assignments but denied the Guild's claim that a schedule change in Denver violated the contract.

The San Francisco case involved a work schedule changed four days after it was posted. Management contended that the change was the result of an emergency constituted by injury to the bureau manager, but Berkowitz held that the case did not constitute an emergency within the meaning of the contract.

He ordered the company to pay additional half-time for work performed under the changed schedule. But he denied the Guild's plea in a similar case in Denver on the ground that an emergency had indeed been created by the dismissal of two employees.

The arbitrator ordered extra pay for a Los Angeles bureau assistant who management claimed was not entitled to it despite the fact that he worked for extensive periods printing telephotos and acted in a "newsman's capacity" while manning the bureau alone at night.

Berkowitz said the bureau assistant was comparable to a utility infielder in baseball, "except that the bureau assistant is playing the different positions in rapid-fire succession and, in some cases, is apparently occupying two bases at the same time."



KISS OF HONOR: Anne Davidson, executive member of the Toronto Guild, kisses her son Glenn as he leaves for picket line duty of the Telegram where she is a classified solicitor and he is a printer apprentice. Mrs. Davidson is one of 15 Toronto Guild members honoring the picket line.

Guildsman Muses Outside Picket Line

Today It's The Printers—Tomorrow Will It Be Us?

By James McGeisgel

I am a Telegram reporter who has acted on the right in the Newspaper Guild contract not to cross the printers' picket lines.

Shortly after the dispute between the publishers and printers began, a relative, concerned about my wife and baby, asked me if I had done right.

"Yes," I said. "I believe I have done right."

"What about all the others who did cross picket lines?" my relative finally asked. "You may be right. But have you been smart?"

That caught me by surprise. "I don't know about it being smart," I said.

I didn't make the obvious point that each of us must make his decision on the basis of what he knows and what he feels is right—or we are all at the mercy of the smart people.

In this current dispute I strongly feel that the moral right is on the side of the printers. They are fighting for a small stake in automation.

If the publishers had wanted me to feel less strongly about this, then when they said they were going to start operating computers—with or without printers—I would have liked to have seen them grant a few stays of execution.

I would have liked to have seen more out-in-the-open brinkmanship, with everyone publicly airing his views, as evidence that publishers are men of mercy and good faith.

Instead, on very short notice and scanty information, I was forced to make a very profound decision about my principles, my job and the security of my loved ones.

I'm sad to say it has divided me from many of my fellows.

I had been asked to accept, as I might the divine right of kings, that during months of negotiations over computers the "good guys" were always publishers and the "bad guys," U.S. union bosses.

I could not believe this was the whole of the story.

It is entirely plausible to me that, armed with computers, American publishing bosses could be the "bad guys." After all, they have closed down newspapers when it suited their purpose.

Nor could I accept the statement that 22 months was the limit of negotiations on an issue so huge as automation.

So what is the big rush about automation in Toronto, anyway?

Far from trailing the field, we appear to be pioneering the concept of "data centers" whose machines can't be delivered for a year and a half.

Today it is the printers who are being brought to heel with the 1620 console—a mere chimpanzee among computers.

Tomorrow, with IBM's newest 360 Data Processing System—a science-fiction wizard—it can do the work of editors and others.

So where is our strength? It has to be in the unity of newspaper unions.

If any one of them goes down before automation, all of the rest will be weakened.

Perhaps management simply wants to write a few long overdue compromises from the mother of craft unions?

This is the hope of many.

If so, I think the printers should do a little bending and be ready to give away any existing "make-work" practices—and possibly a few other things.

On the other hand, I think the publishers will be turning the clock back on labor relations if they force their demand to have foremen under their control.

Automation, so far as I can gather, is going to force the employers' bargaining unit higher up into management's ranks—not down—if it is not going to be a top-sided management arrangement.

Meanwhile, automation is just too big a weapon to be used to club any union into the ground, and it disturbs me greatly to see it happening.

I can't help wondering if an out-and-out showdown with printers over computers really was the only choice facing Toronto publishers this summer.

They say so. But I find it hard to believe.

Layoff Ban, 10% Boost In Pay Are Won In Vancouver Contract

(Continued from Page 1)

1, calls for a 3.25 percent increase annually, totaling 10.07 percent on a compounded basis over the three-year period. The minimum increase is \$2 a year, raising the minimum adult wage to \$56.

Increases of \$5.50 each year in four circulation top minimums will increase the top for district advisors to \$136.25. Similar raises in other circulation classifications will increase the top for zone managers to \$142.50, for country training supervisors to \$139.25, and for country field representatives to \$131.25.

The top for reporters and display salesmen will go up \$4.75 each year to \$147.75, while several business-office classifications will rise from \$10.28 to \$13.13 over the three-year period.

The new job-security clause provides permanent employees on the staff July 1 with a three-year employment guarantee against all economic contingencies except a strike that closes down all or part of the company's operations.

In the case of employees hired after the contract date, the publisher must provide the Guild with six months' notice of any staff reductions resulting from organizational changes, including automation.

The new human-relations commission to consider the impact of automation will be composed of three representatives each from management and the Guild.

Other contract changes include replacement of a three-man griev-

ance-arbitration board by a single arbitrator, a provision for maternity leave upon request, and a clause requiring the company to submit wage information to the Guild every Jan. 1.

Resolution Broadcast, Lowell Minimums Rise

Lowell, Mass.—Top minimums at the Lowell Sun have been increased from \$2 to \$6 in a contract settlement won after an ANG Convention resolution denouncing the publisher's bargaining position was broadcast by a city councilman on a local radio station.

The Boston Guild also won a company-paid health-insurance plan, plus a master medical plan in the second year, estimated to cost the employer \$4 a week for married employees.

The top minimums for reporters, advertising salesmen and editorial artists will go up \$3 in each year of the two-year contract, to \$126, while the top for photographers, women's-news reporters and advertising and layout artists will rise the same amount, to \$114.

Other improvements include a

fourth week's vacation after 15 years and a third week after 5½ years instead of 7½, provision for severance-pay credit during military leave, inclusion of the women's-news staff in the contract's eight-hour-day clause, and a 15-day speedup in grievance machinery.

The convention resolution read over the air scored the Sun's management for practicing "brinkmanship" in its bargaining with the Guild.

N.Y. City Photographers Upgraded In Contract

New York City — The New York Guild has negotiated a civil service upgrading that will increase the maximum pay of municipal photographers by up to \$1,760 a year in two steps.

Both photographers and senior photographers were raised two labor grades effective July 1 and will be raised another two grades next July 1. The upgrading will increase the maximum for senior cameramen from \$7,490 to \$9,250, while the top for other photographers will go from \$6,590 to \$8,200.

Among Ourselves

Al Williams, former president and treasurer of the Scranton Guild, has been promoted to managing editor of the Scranton Tribune and Scrantonian.

Williams, 44, has served as telegraph editor of the two papers, winning several prizes for make-up excellence. He was a member of the local executive board for many years.

It was a case of the secretary marrying the boss when International Representative Robert E. Bruner and Kathleen Weis were wed following the Guild's Long Beach Convention. Miss Weis, a member of the Cleveland Guild executive board and a delegate to the convention, was Bruner's secretary during the 1962-63 Cleveland newspaper strike.

Lois Weis, secretary of the Chicago Guild and a former Pulitzer Prize winner, has captured another award and so has Agnes McCay of the Los Angeles Guild.

They were among six women to receive "National Headliner" plaques for distinguished accomplishment from Theta Sigma Phi, women's journalism fraternity. And Muriel Fletcher of the New York World Telegram & Sun has won first prize in the fifth annual Catherine L. O'Brien Award for women's-interest reporting.

Ottawa Guildsman Clifford A. Sisson, editor of the Canadian Labour Congress publication, Canadian Labour, has been named secretary-treasurer of the CLC's Union Label Department. He will also be in charge of the CLC's liaison with provincial federations and local labor councils.

Martin Kessler, a former New York Mirror staffer, is the new editor of Stand By, publication of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Ellis T. Baker, editor of the Guild Reporter, addressed 250 members of the Union Teacher Press Association in Chicago Aug. 14. The UTPA is composed of the editors of publications published by locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

Trading stamps do not increase prices

This was one of the conclusions reached after a survey recently completed by Verne A. Bunn, professor of marketing at the University of Wichita.

Prof. Bunn's study took 30 months and covered five states: Oklahoma, Missouri and Montana, where there are no restrictions against stamps; Wyoming, where stamps can be redeemed only for cash and are therefore little used, and Kansas, which prohibits stamps.

In scope, Prof. Bunn's investigation is ranked second only to a 1958 U.S. Department of Agriculture pricing study. Prof. Bunn's survey was conducted on a wholly independent basis under a grant provided by The Sperry and Hutchinson Company.

In representative stores throughout the five states, Prof. Bunn priced a "market basket" similar to that devised by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for determin-

ing cost of living changes. The basket contained national brand food items and standard grades.

Here are Prof. Bunn's conclusions:

"There is no evidence that stamps used on a widespread basis lead to higher prices.

"Prices tend to be lower in states where stamps are used freely.

"Price levels in cities where stamps were in use were in every case actually a little lower than in similar cities of neighboring states where stamps were banned or restricted.

"When the retail value of merchandise obtained with stamps is taken into account, consumers in states allowing unhampered stamp utilization receive significantly more value for their food dollar than do households in the restricted states."



AN AMERICAN WAY OF THRIFT SINCE 1896

Editorial

Unconditional Surrender?

There can no longer be much doubt that the seven-week-old dispute between the Toronto publishers and the typographical union came as a result of a management decision and that it is being continued by management's choice.

Having won an agreement on the only issue outstanding at the time the dispute began, the papers now are demanding the union's unconditional surrender.

The dispute began after 22 months of bargaining, when only one issue—the question of jurisdiction over multipurpose computer systems that won't be installed for 18 months—remained on the table.

The publishers precipitated the conflict by unilaterally imposing new procedures involving stock-market typesetting tape after laying down a seven-day ultimatum in the full knowledge that the printers—like Guildsmen and other union members—cannot accept piecemeal implementation of a contract.

The printers were taken by surprise. So unprepared were they that even their picket signs had to be lettered by hand.

But there is evidence that the publishers had carefully prepared for such a confrontation at a time of their own choosing.

► They trained nonunion employees months in advance to replace ITU members by means of computer typesetting.

► They refused to offer any semblance of an honorable settlement of the computer issue by refusing to entertain any proposal of any kind of jurisdiction over the computer by the ITU.

► They told leaders of other unions that they wanted a settlement with the printers before any of the other unions' contracts were open for negotiation.

In the third week of the stoppage, the computer issue was settled on terms the Toronto Guild has described as "almost identical" to those originally proposed by the publishers.

But simple surrender was no longer enough. It was at this stage that the publishers chose to reopen three other issues and to introduce two more that they had not thought to raise during almost two years of previous bargaining.

These included the removal of foremen and assistant foremen from union jurisdiction, the elimination of reproduction of mast advertising, the right to introduce new work-saving equipment in the future, and—most important—the elimination of picket-line clauses from both printers' and mailers' contracts.

In the words of a Toronto Guild resolution, these are terms that "appear to be directed at the destruction" of the union.

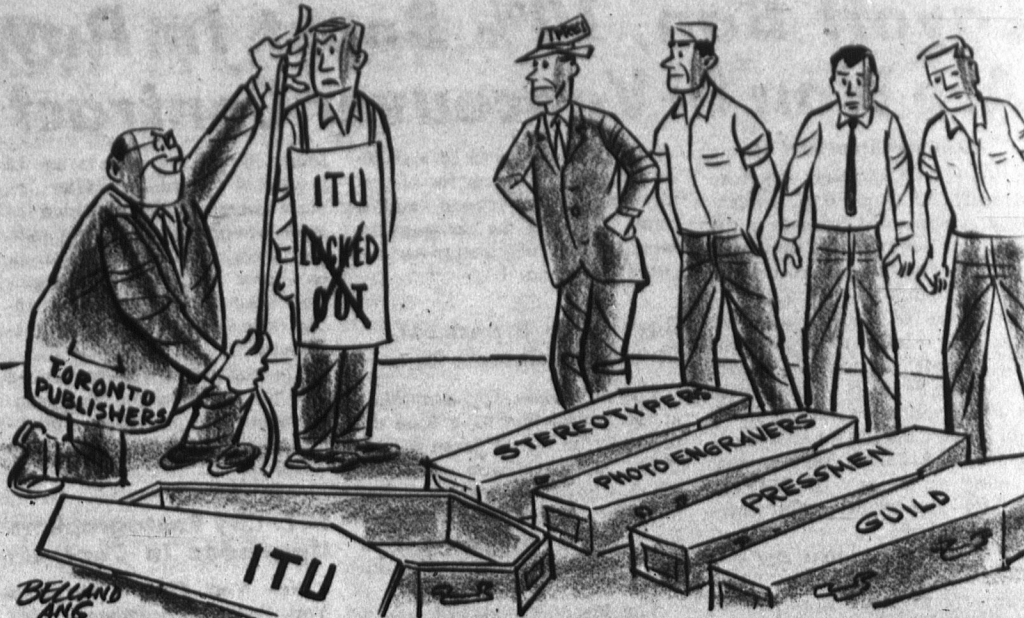
It is becoming increasingly apparent that the publishers, having pushed the printers out of their plant, do not want them back on any terms but their own.

And now they have issued an ultimatum. Their final offer includes a demand that the strikers agree they have hired must, in any settlement, become permanent employees, with seniority over the 115 union members on the printers' substitute list.

Can anyone believe that the publishers, having broken the typographical union or reduced it to weakness, would be disposed to concede an inch to other unions at the bargaining table?

"Where is our strength?" one Guild member has written in explaining why he has refused to cross the printers' picket lines at the Telegram. "It has to be in the unity of newspaper unions. If any one of them goes down before automation, all of the rest would be weakened."

It is upon recognition of this elemental fact rather than upon mere sentiment that interunion solidarity and cooperation has been built over the years. A union disregards it only at its imminent peril.



DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Democrats Take Historic Turn In Freezing Out Bigots

By WILLARD SHELTON, Washington Guild

Athens City—The Democratic Party settled the issue of its conscience at its convention here—the issue of its moral convictions on human rights—which means, in the context of our times, the rights of Negro Americans. It came down on the side of Jefferson.

The campaign leading up to the November election will develop its own tempo and themes. The "choice, not an echo" the Republican Party offered in nominating Sen. Goldwater, running on a platform contrived to suit his personal record, is one the people alone will adjudicate.

The Democrats here made a historic decision on civil rights that itself intensified a campaign theme. No state Democratic party can hereafter expect its delegates to be seated in a national nominating convention unless its local processes and elections are free and open to all citizens without regard to race, creed or color, it decreed.

This closed a chapter—a long, long chapter—in party history. It is a civil rights plank of great strength, an internal declaration that Democratic Party affairs shall not be conducted on the basis of racially segregated elections. The convention set up a watchdog committee to observe the operations of its state parties. For practical purposes, that means to observe the processes of such state "regulars" as those from Mississippi and Alabama, who forever threaten to "bolt" if they cannot dominate national party policy.

The ironies are enormous. Sixteen years ago the mayor of Minneapolis, an upcoming young Democrat in a troubled city and a politically fragmented state, led a fight in the party convention that nominated Harry S. Truman to strengthen the platform declarations on civil rights. He won on a bitter roll call. He was Hubert H. Humphrey, now President Johnson's personal choice for the vice presidential nomination.

Sixteen years ago a Birmingham police commissioner named Eugene (Bull) Connor, delegate from Alabama, led a walkout of half his state's delegation in protest against the Humphrey civil rights plank. "Bull" Connor went out of the convention this year, too, protesting that he had been "thrown out" rather than that he

had "bolted" the convention.

He could have stayed, of course, by stating that he would support the party nominees and platform. The insistence of the convention that Alabama and Mississippi delegates subscribe to a loyalty oath was the signal that the national Democratic party, acknowledging its historic base in the South and gentle in its phrases, had decided at last to isolate the Southern elements led by quasi-Republicans and crypto-Dixiecrats.

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama and Gov. Paul J. Johnson of Mississippi had worked feverishly to incite a "sympathy" walkout of other Southern state delegations. The temper of the times had left them behind: the other Southerners simply accepted the party's new decisiveness as right and proper.

"Leave 'em lay where they hang them" is a sound rule. Most Southern Democratic leaders are ready to accept the law of the land in regard to civil rights. Those who disagree have been told they can join the Southern Republican Party—if the GOP cares to be labeled as a haven for refugees on this issue—or pursue any independent course they choose.

President Johnson's selection of Sen. Humphrey for the vice presidency creates a ticket of obvious strength and versatility. There is no reason to doubt the President's statement that he selected Humphrey for precisely the reason he himself had been selected four years earlier by John F. Kennedy—that he had the character and breadth of experience to fit him for the succession.

There are legends around that die hard in the clichés and the quips about both Mr. Johnson and Sen. Humphrey. Since the

President is a Texan, his total devotion to the simple principle of human rights is doubted, although his record is clear and long-standing. Since Humphrey is a "liberal," Northern variety, he is described as dubiously acceptable to Florida woolhats and Georgia Piney-woods folk.

The members of the Senate, who have known Humphrey as an intimate since 1949, feel otherwise. No one rises to power and influence in that select company except on the basis of solid performance.

The liberals are an invaluable influence without whom the Senate could scarcely live. But they tend to shoot off on individual tangents; they are prima donnas and they hate the self-discipline of party responsibility. Sen. Humphrey proved himself a statesman and politician of the first rank when he held together both the Republican and Democratic liberals in the common cause of passing a workable and effective civil rights bill.

Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois got plaudits for his contributions and he deserved them. But it was Humphrey who controlled the Democratic majority, producing acceptance of a bill constructed with true legislative craftsmanship.

The election will offer "a choice, not an echo," on the basis of vast differences between the candidates and the platforms, difference of a scope the country has seldom seen in elections. President Johnson's choice of Sen. Humphrey as his running-mate offers a contrast to Goldwater's selection of William E. Miller, who was planning to retire from the House this year because he faced defeat in his own congressional district. The Democrats here declared for civil rights; Sen. Goldwater voted against the bill.

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