

\$200 Top Won At 3rd Suburban Coast Paper

Vallejo, Calif.—Key top minimums of \$200 have been won by the San Francisco-Oakland Guild in a third suburban contract, with the Vallejo Times-Herald and News-Chronicle. The morning Times-Herald and the evening News-Chronicle each has a circulation of 29,000.

The new contract provides a \$28.75 increase over three years while reducing the work week from 40 to 37½ hours.

The Vallejo contract is the third San Francisco suburban pact to achieve parity with San Francisco. Earlier \$200 settlements were won at the Richmond Independent and the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat.

Matching gains at the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat and the Richmond Independent, the Vallejo Unit also won \$3 in pension money, and vacation, severance pay and health-and-welfare improvements.

The top for reporters and display salesmen is increased \$5 retroactive to Sept. 10, \$5 next Sept. 10, \$6 a year later, \$4.75 April 10, 1969, and \$8 Sept. 1, 1969, nine days before contract expiration. The starting minimum is increased \$13.75, to \$110.75.

The top for outside classified salesmen is increased \$4, \$5 and \$6 on the contract anniversary dates and \$2.50 Sept. 1, 1969, to \$150. The top for society report-

ers is increased \$14, to \$153, and that for clerks by \$12.50, to \$105.

The swingmen's differential is raised 50 cents a shift, to \$1.50.

The work week will be reduced in two stages, to 38¾ hours July 1, 1968, and 37½ July 1, 1969. The service requirement for a fourth week's vacation is reduced from 17 years to 10 next Jan. 1, and the severance-pay ceiling is increased two weeks, to 32.

The mileage allowance is raised

one cent, to 11 cents a mile, with the weekly guarantee up \$2.50, to \$15.

The company's pension contribution will be increased from \$4 to \$7 a week in three annual steps, and insurance benefits will be increased to match those in the Guild's citywide San Francisco contract, including a new \$1,000-\$5,000 life-insurance and accidental-death-and-dismemberment policy.

Probe Demanded By N.Y. Guild As World Journal Closes Down



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Washington, D. C.

May 12, 1967

N.Y. Printers Win 21% Raise In 3-Year Times, News Pacts

New York City—A wage settlement providing a 21-percent increase over three years, expected to set a pattern for other New York newspaper-union contracts, has been won by the Typographical Union at the New York Times and Daily News. The agreement will raise the printers' day-shift scale by \$32.42.

The Guild expects "the same percentage formula on salaries," not merely on minimums, local Executive Vice President Thomas J. Murphy said. The reporter top minimum at both the Times and News is currently \$200.

The printers' settlement, subject to ratification, provides for raises of eight percent the first year plus six percent compounded in each subsequent year, raising the day-shift scale by \$12.07, \$10 and \$10.35, to \$184.27 in the third year. The old scale was \$151.85.

The settlement, reached April 28 at the News and May 5 at the Times, is 33 percent higher than the \$23.30 increase offered earlier by the News and rejected.

In addition to the wage increase, the printers won a cost-of-living clause and fringe improvements valued at \$2 a week.

The settlement came in the wake of a series of on-the-job shop meetings, stepped up gradually from two hours to five hours per shift, which had forced the News to curtail its advertising.

"Provided comparable agreements can be reached with all other unions," said News Publisher F. M. Flynn, "there should be a period of stability during which all parties can work toward im-

proved employee-management relations."

Mediator Theodore W. Kheel stated that while the nine other unions have individual problems, "the same pattern of wages applies."

Printers' President Bertram A. Powers said a "no-deviation" clause prohibited his union from offering more favorable terms to

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Peak Profit Rate Of 22% Earned By 240,000 Daily

A profit of 22 percent on total revenue was earned last year by the 240,000-circulation daily whose operations are analyzed annually by Editor & Publisher. It was the highest profit rate since the analysis began in 1960.

The 22-percent profit before taxes was 2.5 percent higher than the paper's 1965 rate and 136 percent higher than the average before-tax rate of 9.3 percent earned by all other U.S. manufacturing industries.

The paper's before-tax profits

totaled \$3,296,179, more than 45 percent higher than the \$2,263,122 earned in 1960, when E&P began reporting on the paper's finances. Last year's total was nearly 21 percent above 1965's.

In comparison, the Guild's

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3 Publishers Weigh Starting New Daily

New York City—The New York Guild yesterday called for an investigation of the eight-month-old World Journal Tribune's sudden closing as three publishers studied the possibility of starting a new afternoon newspaper.

The World Journal announced its demise May 5, only hours ahead of its last edition. The decision threw 2,600 employees, including 750 Guild members, out of work.

The Guild immediately set up a job-placement bureau and met with management May 8 to discuss severance pay and other aspects of what local Executive Vice-President Thomas J. Murphy termed the paper's "senseless suicide."

Both the Guild and the Typographical Union are seeking gov-

Antitrust Bill Seen Smoothing Monopoly Path . . . Page 3

ernment investigations into the unexpected closing of a paper its management had launched with announced prospects of a successful operation.

Guild officers, in a statement sent to President Johnson, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Mayor John V. Lindsay, federal and state attorney generals and New York congressmen and senators, said the paper's closing "cries out for investigation" by the federal, state or city governments.

"Why did the owners kill it," they asked, "without warning, without notice, without showing in any way that they tried to save it? What about the . . . 2,600 employees? What about the 700,000 readers? What about an ex-

Brief Encounter

New York City—James Moss's career on the New York World Journal Tribune was short and bitter.

Thursday afternoon—24 hours after the decision to fold the paper reportedly was made—the company telephoned Moss to tell him he was hired as an editorial clerk and to report for work at 6 p.m. He promptly quit his job as an assistant editor of a theatrical weekly and put in a seven-hour shift.

It was his first and last. The next morning he was told his job, along with those of 2,600 other employees, was over.

planation?"

Among the facts requiring explanation they listed the publisher's failure to alert the unions in advance about any economic difficulties, the fact management told supervisors the paper was making progress the day before the shutdown, that it moved to hire new employees just before the shutdown, that local advertising was rejected in hopes of luring national advertising, and the effects of the paper's "divided management."

Typographical Union President (Continued on Page 7)

AFL-CIO Gives Guild Interim Overseas Aid

The AFL-CIO Executive Council this week authorized a grant of \$27,900 to the Guild to enable it to continue its international-affairs program until permanent financing can be found and approved by ANG's 1967 Convention in July.

Federation President George Meany, in announcing the grant May 8, said he had "checked out" published reports that foundations that had contributed to the Guild's overseas program had served as pipelines for Central Intelligence Agency funds and was satisfied that the Guild had no knowledge of any CIA involvement.

Meany described the Guild's overseas program as "highly important" and said that if the Guild "ever came back for more money, they probably could get it."

The Guild had sought the AFL-CIO grant after its International Executive Board voted March 12 to terminate relations with the foundations when they refused to say whether or not they had received CIA funds.

With the AFL-CIO's interim assistance, the Guild's International Affairs Department will be able to maintain its present staff and to

(Continued on Page 6)



END OF THE WORLD: Photographer Ira Rosenberg mirrors the feelings of 2,600 World Journal Tribune

employees as he scans the paper's last issue after receiving word that it would publish no more. The first edition contained not a line on the shutdown.

Maine Drops Everything To Honor Guild Leader



'CROCKER DAY': Above, a framed proclamation of "Robert M. Crocker Day" in Maine is presented to the Wire Service Guild president by Gov. Kenneth M.

Curtis, right, at special joint meeting of the State Legislature. At right, a page from the official program, marking the many facets of Crocker's activity, including his Guild service.

Augusta, Me.—The Maine Legislature, in which Wire Service Guild President Robert M. Crocker once served as a page, made history April 26 when it honored him for 20 years of outstanding service as the Associated Press's State House correspondent.

It was the first time, House Speaker David J. Kennedy noted, that the Legislature had ever assembled in joint session to pay tribute to someone other than its own members or an elected official.

Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis proclaimed the day "Robert M. Crocker Day" in the state. The proclamation cited Crocker as the dean of State House reporters, an acknowledged expert in the field of legislative procedure and issues and the personification of the Maine news media's "high quality of honest, objective journalism."

Curtis, addressing the special session, paid tribute to Crocker as a newsman who has lived up to columnist Walter Lippmann's definition of a journalist's

responsibility: "to bring light to the hidden facts, to set them in relation with each other and make a picture of reality on which men can act."

Other speeches of tribute were made by Kennedy, Senate President Joseph B. Campbell and Dr. Thomas H. Reynolds, president of Bates College, Crocker's alma mater. Reynolds noted Crocker's service as both secretary-treasurer and president of the Wire Service Guild.

Messages of praise were read from U.S. Sens. Margaret Chase Smith and

Edmund S. Muskie, Rep. Peter N. Kyros, former Govs. John H. Reed and Frederick G. Payne, U.S. Ambassador to Canada Stanley R. Tupper and Francis R. Murphy, retired New England news editor for AP.

The messages were assembled in an album and presented to Crocker along with a framed copy of the proclamation and a console television set.

Guests at the joint legislative session included ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr.



Teeth Urged For Equality Commission

ANG officers last week urged that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission be provided with a set of teeth.

Executive Vice President William J. Farson and Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., in a letter to the Senate Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee, endorsed an amendment that would give the commission enforcement powers similar to those of other federal regulatory agencies.

They said the Guild "views the EEOC's present inability to employ judicially enforceable cease-and-desist orders . . . as an indication that the EEOC was created as a less-than-equal regulatory agency to enforce a law aimed at remedying less-than-equal treatment of a large portion of the nation's citizenry."

"Second-class status for EEOC," they said, "has impeded seriously realization of the aims of the 1964 [Civil Rights] Act . . . and aided those in our society bent on frustrating the national policy of equal opportunity."

Farson and Perlik urged that the amendment, introduced by Sens. Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania and Jacob K. Javits of New York, be reported out promptly without any weakening.

Award Pattern?

Broun Winner Captures Pulitzer

New York City—For the third consecutive year the Pulitzer Prize for local investigative reporting has gone to the winner of ANG's Heywood Broun Award for writing in the crusading spirit of the Guild's founder.

This year's Pulitzer Prize, announced last week, went to Gene Miller of the Miami Herald, cited for two separate cases in which

he helped to free persons wrongfully convicted of murder.

Last year's Broun winner, John A. Frasca of the Tampa Tribune, and the 1965 winner, Gene Goltz of the Houston Post, both won Pulitzer Prizes for the same stories that brought them the Broun Award.

A 1967 Pulitzer also went to Wire Service Guildsman Jack R.

Thornell of Associated Press's New Orleans bureau for a picture of James H. Meredith after he was shot on his march to Jackson, Miss.

Miller, a former member of the Richmond Guild, chalked up a new achievement recently when he obtained an exclusive interview with Adam Clayton Powell on Bimini by handing Powell's maid a picture of the congressman on which he had scribbled: "Anyone who would threaten to shoot a photographer can't be all bad."

The latest in a series of controversies that have plagued the Pulitzer Prizes came when the Pulitzer advisory board overruled jury selections of Harrison E. Salisbury's series on North Vietnam for the international-reporting prize and columnists Drew Pearson's and Jack Anderson's expose of Sen. Thomas J. Dodd's financial dealings for the national-reporting prize.

The board gave the international award instead to R. John Hughes of the Christian Science Monitor for reports from Indonesia and the national award to two Wall Street Journal reporters for stories on links between U.S. crime and gambling in the Bahamas.

The Wall Street Journal entry was taken from another category and was never even seen by the jury, it was reported.

Ontario Labor Laws Unfair, CLC Testifies

Ottawa, Ont.—To deny striking workers the right to picket is to deny "basic civil rights enjoyed by other Canadians," the Canadian Labour Congress told the Rand Royal Commission on Labor Disputes this week.

Ontario labor legislation is "a set of rules which are biased in their effect against trade unions," the CLC said in a May 8 memorandum to Commissioner Ivan C. Rand, who is inquiring into provincial labor legislation.

The Rand inquiry stems in part from a union campaign to ban the use of injunctions in labor disputes, sparked by an antipicketing injunction issued during the Toronto Guild's 1966 strike against the Oshawa Times.

In reviewing recent disputes the CLC cited a growing tendency for the government to become "an intervenor which, if not plainly on the side of the employer, has, to say the least, set out to make the role of the union increasingly difficult to exercise."

"Government has demonstrated a greater willingness to intervene to stop strikes than to prevent them from happening," the CLC said, adding that "the use being made by employers of injunctions is an example of the inequality which exists between employers and trade unions."

"Through injunctions, strikers are prevented from picketing, but there is nothing to stop the employer hiring strikebreakers."

Jersey Daily Reneges On Guild Pact

Newark, N.J.—An attempt by the New Brunswick Home News to renege on wage increases to which it agreed last December has prompted an unfair-labor-practice charge by the North Jersey Guild.

The Guild filed the charge last month after the company refused to sign a contract containing minimums initiated by its chief negotiator. The negotiator, David Winkworth, manager of the New Jersey Publishers Bureau, said they were initiated as the result of a misunderstanding.

The company has withheld retroactive pay dating back to the previous contract's expiration Sept. 20, although it began paying negotiated raises at the start of the year.

At issue are raises for copy-readers and editors—\$1 effective next Aug. 1 and \$3 June 1, 1968.

In the wake of an earlier NLRB complaint issued at the Guild's request, the Home News last month produced full payroll data.

By adding 12 names to information earlier rejected as incomplete, the company complied with the law eight months after the Guild had sought the information and three months after the board ordered it produced.

Antitrust Bill Seen Smoothing Monopoly Path

A pending bill to exempt mergers and semimergers of "failing newspapers" from federal antitrust laws would "encourage and accelerate the trend toward monopoly and chain-owner dominance of the newspaper industry," ANG officers declared this week.

Executive Vice President William J. Farson and Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., in a letter to members of the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, accused the bill's sponsors of paving the path to monopoly "in the guise of preserving the 'historic independence of the newspaper press'."

They would do so, the officers said, by "legitimizing certain business practices aimed at discouraging or squelching competition which now are forbidden under the antitrust laws."

The bill, introduced by Sen. Carl Hayden, Arizona Democrat, and 14 cosponsors as the "Failing Newspaper Act," describes a failing newspaper as one which "appears unlikely to remain or become" financially sound.

This definition, the officers told the legislators, "would considerably enlarge the definition of 'failing enterprise' under which newspaper mergers and semimergers [joint operating arrangements] have been taking place during the

past 25 years."

One of the effects of applying this "extremely loose definition" of a failing newspaper to all antitrust laws would be "legalization of conspiracies and/or combinations in restraint of trade and monopolistic practices allowed no other industry in the nation," the letter said.

The bill "by definition," would also legalize price and rate fixing under a joint newspaper operating arrangement, the officers pointed out.

Citing descriptions of the newspaper industry's "unprecedented economic vigor" by the American Newspaper Publishers Association at its recent convention, and profit

records of Editor & Publisher's "average medium city newspaper," the officers said the bill would give newspapers a position under the antitrust laws "enjoyed by no other industry in the nation and one not justified for one of the nation's healthiest industries."

Pointing to the growth of "one-newspaper or one-ownership news-

paper communities and newspaper-chain ownership," the officers said "liberalization of present antitrust laws" for the newspaper industry "would in fact be damaging to the public's right to a free press" rather than protect the press's "historic independence."

They suggested that rather than the Hayden bill, legislation long urged by the Guild to curb newspaper mergers ought to be enacted.

The Guild's proposal, endorsed by the International Typographical Union and the AFL-CIO, would require 90 days' notice of newspaper sales, mergers and semimergers and an opportunity for outside bidders to buy the paper at a fair market price. The fair market price would "exclude as an element of evaluation the value to an acquiring competitor of the achievement of monopoly or superior competitive position," the officers pointed out.

The ITU Executive Council has also expressed its opposition to the bill in a letter to its sponsors, warning that "the trend to monopolize the communications industry is inimical to the public interest and a danger to our republican form of government."

The Senate subcommittee will hold hearings on the measure.

Trial Opens In Government Move To Contain Times-Mirror Empire

Los Angeles, Calif.—A major test case in the government's campaign to curb newspaper monopoly got under way last week with the opening of a suit to strip the Los Angeles Times of two San Bernardino papers.

The Times's 15-million-dollar purchase of the San Bernardino Sun and Telegram in 1964 has given it a "near monopoly" in San Bernardino County, Bernard M. Hollander of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division declared in his opening address.

Hollander termed the acquisition a major step in a six-year-old Times campaign to gain control of many Southern California newspapers in violation of the Sherman and Clayton acts.

The government, in addition to seeking an annulment of the San Bernardino sale, is asking that the Times be forbidden to add other newspapers in the area to its expanding chain.

The Times, said Hollander, has sought unsuccessfully to buy Hearst's Los Angeles Herald-Examiner and the Santa Barbara News-Press and has made overtures to the Pomona Progress-Bulletin, the Riverside Press-Enterprise and the Bakersfield Californian. It succeeded in acquiring the Orange Coast Daily Pilot as well as the San Bernardino papers, he noted.

Acquisition of the San Bernardino papers gave the Times more than 99 percent of all morn-

ing circulation in the county, he pointed out. The Sun and Telegram had been the largest independent newspaper ownership in the area when the Times bought it by matching an offer from the Pulitzer interests, he said.

Attorneys for the Times argued that the acquisition did not violate antitrust laws because there had been no "effective competition" between the Times and the San Bernardino papers.

They said 85 percent of the papers' circulation was outside any overlapping area and that competition remained, in any case, with television and radio stations.

The trial is expected to last six weeks.

60% Postage Boost Is Protested By GR

Proposed postage-rate increases that would increase costs for mailing the Guild Reporter and other labor papers by 60 percent were protested this month as the House Subcommittee on Postal Rates opened public hearings.

Guild Reporter Editor Ellis T. Baker, in a letter to the subcommittee, described the increase as "manifestly inequitable" in view of the 20-percent increase proposed for most categories of second-class mail.

Under the schedule of rate increases proposed by President Johnson, the piece rate for labor papers and other nonprofit publications would rise from an eighth of a cent to a fifth of a cent per copy—a 60-percent increase.

Unlike increases for several other categories, including one as low as 16½ percent, the increase would be imposed all at once instead of being staggered over three years.

Guild Pledges Aid As CTU Starts Talks

New York City—The Commercial Telegraphers' Union began bargaining a new Associated Press contract this week with a pledge of support from the Wire Service Guild.

The Guild's executive committee urged members to "give all support and encouragement" to the CTU.

Guild President Robert M. Crocker, in a message to AP members, said CTU negotiations "are as important to us in the long run as they are to CTU members themselves."

Crocker cited a Guild-CTU agreement, approved in a membership referendum of both unions last December, to honor each other's picket lines. He reported that Guild leaders have extended an offer of "full co-operation" to CTU officers.

The International Labor Press Association has said the increase would be "catastrophic" for some publications.

Baker, in his protest, pointed out that the GR and other labor publications are already paying increased rates, effective May 1, for copies mailed overseas and face a 200-percent increase for copies mailed to Canada starting in November 1968.

The Guild Reporter sends more than 300 copies to Munich members of its Radio Free Europe Unit at a cost now raised to four cents a copy and sends 2,700 copies to Canada at a rate due to rise from one cent to three.

Baker urged the House subcommittee to hold the increase for nonprofit publications to no more than 20 percent and to stagger it over three years.

Baker sent a copy of his letter to all Guild locals and asked them to write their congressmen protesting the magnitude of the increase.

"We are not opposed to a reasonable increase in postal rates under which the GR and other union publications would provide their fair share of the additional revenue needed to improve postal service," Baker told the locals, "but we do feel very strongly that the increase proposed is inequitable and discriminatory."

Church-Paper Strike Voted In St. Louis

St. Louis, Mo.—The St. Louis Guild's Catholic Review Unit voted unanimously this week to authorize strike action unless agreement can be reached on an initial contract with the archdiocese weekly.

No progress has been made in 15 meetings since the paper recognized the Guild as bargaining agent for its 19 editorial and business employees last December.

Major issues are wages, hours, and a sudden company effort to exclude the unit chairman, an assistant managing editor, from the bargaining unit.



BREAKTHROUGH PACT: Two-year Chicago Sun-Times and Daily News contract in which the Chicago Guild achieved a \$205 reporter top minimum is made official. Local President Lloyd Green signs for the Guild as Leo R. Newcombe, company vice president, waits with poised pen. Others seated are Harry Schaudt, left, employee-

relations director, and Philip O'Connor, Daily News Unit chairman. Standing, from left, are James Wagner, member of the Guild negotiating committee; Ralph Otwell, assistant to the editor of the Sun-Times; Lynn Slovonsky, Guild committeeman; Larry Deever, personnel manager; Ritz Fischer, assistant to the editor of the Daily News, and Justin F. McCarthy, Jr., Guild executive secretary.

\$14 Wage Increase, Shorter Week Won In 20-Month Joliet Contract

Joliet, Ill.—A \$14 increase in the reporter top minimum, a shorter work week and a fourth week's vacation have been won by the Chicago Guild in a 20-month pact at the Joliet Herald-News.

Wage increases of \$7 retroactive to Nov. 1 and \$7 Sept. 1 will raise the reporter top to \$166. The top for assistant society editor is increased \$28, to \$154.

The premium for work in higher classifications is increased 50 cents a shift, to \$2.

The work week is reduced from 40 hours to 37½, and a fourth week's vacation is added after 22 years' service, effective next Jan. 1. The company will pay the employee's \$1.14-a-week share of indemnity-insurance premiums starting in July.

In addition to obtaining a fourth week's vacation, the Guild won a reduction from four years to three in the service requirement

for a third week's vacation, plus provision for an extra day with each year of service from 18 through 21.

Hollywood Circulation Group Votes May 18 On Guild Bid

Los Angeles, Calif.—Thirty outside circulation employees at the Hollywood Citizen-News and Valley Times will vote on a representation bid by the Los Angeles Guild May 18.

The National Labor Relations Board election was set up after the NLRB's regional director rejected a company contention that the circulation men were either supervisors or independent con-

tractors rather than employees.

The company has appealed the ruling to the full NLRB in Washington. A decision is being awaited.

The Guild, meanwhile, notified the NLRB last week that it no longer claims to represent a majority of circulation employees at the Ventura County Star-Free Press, where it won a representation election in April 1966.

The American Newspaper

— It's Just Bad News

Part 2

THE PRIMARY danger of chains is not that their operators are evil but that absentee owners are bad for American papers. So is ordinary corporate management.

Chains increase absentee ownership. And they deepen the tendency for monolithic politics in an institution already suffering from severe ideological ossification. Thirty chains own 308 papers controlling 40 percent of all daily papers sold in the country. The seven largest chains (in average daily circulation, in decreasing size, Chicago Tribune, Scripps-Howard, Hearst, Newhouse, Knight, Gannett and Ridder) control 24 percent of all daily papers sold. In leadership and in editorial views they are something less than a representative spectrum of American thought and values.

They tend not only to present single editorial views on any national issue but also enlarge their corporate size on political grounds. When the conservative Chicago Tribune bought the Fort Lauderdale News in Florida, it was in political camaraderie. The chief executive of the News, R. H. Gore, said: "There isn't another newspaper organization with whom I would have entertained negotiations. . . . Our basic philosophy on government . . . for community progress and civic upbringing is almost identical." If that part of Florida expected ideological relief it was wrong.

In 1962 a controversy between the Du Pont ownership of one of their Delaware papers and the paper's executive editor provoked the question of whether it would be better to avoid embarrassment by having the Du Pont holding company, Christiana Securities, sell the paper. In an internal memorandum, Editor-Publisher Charles L. Reese, Jr., told Lamont du Pont Copeland, president of the Du Pont Co., that one way out would be:

"1. Outright sale to an outside newspaper organization whose political and economic views closely parallel those of the present ownership. There are a number of such organizations. To avoid having the papers fall into unfriendly hands through a second sale, the sales agreement should give Christiana or its successors the first opportunity to purchase the papers if they should be again put up for sale."

The Du Ponts did not sell their papers, but the conflict continued, causing the executive editor, Creed Black, now managing editor of the Chicago Daily News, to quit in protest.

THE CHAINS will probably continue to grow. Eighty percent of all newspaper sales since the war have been to other newspapers. The Internal Revenue Service has a rule against "unreasonable" accumulation of corporate income without taxation, but the Tax Court has ruled that using accumulations of newspaper profits to buy more newspapers is a "reasonable need of the business."

The underlying cause for both the old and the new monopolies is mass production and mass consumption, which favor the big operator. The best hope of the reader is to keep pressure on existing monopolies, not to bifurcate from sheer corporate guilt but to be more responsive to the community.

The history of newspapers in modern times is that survival tends to go to the paper most serious about news. The Chicago Tribune is the best 19th Century newspaper in America; it thrives because it has always been diligent about news, even eccentric news.

The New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune entered World War II with roughly the same circulation. When wartime newsprint restrictions went into force, each had to make a decision: With a fixed size of paper, would they give more space to the ad-



'30' FOR THE HERALD TRIBUNE
Casualty Of A Fatal Decision?

vertisers who were clamoring to buy or to the readers who wanted war news?

The Herald Tribune decided it would solidify its financial position by selling more ads. The Times made a good, gray decision to put its space into news. The late Orvil Dryfoos, publisher of the Times, said he thought this was a crucial decision that sent the Times into the postwar era in an unassailable position and the Trib into a decline.

The Canadian press lord, Roy Thomson, insists that he is interested only in newspaper balance sheets. In St. Petersburg, Fla., he controlled the Independent, a dispirited, ultra-conservative, segregationist sheet. His competition was Nelson Poynter's Times. Poynter broke all the hard-boiled rules of newspaperdom. St. Petersburg is "God's Waiting Room," a city of elderly, retired white people, walking about with canes, jealous of their pensions, ready-made Goldwaterites. Poynter is a liberal and fills his paper with national news, economic graphs, investigative stories from courthouse and statehouse, plugs for the liberal Democratic ethic. He makes a great deal of money. Thomson lost a great deal of money and finally persuaded Poynter to let the Independent collapse into Poynter's reluctant arms.

The Chicago Tribune, an ultraconservative paper, and the St. Petersburg Times, a liberal one, both survived and prospered because they were serious about their news.

Obviously, many papers frivolous or incompetent in handling news survive and make profits but almost always in monopoly towns or places where they have a peaceful coexistence pact with a similar competitor. The New York Daily News seems to be an exception.

That tabloid is the country's largest, with 2,036,000 daily circulation (Sunday: 3,100,000). It is in the zam-pok-zowie school of journalism, full of sex, crime and high jinks. To casual eyes it looks hostile to serious news, regarding great national matters about the way a high-flying drinker regards antabuse. But looks are deceiving. It hires relatively high-class talent, and, like the Chicago Tribune, a corporate and ideological cousin, it is serious and talented about the news it does go after.

It reached its peak serving the city with the greatest and most steady infusion of semiliterate newcomers, first from abroad and then from unlettered rural areas and Puerto Rico. And now that its audience, along with everyone else's, is getting more sophisticated, the Daily News is running into rougher times and is re-examining its circulation base and news product.

CITIES THAT still have competition could be helped by enactment of a law proposed by the American Newspaper Guild: Let a paper be put up for sale to the highest bidder before it is merged or commits suicide. [The Guild's proposed legislation would require that a failing paper be offered to an outside buyer at its fair market value before it could be sold to a competitor.] Many a competing paper has died because it was comatose from malnutrition and managerial abuse, but the death certificate was signed "rising costs, labor troubles, etc." If a paper can bring a fair price on the market, why not let it live?

While most newspaper sales merely extend the practices and the policies of other papers, and most of these are conservative, putting papers up for public sale might attract new and contemporaneous blood. The most stultifying intellectual element in the press of the last two generations has been editorial rigidity in ideology, except that most editorial-page philosophy has not been sufficiently developed to be called ideology. It has gone far beyond presidential endorsements, though these were impressive: Since the New Deal and until the Johnson phenomenon of 1964, American dailies have given Democrats no more than 23 percent support. This is only one sign of the alienation of most papers from their audience.

To this day John Maynard Keynes is a profane name in editorials, though it is impossible to discuss post-World War I economics without him (he is somewhat dated now and inadequate, but he is still an editorial swear word). Editorial pages helped make the word "Washington" a symbol of corruption and waste.

"Planning" of any kind unit for any purpose un-American until trucks began to have from the downtown area out to be that cities of planning. Newspapers in favor of community

Editorials didn't in they have established of political and social pinched and sterile dhibited the country's ab. With editorial creativity the answer lies they will change for do News play is changing sponse to demands of because advertisers, in advertisers don't like want the paper in the spread out and shared family. So now newspa delivery as never before with the hoked-up new the passing eye. Hom meaningless.

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The papers used end run as news to attract how many captains of leaders once were news mentioned the little me to be con men. Or t certified Socialist: No livered newspapers for Warren Gamaliel Har

THE HEART of the staff. Trying to be the average American to play Bach's St. M ukulele: The instrum work, for the audience This is the primary not getting the best

Only about 17 per graduates go to newsp Jr., then with the Univ looked up the journali had been rated the journalism society, found that 10 years l uates, only seven w papers. Half of them paper after graduatio median salary for al newspapermen, \$8,16

The money proble solve. The qualities editors are those most of communications, c tal agencies. To incr salaries by 23 percen not impossible and union publishers hav for years: that they for whom it was ur mere money.

The "average med cording to Editor & 1966, showed a ne taxes of 23 percent. budget, salaries and It could raise this 40

1st Coverage Gives Up To \$34 To Circulators In Pottstown

Pottstown, Pa.—Wage increases up to \$34.81 will go to circulation, mailing, maintenance, and telephone employees of the Pottstown Mercury as the result of initial contract coverage by the Philadelphia Guild.

The Guild, which won a first contract for editorial and advertising employees last December, negotiated a supplement covering the four other departments last month following voluntary recognition by the company.

The agreement establishes a \$125 top minimum for circulation supervisors effective June 1, 1968, after an initial \$107.50 top retroactive to Feb. 15, subsequent \$2.50 increases March 1, June 1 and Sept. 15 and a \$10 increase in June 1968.

General increases of four percent retroactive to February and another four percent Sept. 15, plus maintenance of differentials, will raise the salaries of some supervisors by as much as \$34.81, with resulting salaries as high as \$161.22.

Similarly, maintenance employees, whose top minimum goes to \$82.50 in the final step, receive increases ranging up to \$19.04, with resulting salaries ranging as high as \$120.48. The telephone operator top goes to \$85, with raises up to \$16.42 producing salaries up to \$92.73.

Mailers, paid on an hourly basis, will receive raises ranging from 54 to 87 cents an hour, with a flat minimum of \$2.27 by June 1968.

Contract coverage will provide

the employees with vacations and sick leave for the first time. The Pottstown contract also provides for a full Guild shop, a 37½-hour week and a ban on automation dismissals.

\$12 Increases Bargained In N.Y. Syndicate Pact

New York City—Wage increases ranging from \$5.50 to \$12 have been won by the New York Guild in a two-year contract covering employees of the North American Newspaper Alliance, the Bell-McClure Syndicate and the Women's News Service.

The top minimum for news-men is increased \$5.50 retroactive to Jan. 1 and \$6 next January, to \$172, the top for stenographers and telephone operators \$4 each year, to \$112.50, and that for messengers, \$3 each year, to \$82.50.

The night-shift differential is increased 50 cents to \$1.50.

East St. Louis, Ill.—The St. Louis Guild has signed a contract supplement increasing death-benefit payments at the Metro East Journal from 13 weeks' pay to 26. The benefits are paid from a wage-continuation plan.

By Ben H. Bagdikian

by any governmental used to be considered newspaper circulation trouble getting away from the cause turned were choking for lack of are now swinging planning.

fluence elections, but the popular vocabulary dialogue. It has been a dialogue which has inability to see itself clearly. It is with news, ultimately with owners. Perhaps dollars-and-cents reasons. partly in sluggish re the audience but also onically, want it. The newsstand sales. They home where it can be with all members of the ers are pushing home re. The jazzy headline was created to catch e delivery makes that

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business is the editorial a first-rate reporter on newspaper is like trying Matthew's Passion on a ant is too crude for the and for the performer. reason newspapers are journalistic talent.

ent of journalism-school ers. William Galbraith, ersity of North Carolina, am-school graduates who best of the year by the Sigma Delta Chi, and later, of 35 leading grad- ere working for news- had never worked for a n. Ten years later the was \$12,600; for the

m is relatively easy to of good reporters and wanted by a wide range corporate and governmen- ease newspaper editorial in a very short time is would prove what anti- been telling reporters were professional men dignified to bargain for

um-city newspaper," ac- Publisher of April 16, profit in 1965 before this paper's total editorial overhead, was \$584,200; percent and still show a

profit of 17 percent, a tolerable reward.

But the chief reason talented men don't go to newspapers, or leave them after they do, is that the work of most papers is physically unrewarding. A working paper by Frederick Yu and Ray L. Sweigert at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia shows that with 320 graduates of that school the chief reasons for wanting to enter journalism were to achieve some personal fulfillment and to accomplish some useful social purpose. The lack of substantial and serious work with intelligent leadership is the greatest single recruiting agent for the American Newspaper Guild, though most publishers learn slowly that their reporters most often join the union because they aren't worked hard enough.

Some of the demoralizing practices in newspaperdom range from idiocy to mere habit. Prof. Scott Cutlip of the University of Wisconsin estimates that one-third of all newspaper "news" content is inspired by public-relations agents who, of course, are then relieved of having to buy advertisements. Small papers are filled with canned editorials and commercial and political plugs paid for by the beneficiary. Big papers have institutionalized payola in their use of fashion and food photographs (often expensive color plates), with paid-for junkets for their special editors. Some great metropolitan papers, as well as many smaller ones, run paid-for advertising as though it were news.

The Post Office Department could rectify this easily and possibly fine almost every publisher in the country. Title 39 of U.S. Code, Section 4367, reads, "Editorial or other reading matter contained in publications entered as second-class mail, and for the publication of which valuable consideration is paid, accepted or promised, shall be marked plainly advertisement by the publisher." Fine, \$500.

The Post Office could help in a more basic move. To bring papers close to their communities. Postal law requires papers using second-class privileges to publish names of stockholders and officers, which most papers do in early October in the smallest available type in the most obscure part of the paper. Most of the listings are meaningless, making no distinction between small and large stockholders and listing corporate or trust agents for unnamed principals. Listing the beneficial owners with the extent of their holdings would at least identify who controls a city's news.

Another measure might be local press councils, suggested by Barry Bingham, editor and owner of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in which the paper's top leadership would sit regularly with community representatives, not to have a town committee edit the paper but to establish some human relationship between audience and the news establishment.

The ending of financial and policy secrecy by newspaper managements might eliminate unwarranted cynicism by the public—act as therapy on managements that need the light of day on their internal affairs. The Securities and Exchange Commission requires various companies whose stock is traded to list all those who own more than 10 percent in the business, and it requires each of these to list all other significant holdings in other traded companies.

Some brave owner someday will provide for a community ombudsman on his paper's board, maybe a nonvoting one, to be present, to speak, to provide a symbol and, with luck, exert public interest in the ultimate fate of the American newspaper.

Disclosure of financial interests, a greater openness in making of policy, a place for public representation could do for newspapers what it did for the Stock Exchange post Crash: restore public confidence in the men who stand behind pieces of paper.

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Vote Stared In Guild Bid At Yonkers

New York, N.Y.—A representation election will be held May 26 on a New York Guild petition for a unit of 37 circulation employees at Gannett's Yonkers Herald-Star.

The petition, part of an intensive areawide organizing campaign, represents the Guild's first organizing venture at the Yonkers daily. The company agreed to an election May 8, two weeks after the Guild filed.

The Yonkers campaign is being led by ANG International Representative Edna Berger and Harry Fisdell, a special organizer for the New York Local.

El Tiempo Vote Is Won By Independent Union

New York City—An independent union, the National Organization of Industrial Trades Unions, defeated the New York Guild in a representation vote on the Spanish-language daily El Tiempo May 2.

The independent group, which had an existing contract, received 46 votes to 10 for the Guild and 2 for no union in the National Labor Relations Board election.

20 Attend New England Seminar

Boston, Mass.—Twenty delegates from six New England locals attended an ANG stewards' seminar at Boston Guild headquarters here last weekend.

The seminar, sponsored by the New England District Council, was conducted by ANG Research and Information Director Ellis T. Baker. The delegates were guests of the council at lunch.

The seminar included sessions

on the duties and responsibilities of stewards, contract enforcement and grievance procedure, organizing, membership participation and communications.

At its business meeting, the council voted to request ANG to conduct a collective-bargaining seminar for New England locals in Boston Sept. 16 in conjunction with the district council's fall meeting.

Ex-Textile Organizer To Head ANG Office

Helen S. Barkan, a former organizer for the Textile Workers Union, joined the ANG staff as office manager last week.

Mrs. Barkan, wife of Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, replaces Walter Bassford, who voluntarily terminated his position last month.

Mrs. Barkan, who met her husband on the picket line during the Guild's 1937-38 strike at the Bayonne (N.J.) Times, was a TWU organizer in the early 1940s. Barkan was the union's political-action director at the time.

She was active in the TWU's successful organizing campaign at New Jersey mills of the Botany Worsted and Forstmann Woolen companies and was arrested in picket-line incidents at Passaic and New Brunswick.

Earlier she worked as secretary for A. L. Alexander, radio's "Golden Voice" in the 1930s. Since then she has held bookkeep-



HELEN S. BARKAN

ing positions for a number of firms, most recently with the Club Managers Association of America in Washington.

Twin Cities Urges ANG To Support Auto Union

The executive board of the Twin Cities Guild has called on the International Executive Board to join with the United Automobile Workers "in its fight to bring about a more progressive labor movement."

And the Boston Guild's executive committee has urged the UAW President Walter Reuther be invited to address ANG's 1967 Convention in Ottawa "as labor's most eloquent spokesman for change." (See letters to the editor, Page 8.)

Stating that the labor movement needs a "critical reappraisal of its role" and a plan for "broader social vision," the Twin Cities board applauded the UAW "for calling for the AFL-CIO to demonstrate in a meaningful way a deeper concern about civil rights, the war on poverty, social justice for the farm worker, education, and medical and health care for all Americans."

Declaring that "if the labor movement is to be provided with a more dynamic program, it will take efforts from more unions than the UAW," the board urged the IEB to express public support for "the kind of change called for by the UAW" and to plan "further efforts to join the UAW in its crusade for a more progressive labor movement."

The IEB will hold its annual spring meeting at ANG headquarters in Washington May 22 through 26.

Kearney Quits L.A. Position

Los Angeles, Calif.—Fred T. Kearney, administrative officer of the Los Angeles Guild for the past three months, resigned this week.

Kearney told the local executive committee that he was forced to give up the post and return to Ohio for reasons of family health.

At the executive committee's request, ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farson assigned International Representative Charles Dale to serve as interim administrative officer.

Kearney, a former president of the Youngstown Guild and an ANG international representative before taking the Los Angeles post, indicated he would seek a job in Ohio. He was on the editorial staff of the Youngstown Vindicator until 1965.



LABOR-SERVICE AWARD: Insurance Workers' President William A. Gillen, center, receives the Washington-Baltimore Guild's annual award for service to the Guild and the trade-union movement

from Local Administrative Officer Brian Flores as ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farson looks on. Gillen's union was in the forefront of those aiding the local's 1966 strike against the Bureau of National Affairs.

N.Y. Printers Win 21% Increases In 3-Year Pacts At Times, News

(Continued from Page 1)
any of the other papers without extending them to the News and Times.

The clause had been included at the News's insistence, he said, after being approved in principle by the other members of the New York City Publishers Association.

The Newhouse-owned Long Island Star-Journal, also a member of the association, this week offered the printers the same wage package as the News and Times but demanded automation concessions, including the right to use wire-service tape without payments to the union and to eliminate a training program for Teletypesetter punchers. Powers replied that the union was bound by the no-deviation agreement.

Declaring that the agreement at the News was "the best contract that could be achieved with-

out a strike," Powers said it would provide the biggest gains since the 20-percent pay hikes won after World War II.

The cost-of-living clause provides for adjustments in the second and third years equal to the percentage rise in the cost of living above four percent each year.

Fringe-benefit improvements include a day of sick leave for every 22 days worked, up to a maximum of five days, increases in company contributions to health-and-welfare and life insurance, and vacation credits for extra printers.

Severance pay is increased from three weeks' pay to eight in the event of permanent suspension of a daily paper; three weeks' pay is provided for job losses resulting from the shutdown of a Sunday paper. Pension benefits are increased \$6 a month, and hours are cut a half hour a week.

The agreement provides for a citywide fund to which publishers using wire-service tape to set stock-market tables will contribute.

Powers noted that conversion of the percentage increase bargained by the printers to flat dollar amounts "may become a matter of some contention" between the publishers and some of the nine other unions.

Joseph Baer, president of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union, said his organization wanted a dollar amount equal to the printers' increase on its wage rate of \$134.87 a week.

After hearing a report from Powers April 29, the city's other nine newspaper unions "approved the printers' settlement but made it clear that it was in no way binding on the others," according to Charles A. McNally, executive secretary of the Allied Printing Trades Council.

The Pressmen's Union rejected an undisclosed News offer last week after a 16-hour session but resumed talks this week. The publishers also were meeting this week with the Lithographers and Photoengravers', Deliverers' and ITU Mailers' unions. No Guild bargaining sessions were set.

The News this week raised its daily price from seven cents to eight, citing "the rising cost of labor and materials."

Union Mergers Would Curb Strikebreaking, ANPA Told

New York City—Union mergers may make it more difficult for newspapers to publish in the face of strikes, the American Newspaper Publishers Association was warned last month.

Miles H. Patrone, chairman of the ANPA's labor-relations committee, noted the movement toward newspaper-union unity with some alarm.

"To be candid," he told the publishers' annual convention here, "a merger of one or more unions in any individual plant could multiply the difficulties of

that newspaper in publishing in the face of a strike by one or the other of the unions."

"Muscle must be answered by muscle," Patrone said, declaring that publishers' "best defense against union encroachment" was "the ability to publish in face of a strike."

Industry Health 'Never Better'

New York City—"The economic well-being of our newspaper business has never been better," J. Howard Wood, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, told the ANPA's annual convention last month.

Wood based his appraisal on an ANPA report noting that circulation, advertising, average issue size, employment and "every other measurable index" rose to new highs in 1966.

(Continued from Page 1)
offering more favorable terms to average reporter top minimum rose 3.4 percent last year, from \$149.30 in December 1965 to \$154.42 last December. Over the six-year period since 1960, it rose 21 percent, from \$127.33.

The paper has earned a profit of at least 19.1 percent on sales in every year since 1960. Gross income during that period has risen \$3,250,146, or 28 percent, from \$11,752,425 to \$15,002,571, while expenses have risen only \$2,217,089, or 24 percent, from \$9,429,303 to \$11,706,392.

The E&P analysis, prepared by Cooke Coen of the Newspaper Analysis Service, Chicago, noted a composing-room decrease of .23 man hours per published page, a saving of 6,900 man hours in all.

AFL-CIO Gives Guild Interim Oversea Aid

(Continued from Page 1)
function at a minimum level of activity until the convention.

Meanwhile, the Guild is pressing a search among labor, private and overt government sources for permanent financing to replace funds formerly provided by the foundations.

The IEB, in terminating relations with the foundations, authorized ANG officers to seek new sources of permanent financing, subject to approval by the convention. Without the AFL-CIO's interim assistance, there would have been insufficient funds to maintain the program until the convention could act.

Meany denounced as "a damn lie" an assertion by Thomas W. Braden, former head of the CIA's International Organization Division, that his chief international-affairs advisor had once helped channel CIA funds to overseas labor activities.

Braden, who left the CIA in 1954, a year before the AFL merged with the CIO, said that AFL-CIO International Affairs Director Jay Lovestone had worked with the CIA while on the staff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers after World War II.

Reiterating that the AFL-CIO itself has never received CIA funds, Meany declared:

"Not one penny of CIA money has ever come into the AFL or the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last 20 years, and I can say to you if it had come in I

would know about it."

Meany served as AFL secretary-treasurer and president before becoming AFL-CIO president after the 1955 merger of the two organizations.

Braden, writing in the Saturday Evening Post, said that much of Europe, especially Italy and France, "probably would have gone Communist" if he had not initiated secret CIA support of student, labor and cultural groups.

Braden said he had given \$50,000 in CIA funds to Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, for use in helping rebuild a free European labor movement after the war.

Reuther said that "in an emergency situation 15 years ago, the UAW did agree reluctantly on one occasion to the request to transmit government funds to supplement the inadequate funds being made available by the U.S. labor movement."

Thereafter, Reuther said, the UAW decided "not again to transmit government funds, regardless of the need or urgency," and established its own Free World Labor Defense Fund, which has since financed its international activities.

ANG officers, in requesting the AFL-CIO grant, said that "we have long recognized that 'the Guild's small membership would be unable, through its dues income, to make more than a token contribution to any international program.'"

"Through our program," they said, "we deal with a relatively small but extremely important segment of the world labor movement."

Guild Supports Greek Union

ANG last week cabled its solidarity with the Journalists' Union of Athens Daily Newspapers in the "difficult time" created by the Greek army coup of April 20.

Two Athens newspapers have closed down as a result of censorship since the coup, and the Greek union was forced to request cancellation of an International Federation of Journalists executive-committee meeting to which it was scheduled to be host.

Executive Vice President William J. Farson, in his message of support, expressed disappointment that signing of a mutual-cooperation agreement between ANG and the Athens union, scheduled to take place during the IFJ session, had to be postponed.

Officers of the Athens union, in a reply thanking ANG for its expression of solidarity, voiced confidence that the agreement would be signed at an early date.

Uprising Provides Test For IFJ's Accra Class

Accra, Ghana—Participants in an International Federation of Journalists seminar directed by ANG International Affairs Representative Ronald A. Watts had an unexpected chance to apply their training last month when insurgent army officers attempted a coup d'etat in the midst of the institute.

Watts and the seminar instructors suspended classes and sent the 24 participants into the streets to cover the April 17 revolt, which failed after a few hours.

The three-week seminar was one in a series of African journalism institutes being sponsored by the International Federation of Journalists, to which Watts is assigned as a representative. It was financed by Scandinavian and British journalists' unions.

240,000 Daily Pushes Profit Rate To Peak 22%

Anatomy Of A Profit Maker

Year	Annually In \$	Profits Before Taxes *			
		% of Revenue**	% Increase Over Prior Year	% Increase Over 1960	Cumulative Since 1960
1960	\$2,263,122	19.2			
1961	2,334,338	19.6	3	3	\$ 4,597,460
1962	2,614,082	20.7	12	15	7,211,542
1963	2,473,571	19.1	-6	8	9,685,113
1964	2,554,278	19.3	3	12	12,239,391
1965	2,726,938	19.5	7	18	14,966,329
1966	3,296,179	22	21	31	18,262,508

* Profits after taxes not disclosed.

** Revenue rose from \$11,752,425 in 1960 to \$15,002,571 in 1966, an increase of 28 percent.

Source: Editor & Publisher

Guild Urges Probe Of World Journal Closing

(Continued from Page 1)

Bertram A. Powers said he would ask the House Labor Committee to probe the shutdown.

The near-stillborn fate of the WJT—"Widget," as it was called by its staff—left the tabloid New York Post surprised heir to an afternoon monopoly in the nation's largest newspaper market. It promptly raised its advertising rates 20 percent and its press run 50 percent.

Although the hybrid World Journal said it had been unable to publish profitably, the New York Times, the Daily News and transit magnate O. Roy Chalk all said they were weighing the establishment of a new afternoon paper to replace it.

"Someone can come in here and run a good afternoon newspaper profitably," World-Journal Publisher Matt Meyer conceded. "I don't think we ever could, having been burdened as we were by the inheritance from three newspapers."

Theodore W. Kheel, who has been mediating New York newspaper disputes, declared that the World Journal's closing left "a golden opportunity in the afternoon field which some enterprising publisher will take advantage of."

"Nature and business abhor a vacuum," he said. Times Publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, announcing that "we are going to take a look at the situation," said "it would be foolish of us not to consider whether the afternoon newspaper field does not offer us a business opportunity and an opportunity for public service."

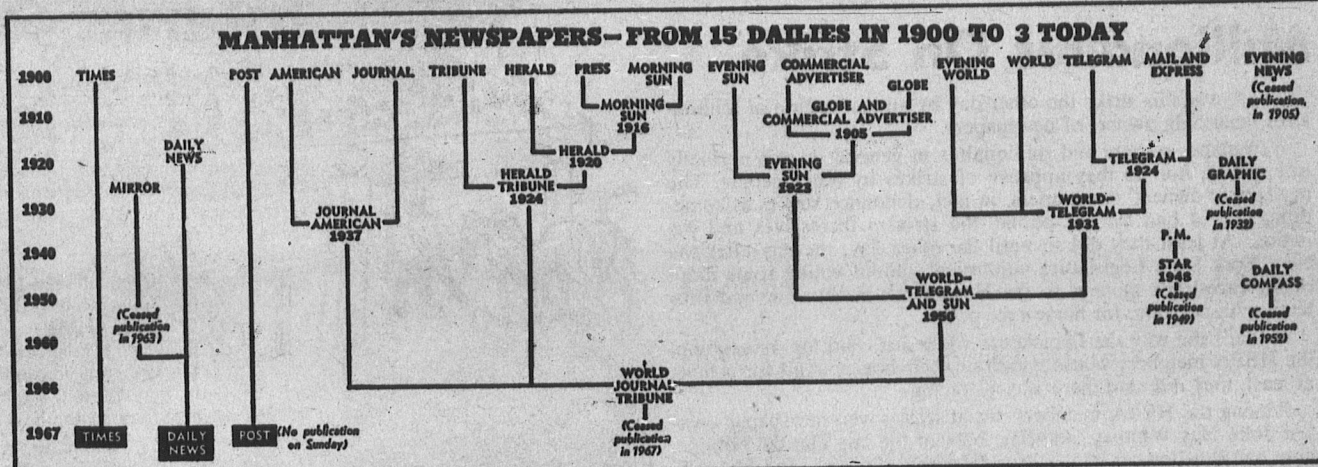
W. H. James, executive vice president of the News, said that paper is also considering a plunge into the afternoon field, and Chalk, who has announced plans to launch a tabloid morning paper in Washington, met with newspaper unions to discuss his interest in establishing a paper here. He told the unions he would present them with proposals for a five-year contract.

Chalk pointed out that he already has a plant available, the one now being used to print his Spanish-language morning paper, El Diario-La Prensa. He suggested that the World Journal failed because of a "lack of direction."

Guild officers, in their statement, said that a new afternoon paper could be published "if the three old partners will put aside their personal feuds and find some formula under which what is left of the WJT can be sold by two to the other one."

Meanwhile, Mayor Lindsay was pressing a nationwide hunt for a publisher to fill the afternoon breach. Four publishers turned down his initial appeal, but a spokesman said this week that the mayor "sees some hope."

City Councilman President Frank D. O'Connor, in the wake of amazement at the death of a paper that the Wall Street Journal



New York Times chart, tracing the disappearance of New York newspapers, shows how World Journal Tribune took the ghosts of 14 papers with it to the grave.

reported only two months ago expected to break into the black in its first year, suggested a city fact-finding study "to encourage the birth and growth of other papers."

The World Journal lowered the flag at a time when its daily circulation had grown to almost 700,000—nearly 300,000 more than the Post and the fourth largest afternoon circulation in the country—and its advertising, while sluggish, was expanding.

The Post, with less advertising as well as lower circulation, has operated at a profit ranging from \$150,000 to two million dollars over the last 15 years, a source at that paper said, the peak coming in 1965.

Meyer said the merged paper was losing \$700,000 a month and that application of the recent printers' settlement at the News would have cost it an additional 10.5 million dollars over the three-year contract term.

The Washington Post quoted an unnamed World Journal executive as saying that the decision to close down came after John Hay Whitney, whose Herald Tribune disappeared in the World Journal Tribune merger, refused to advance five million dollars, due next September, to keep the paper going. Hearst and Scripps-Howard, his partners, in the venture, were unwilling to buy him out, it was reported.

Meyer sought to place responsibility for the shutdown on the unions, but other observers laid the blame closer to home. They cited, among other things, the paper's three-headed leadership, obsolete plant, inadequate financial investment, tax problems and editorial deficiencies.

The Times quoted a business executive "intimately involved with newspaper affairs" as placing blame for the paper's failure on "structural problems" created by the bizarre three-cornered merger.

He contrasted the 12 million dollars invested in the operation with the 50 million recently spent by Newhouse for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, cited the paper's obsolete plant and pointed out that the three-way ownership

made it impossible for any of the owners to write off initial losses against profits of their other enterprises for tax purposes.

"You can't run a horse with three men on it," he declared. "They were fighting a war with each other over who would be stuck with stockholder liability on severance pay."

"The irony," according to a newspaper expert quoted in Time magazine, "is that three of the richest publishers in the U.S. tried to run a business on a shoestring. To run a newspaper in New York, you've got to pay your people well, automate to the teeth and compete with the big-leaguers."

Newsweek described "Widget" as "an ambiguous amalgam of its anemic predecessors," and World Journal columnist Jimmy Breslin, while saddling the unions with the bulk of responsibility, cited the lack of "a clear character" created by the three-headed sponsorship. Advertising agencies, he said, were hesitant to place space because they didn't know "what kind of an audience the paper was reaching."

The Times, in a weekend news analysis that also accused the unions of bearing responsibility, said the paper's "chief defect" was "the pooling of diverse editorial styles" that resulted in "a lowest common denominator, devoid of either sparkle or crusading vigor."

"It was a paper that neither inspired nor offended," the Times judged, "long on columns and short on news but essentially characterless."

Meyer, in placing blame for the paper's failure on labor, cited the 140-day merger strike and charged the unions with imposing "manning and staff priorities, working conditions and contract restrictions" that prevented successful operation.

The paper, he said, had to employ 500 more persons than it wanted and was unable to "select the people we needed." In its first six months, he said, it was subject to "55 harassing disputes," including 18 craft-union work stoppages.

(The Guild said most of the stoppages were the result of the company's failure to pay employees on time because of an insufficient number of payroll clerks.)

Meyer said the paper could not assume the "increased burden" of the 21-percent settlement formula negotiated at the News, accusing Powers of declaring that all the World Journal could do was "pay or shut down."

But Powers retorted that this comment was made in the context of a refusal last December by all of the city's publishers—including the World Journal—to allow deviations from a settlement at any

one paper at any other except by mutual agreement.

When the News settlement was finally achieved, he pointed out, management insisted on a clause requiring that any subsequent concession to another paper be extended to the News.

Both Powers and Murphy said the World Journal had never approached them for "economic relief" of any sort. Both indicated it might have been considered.

Both the Stereotypers' and Newspaper Deliverers' unions sought to meet with Meyer on the shutdown. The Deliverers offered to extend economic concessions, but Meyer said the shutdown decision was "irrevocable."

Powers said his union was prepared to negotiate on "special problems" with any new afternoon paper but pointed out that the printers' wage scale was relatively low on the national ladder even after the first-year increase to \$164 negotiated at the News. The expired rate of \$151.85 was exceeded in many smaller cities, including Gary, Ind.; East St. Louis, Ill.; San Mateo, Calif., and Pontiac, Mich. Printer scales range up to \$187, in Fairbanks, Alaska.

The decision to call it quits came on the evening of May 3, it was reported. Lou Boccardi, the assistant managing editor, was told the details next day and wrote the story at home that night, but management was ordering replacements from the Guild's rehiring list on the very day the shutdown was announced.

The first inkling most World Journal employees had of their fate was the sudden appearance on the final morning of 16 extra building guards, the unvarying pallbearers at newspaper funerals. A letter posted on the bulletin board at midmorning notified employees that the paper was "permanently ceasing publication with today's issue" and that "your employment must terminate at that time."

"A notice, just a crummy mimeographed notice," said Brooklyn society editor Ruth Davis. "It's a terrible way to do things. The people who ran this paper had no consideration for us at all."

The news failed to catch up with the paper's first edition, not breaking into print until the second. The first some employees heard of it was from their bank teller or bartender.

Ad agencies were caught equally by surprise. One said it had been preparing long-range plans with the paper only the day before.

The Post, left with the afternoon field all to itself, increased its press run from 400,000 to 600,000, began looking for additional facilities to print more and

invoked an advertising rate-card clause providing for a 20-percent increase at any time it became the city's only afternoon paper.

This week it added two syndicated World Journal columnists, Walter Lippmann and Art Buchwald, and the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service, also salvaged from the World Journal.

The morning Times and News increased their press runs following the shutdown. The Philadelphia Bulletin started phoning copies into the heart of the city, and the Albany Times-Union began to invade the city's northern suburbs.

Efforts were under way to salvage the World Journal's Sunday magazine supplement, New York, as an independent publication, and its weekly book-review section, shared with the Washington Post and the Chicago Sun-Times.

Rumors that the World Journal was for sale had been circulating for several weeks, although Meyer said less than a month ago that he knew nothing of them (GR, April 28). It was confirmed after the merger announcement that efforts were made to interest several publishers, including British press magnate Lord Thomson.

There had been concurrent reports that the company would shut down its Sunday paper, which, while circulating close to 900,000 copies, was having more advertising trouble than the daily.

The Times, in its analysis of the shutdown, termed its "most surprising element" the owners' failure to "try the intermediate step of abandoning their Sunday edition and seeking to make a go in the afternoon field on a five-weekday basis."

Powers, in announcing his request for a House investigation of the shutdown, said the biggest factors were insufficient advertiser support, partly due to television competition, along with traffic problems and suburban commuting.

Organizing Sought By Empire Council

Utica, N.Y.—The Empire State District Council, at its spring meeting here May 6 and 7, named a committee to draft proposals for an intensified ANG organizing program to be submitted to the Guild's 1967 Convention in Ottawa.

The committee includes Council President Edward Ruffing of Utica, Secretary-Treasurer Philip Feldman of Rochester, Joseph Eisenberg of New York and Charles Booth of Albany.

The committee will report at the council's next meeting, on the opening day of the convention, July 24.

Wanted: Jobs

New York City—Is that seat next to yours empty?

The New York Guild is seeking jobs for 750 members left without them by last week's shutdown of the World Journal Tribune. Information on openings is being funneled through a job-placement service set up in Guild headquarters at 133 W. 44th St.

The job bureau is being co-ordinated by Robert I. Queen, who headed a similar service when the World-Telegram & Sun was merged with the Journal-American and Herald Tribune last year.

Job-placement offices have also been set up by the World Journal, the U.S. Employment Service, the Newspaper Reporters Association and the J. Walter Thompson Co.

Editorial

Millionaires On Strike

There was this strike the other day by an association of millionaires, including owners of newspapers.

Newspaper owners and millionaires in general do not normally call strikes, nor do they approve of strikes by other people. The newspaper owners' newspapers, in fact, denounce strikes as something that is bad for the public, the strikers themselves and the nation. At least they did so until the other day, the day after the New York State Legislature adjourned without voting some more of the race-track moneys to the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association, for horse-race prizes.

If that's the way the Legislature wanted it, said the association, the HBPA members would withdraw their horses. And for a time, at least, they did, and there was no racing.

Among the HBPA members are at least seven newspaper owners: John Hay Whitney, one-time boss of the late Herald Tribune, now one-third owner of the World Journal Tribune, and Harry S. Guggenheim, owner of big money-maker Newsday.

Among other millionaire members are Alfred G. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Henry Carnegie Phipps, Ogden Phipps, C. V. Whitney, Jack Dreyfus, C. T. Chenery, Robert J. Kleberg, John V. Hanes . . . all these being characters who didn't—until the other day—believe in strikes.

But the other day, all went on strike—i.e., withheld their services (withdrew their race horses) . . . for the same reason that unions and union members have in the past gone on strike: MONEY.

The horsemen (including the newspaper owners) struck the race tracks because they weren't getting enough of the parimutuel betting money to pay off the winners and otherwise meet expenses. They weren't receiving, they said, a fair share of horse-racing money . . . and so they struck.

We in the Guild and in other trade unions can understand that. We have always held that money, or the insufficiency of same, was a legitimate strike cause. Hence the publishers and the other millionaires were right to walk out, just as Guild members are right when they strike because the Legislature—excuse it, the publishers or other employers—refuse them a fair share of the returns.

When the people don't get enough money, or improved conditions which are worth money, labor unions have always held withholding of work—strike—was justified.

Withholding of the efforts of underpaid race horses for a like reason is, therefore, also justified.

We, in other words, supported these millionaire strikers and hoped from the beginning that they would win their raise.

Now that they have done so, perhaps, it will help them understand why working people, when they cannot otherwise get the pay and conditions they are entitled to, have to go on strike.

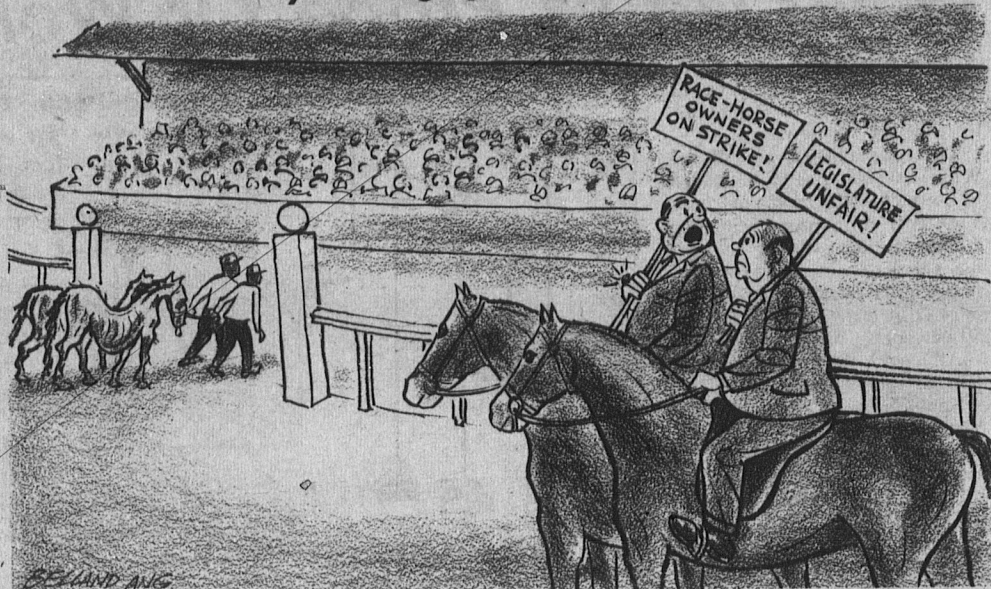
—Reprinted from Frontpage, New York Guild publication

Amen

The publisher of the deceased paper [the New York World Journal Tribune], Matt Meyer, blamed the death almost wholly on the unions and their demands. One can understand his bitterness, but that doesn't mean one should accept his severe judgment.

—Max Lerner in the New York Post

'They're Bringing In Strikebreakers!'



DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Vietnam, Johnson's Personality Seen Key Issues Of 1968

By WILLARD SHELTON, Washington Guild



The issues in the 1968 presidential campaign have shaped themselves so that they can be identified. They are the Vietnam war—the presumption must be that it will be going on—and the character and personality of Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, who makes the academic intellectuals slaver to destroy him.

On Vietnam the pattern is clear; it is the same pattern that emerged in the Korea experience 15 years ago. A President makes a decision that the national interest requires intervention, Congress endorses the decision by resolution and by war appropriations, but after a year or two the kickback comes.

President Truman waged a war of limited objectives in Korea and fired General MacArthur for trying to stir up the people to make it a total war. President Johnson is waging a war of limited objectives in Vietnam—and what he has on his hands is a war of words at home, with the Republican Party rejoicing to have something comparable to the campaign in which General Eisen-

hower made hay by saying, "I shall go to Korea."

The staff report of the Senate Republican Policy Committee ended with two rhetorical questions: What "precisely" is our national interest in Southeast Asia and "to what further lengths" shall we go.

The brilliance of this, politically, is that the authors do not have to answer the questions.

You can feel and smell the anti-Vietnamese theme—the abrasiveness, the toying with war-weariness—coming up.

Gerald R. Ford, the GOP House leader, hasn't criticized Johnson for intervening in Vietnam; he just points out that the Republicans want to prosecute the war harder.

Everett McKinley Dirksen, the GOP Senate leader, vows he wouldn't speak a syllable against the interest of his country—and adds that the Republicans will not make Vietnam an issue, "the people will."

George Romney, the front-runner for the GOP presidential

nomination, has reaffirmed his support of the President—but he added that we need an administration that knows how to avoid incidents that "grow like Topsy." It means about the same thing the Republican committee staff report meant when it deplored "open-end" commitments.

Mr. Johnson, plainly, is going to have to defend his Vietnam policy against a Republican assault. There is nothing strange or un-American about it; such assaults are perfectly familiar in our history. As Harry S. Truman used to say, "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen."

The brutal attack on Mr. Johnson from the intellectuals—the Americans for Democratic Action types, the teach-in headline-grabbers—this is something else again.

So far as I can tell, they don't think Texas is part of the Union. They can't forgive Mr. Johnson's Texas colloquialisms, although they forgave John F. Kennedy's Boston colloquialisms. They can't, in short, stand Mr. Johnson in the White House.

Gore Vidal, the fiction writer who fancies himself as a serious political thinker and a coiner of phrases, popped up as a star on Johnny Carson's "Tonight" show.

Vidal wrote a book a few years ago hostile to Bobby Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy. But what do you know? The fiction writer said that Bobby looked "better and better" to him in comparison to LBJ. He said that the best way to describe LBJ, considering Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, would be as a "cornpone Genghis Khan."

So the President and Vice-President have to live with Vietnam and the contempt of the phrase-makers and the scheming of the partisans—until the campaign and the election.

The Guild Reporter

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IT

SEEMS TO US

Convention Invitation Urged For Reuther

BOSTON, MASS.

Editor:

The local executive committee of the Newspaper Guild of Greater Boston has written ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., requesting that Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, be invited to address the 34th Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild.

Reuther's efforts to persuade the labor movement to adopt a constructive organizational program and his views as to why labor should participate in the endeavor to resolve the problems of our society have created great interest among many responsible labor leaders.

We strongly believe that, as one of the few genuine giants of the labor movement, his views and proposals for a future course of action are well worth the attention of our 1967 Convention

delegates.

Now is the time for labor to seriously re-examine its goals and to establish the programs necessary to reach these goals. Reuther, as labor's most eloquent spokesman for change, should be heard from many forums. We suggest that the Ottawa Convention be among the first.

JOSEPH B. DOWNEY
President
Boston Guild



Guild Reporter
1126 16th St., N.W.
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My copy of the Guild Reporter for

May 12 arrived 1967

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