

Board Rolls Back Pay at Washington Post



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The Guild's first contract with a key top minimum of \$400—at the Washington Post—has been cut back sharply by the Pay Board.

The board last month ordered the contract's first two increases, totaling 13.1 percent, rolled back to 8.5 percent. The prevailing top of \$345 for reporters and ad salesmen was reduced to \$330.

The Washington-Baltimore Guild, denouncing the rollback as demonstrating "the injustice of national economic policies," proposed that the Post divert the wage difference to pensions.

The contract was signed before Phase Two of wage-price controls.

The board also ordered a rollback of increases in a post-Phase Two contract at Newsweek magazine. But it allowed full increases to take effect for the first two years of contracts at four San Francisco-area dailies and the Tacoma News-Tribune and threw out a challenge by the Pottstown Mercury to increases in its contract with the Philadelphia Guild.

The Internal Revenue Service, meanwhile, (Continued on Page 8)

El Mundo Strike Ends in Victory

San Juan, P.R.—The Puerto Rico Guild's bitter seven-month strike against El Mundo ended Sept. 9 with a settlement adding 170 employees to the Guild's unit and increases ranging up to \$125 a week and 100 percent to the

salaries of its members.

"A major victory" was the way TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker described it in a letter to Guild locals on the milestone settlement. It includes a

revamping of the entire contract, with major gains all along the line.

Publication of the paper, suspended in June after sporadic efforts to fly papers out over Guild picket lines, was resumed Sept.

18. The unit, 460 strong at the start of the strike last February, went back to work with its ranks swelled to 630.

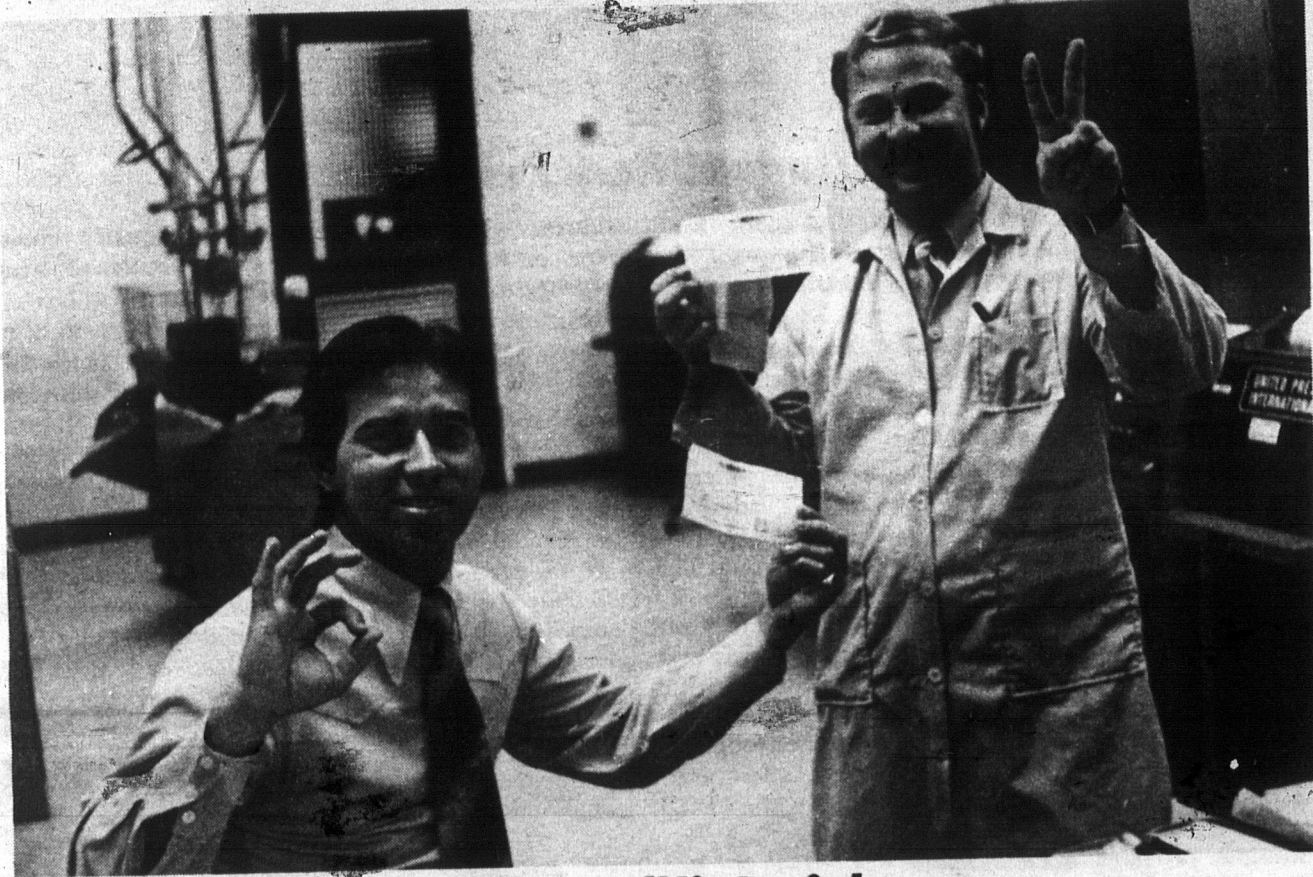
The settlement gave the Guild most of what it had demanded on one of the strike's principal issues—the company's insistence on excluding 221 district managers and so-called supervisors from the contract. The 80 district managers and 90 of those labeled "supervisors" were included.

Their inclusion, together with new jurisdiction language and other contract changes, "destroys the company concept of employing supervisors in a one-to-two ratio, which insured their ability

to publish in the face of a strike," said TNG International Representative Harry McCormick, who helped bargain the settlement.

The contract, which will cover a four-year span retroactive to July 1, 1971, is based on a money settlement won recently without a strike at the San Juan Star.

The reporter top minimum is increased \$90, to \$250, over the contract term. But more significantly, Perlik and Crocker noted in their letter to locals, "the contract includes an experience clause which will require that employees get at least the minimums for their actual years of (Continued on Page 9)



'V' for 'Victoria'

Samuel Orabona, left, and Cesar Rodriguez show hefty retroactive-pay checks and their feelings about the Puerto Rico Guild's settlement of the

seven-month strike at El Mundo. Retroactive checks covered the period from June 30, 1971, to the strike's start in February.

San Juan Star Printers Strike, Switch to Guild

San Juan, P.R.—Seventy printers and pressmen joined the Puerto Rico Guild's San Juan Star Unit last week in the midst of a strike for a new contract.

The employees, who struck without sanction from the International Typographical Union, voted 59 to 6 to switch to the Guild in a quickly arranged representation election. Then they called off their strike to give the Guild a chance to negotiate a settlement.

The new unit, which contains

offset platemakers as well as printers and pressmen, will give the Guild the same "wall-to-wall" bargaining rights it has at El Mundo, the island's largest daily.

The printers, spurred by the Guild's recent settlement at El Mundo, had been seeking wage increases of \$55 over two years. Bargaining had reached a deadlock and they voted to strike, but the ITU denied sanction.

On Sept. 29 the unit struck anyway. The Scripps-Howard paper, an English-language daily, made no attempt to publish, and Guild members in the editorial, advertising, circulation and administration departments reported to work in agreement with the strikers. They demonstrated outside the plant in support of the strike Oct. 2.

A delegation of strikers came to the Guild and said the unit (Continued on Page 9)

Perlik Calls for Unqualified Privilege

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., last week called upon Congress to correct a "Supreme Court error" by enacting legislation to "confirm newsgatherers' absolute and unqualified right to refuse to disclose their information and sources."

Though two of the bills presently before the House of Representatives would do that, they do not go far enough, Perlik told a House judiciary subcommittee holding hearings on seven bills introduced before and since the Supreme Court failed to recognize the "privilege" as constitutional last June.

The legislation, Perlik told the subcommittee, also should ex-

plicitly forbid editors and publishers from disclosing newsgatherers' information, materials or sources without their consent, should cover state and local as well as federal proceedings and should clearly apply to photographers as well as reporters.

Most of the other witnesses during the subcommittee's initial five days of hearings advocated a qualified privilege; only a handful called for a federal law covering state and local jurisdictions, as well, and Perlik was alone in calling for prohibition of disclosure by "news custodians" without the consent of originating newsgatherers.

There was near-unanimity,

however, in opposition to an assistant U.S. attorney general's contention that privilege legislation is unnecessary because the Attorney General's "Guidelines for Subpenas to the News Media"

have been operating successfully and provide newsmen all the protection they need against abuses of government power.

Roger Cramton, in charge of (Continued on Page 2)

Referendum Motion Appears Dead; Only 1 Second Comes

The Twin Cities Guild's motion for a referendum to rescind the convention's authorization of a Presidential endorsement has apparently failed to receive sufficient seconds.

As of yesterday, four days after the Oct. 8 deadline for seconding motions, a report of only one—from San Diego—had been received at TNG headquarters. San Diego had earlier sought unsuccessfully to initiate a referendum to bar TNG endorsements in the future, a motion ruled constitutionally invalid by TNG counsel.

Bulletin

Dover, N.H.—The Guild won a representation election for all employees of Foster's Daily Democrat Oct. 11, rolling up a 40-to-30 margin.

TNG's Constitution requires membership action by at least 10 locals located in five states, territories and provinces and possessing, together with the moving

local, at least five percent of TNG membership in good standing. The action must be taken within 30 days of the motion's (Continued on Page 10)

New Toledo Guild Unit Joins Printers' Strike

Adrian, Mich.—A fledgling Guild unit of 38 went onto the picket line for an initial contract at Thomson's Adrian Telegram this week after 30 mechanical department employees struck for their own initial contract.

With contract talks deadlocked even before they reached economic issues, the Typographical Union walked out at 4 a.m. Oct. 10. Guild members joined its lines, then voted to call their own strike.

The Telegram was unable to

publish, and the unions launched plans for a strike paper. They expect to start publishing Oct. 20.

The Toledo Guild and the Typographical Union had organized the 20,000-circulation daily in a cooperative effort during the summer. The Typographical Union represents printers and pressmen; the Guild represents all nonmechanical-department employees.

The Telegram erected a chain-link fence around the plant and jammed its warehouse with news (Continued on Page 10)

Key Wichita Case Won

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IFJ Calls for Staff Voice

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Guild Rolls Top 33,000

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Unqualified Privilege Essential, Perlik Testifies

(Continued from Page 1)
the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel, said that since the guidelines were issued in August 1970 the Attorney General has approved "only" seven subpoenas against newsgatherers, all at the request of his Criminal Division, while rejecting eight others, two by the Criminal Division and six by the Internal Security Division.

Cramton said the Justice Department is opposed to unqualified privilege because it believes it would "unduly subordinate to the interests of the press the vital national interest in vigorous law enforcement."

Subcommittee Chairman Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin pointed out, however, that the guidelines "can be changed at the whim of whoever happens to be in the Justice Department," and added: "Given the recent history of events, it is understandable that the press is apprehensive."

Others who urged the committee to recommend an unqualified-privilege bill included spokesmen for the Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Civil Liberties Union, as well as Reps. Jerome R. Waldie of California and Bella S. Abzug of New York and Sen. Alan Cranston of California, all sponsors of nearly identical bills to recognize it.

Among those advocating qualified-privilege legislation were the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Associated Press Managing Editors' Association, National Press Photographers' Association, Radio Television News Directors' Association and Sigma Delta Chi. They advocated it both individually and collectively as the Joint Media Committee.

Others urging qualified privilege were the National Newspaper Association, Authors League of America, Association of American Publishers Inc. (book publishers), the Columbia Broadcasting System and the Mid-Hudson News Association, a group of radio and newspaper reporters.

Most of them supported a bill introduced by Rep. Charles W. Whalen, Jr., of Ohio, which would provide for forced disclosure when a federal district court finds "clear and convincing evidence" that the information sought is "clearly relevant to a specific violation of law," the information cannot be obtained by alternative means and there is a "compelling and overriding national interest in the information."

Spokesmen for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the National Association of Broadcasters urged the subcommittee to postpone any action on privilege legislation pending more study by themselves and

other organizations in an attempt to reach a "consensus as to what form of legislation, if any, is needed."

Perlik said the Guild's concern and interest in privilege legislation reflect both "our members' self-interest" and the "unique body of knowledge and experience (they bring) to bear on this and other conflicts that have periodically risen under the First Amendment."

"We are very much aware," he told the subcommittee, that the purpose of the First Amendment is "to ensure that the public may be informed of events which may affect it and of what its government is doing in its name . . ."

"Flowing from that," he continued, "to the extent necessary to ensure that the public may be informed, we believe that the First Amendment does create rights for the press and newsgatherers."

"One of these is the right of newsmen to protect their information and materials as well as their sources from forced disclosure . . . (and) it applies to any information or source, whether it carries a confidential label or not."

He called it "a corollary of the First Amendment right to publish without interference."

"Demands for disclosure of . . . notes, tapes, films, photographs or files, or for disclosure of . . . sources, whether made by the government or by private persons, endanger the trust between newsmen and news source," he declared, adding:

"That trust is essential both to the ability of the press to provide the public the information to which it has a right under the First Amendment and to the newsmen's ability to carry out his function under the First Amendment."

Perlik provided members of the subcommittee with copies of a 292-page study of press subpoenas completed earlier this year by Vincent Blasi of the University of Michigan Law School at the behest of the Reporters' Committee on Freedom of the Press.

Noting that for part of his study Blasi used mail-survey returns from 975 reporters for the print and broadcast media and for the underground press, Perlik noted Blasi's finding that more than half the reporters surveyed rely on confidential sources for at least 10 percent of their stories, with government reporters' dependence on confidential sources being "especially heavy."

Blasi's findings, Perlik said, "point up the practical pitfalls of proposals which would restrict the right to refuse compulsory disclosure to information which is 'confidential'."

Blasi found, Perlik pointed out,

Scripps Edict in Memphis: 'More Blessed to Refuse'

Memphis, Tenn.—The acceptance of free tickets and expensive gifts by editorial employees has been banned by Scripps-Howard's Memphis Commercial Appeal—but not by its twin paper, the Press-Scimitar.

Oddly enough, the Press-Scimitar Unit of the Memphis Guild has long backed a voluntary program of abjuring such gifts but has been unable to persuade the Commercial Appeal Unit to go along.

The new policy prohibits editorial employees from accepting

gifts worth more than \$10 and tickets to any event except ones they are covering.

Commercial Appeal Editor Gordon Hanna conferred with Richard P. Eane, former Memphis Guild president and an ex-international vice president, before announcing the policy. Lane said he welcomed it as "long overdue."

The Press-Scimitar Unit has established voluntary guidelines barring the acceptance of gifts and tickets, but no sanctions are provided for violators.



For Unqualified Privilege

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., right, discusses his statement calling for an unqualified reporter's privilege to protect his information and

sources with Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier, chairman of a House judiciary subcommittee holding hearings on reporter-privilege bills.

that the "boundaries of the confidentiality agreement" are not very often stated but are rather the product of a relationship that is "informal and governed by an unspoken trust on the part of the source."

Perlik also reminded the subcommittee of the "long-standing tradition of press cooperation with law-enforcement endeavors," noting that almost half the respondents to Blasi's survey indicated that on occasion they would voluntarily give grand jury testimony that might incriminate valuable news sources even if an absolute privilege made compulsion of their testimony impossible.

Perlik pointed to the spate of subpoenas against newsmen at the state level since the Supreme Court's *Caldwell-Pappas-Bransburg* ruling, urging that federal legislation not be confined to federal proceedings.

"We are looking for uniformity of application," Perlik said, declaring that "The First Amendment is an individual right extending to all states and all individuals" without regard to state lines.

TNG Research and Information Director James M. Cesnik, who accompanied Perlik, told the subcommittee that some of the state laws passed in recent years have, in fact, "invited subpoenas of newsmen."

The ACLU and the Mid-Hudson News Association also advocated a federal bill covering state and local proceedings. One of the bills before the subcommittee, introduced by Rep. Dan Kuykendall of Tennessee, would provide state and federal protection against grand jury subpoenas.

In proposing that "news custodians" be forbidden to make disclosures without newsgatherers' consent, Perlik pointed to instances of editors and publishers opening files, "complete with published and unpublished photographs, verified and unverified information, the names of sources, etc., without so much as the courtesy of informing the newsgatherers involved."

Most of those advocating enactment of a qualified privilege law said they did so, as Kenneth D. McCormick of the book publishers put it, because they felt

that an absolute bill "is not likely to be enacted."

(A similar view was expressed by White House Communications Director Herbert G. Klein in a recent address to the Hastings School of Law in San Francisco.

"I would like to go on record as favoring the [qualified] shield laws," Klein said, "but I believe there is a real question as to whether the timing is correct to gain passage of an adequate law by the Congress. . . . I would urge . . . additional state shield laws . . . while Congressional action is under study.")

Fred D. Behringer, executive editor of *Montgomery Newspapers* and president of the Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors, said that since the First Amendment is written in absolute terms, legislation that would qualify protection given to newsmen "raises a question of constitutionality . . . as at least somewhat destructive of First Amendment rights."

Rep. Waldie, testifying in support of his absolute bill, said that, in his view, "it is readily apparent that any qualified privilege will be subject to the same abuses and open ended interpretations as the present guidelines."

"How," he asked, "can anyone know if information meets the criteria (for divesting privilege under the qualified bills) until after it is disclosed? I fear that we will open up fishing expeditions for many a prosecutor across the country."

Sen. Cranston, in an appearance before the House subcommittee, said he favors absolute privilege

because it "would do more for the cause of law and order and justice than would any limitation," and because "I cannot see how it is possible to limit press protection without in the final analysis denying the press any protection whatever."

Rep. Whalen, sponsor of one of the qualified bills, told the subcommittee that "as long as the government possesses the right to subpoena reporters and compel disclosure of confidential information, it possesses the power to harass and intimidate the press."

Victor S. Navasky, until recently an editor of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* and a member of the New York Guild, who testified on behalf of the ACLU, pointed out that the subpoena threat creates "reluctant sources," which leads to "reluctant editors."

Navasky said that "editors . . . don't have enough reporters to go around anyway and are loathe to assign them to stories which might not work out."

He also cautioned against leaving it to the Attorney General to decide when and if to seek subpoenas "in the national interest."

"It was not an aberration that even the enlightened liberals of the Kennedy Justice Department convinced themselves that our national security justified a wiretap on the telephone of Dr. Martin Luther King," he declared.

Kastenmeier said his subcommittee will hold additional hearings early in the next session of Congress. The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights also plans hearings.

A Message From Jail

Peter Bridge, ex-Newark News reporter jailed for refusing to disclose his sources, told a House judiciary subcommittee Oct. 4 that he hoped his case would spur a federal law granting reporters immunity from forced disclosure of their sources.

Bridge's statement was read to the committee at almost the very moment that the jail doors were closing behind him.

"The simpler course," he declared would have been to "reveal the sources and go home. 'That would be easy,' he said, 'if I didn't have to live with myself, and I can't betray my principles.'"

Bridge's statement was read to the committee by John Mulligan, secretary of the New York Press Club, who said that under the Supreme Court's decision denying immunity "every news reporter, rewrite man, newscaster or editor in the United States faces the prospect of going to jail."

Reporter, Press Freedom Land in Newark Jail

Former Newark News reporter Peter Bridge went to jail last week, the first newsman put behind bars since the Supreme Court last June denied reporters a constitutional right to protect confidential information and sources.

He is not likely to be the last. Courts throughout the land appear to be hardening their stands on privilege pleas in the wake of the high court's decision.

The Supreme Court itself rejected an appeal by Bridge for a stay of the jail sentence while an appeal was being processed. It acted by eight to one, with only Justice William O. Douglas dissenting.

The New Jersey Supreme Court had rejected his appeal a week earlier despite a state privilege law. A last-minute plea for a fine instead of jail was rejected by Superior Court Judge H. Curtis Meanor—a onetime sports reporter—who had earlier refused to stay the sentence until Bridge's pregnant wife gave birth.

The North Jersey and Hudson County Guild locals sent a joint telegram asking New Jersey Gov. William T. Cahill to grant executive clemency to Bridge, but Cahill said he had no power to do so because civil rather than criminal contempt of court was involved. To act, he said, would be "interference with the power of the courts to enforce their own orders."

North Jersey President George Dawson and Hudson County President Arnold Freilich said they were asking clemency "out of compassion for a colleague." "Clearly we need new laws to insure that the press can probe and investigate without having to reveal its news sources," they wired. "Peter Bridge cannot wait for those laws to be written. It is up to you to undo this infringement on one of our most cherished freedoms."

Dawson issued a statement terming Bridge's imprisonment "appalling." Accusing the state of attempting to "use news reporters

Perlik Hits Gray

A statement by Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray that the jailing of Peter Bridge was "justly deserved" was assailed by TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., this week as "typical of this Administration's concept of press freedom."

Gray said that a person's profession "in no way frees that person of a citizen's responsibilities."

"To say that a reporter upholding his professional ethics in defense of the people's right to know 'justly deserves' to stay behind bars betrays a colossal insensitivity to human considerations as well as the role of a free press in a free society," Perlik said. "The permanent appointment of Gray should President Nixon be reelected is a prospect that should appall every reporter and newspaper in the country."

to carry out its own police responsibilities," he said:

"The irony of such shortsighted policy is that a result will be not that more felons will be put behind bars but that reporters, lacking police and subpoena powers, will be able to obtain less news of felonies to put into print. Society will suffer: the police because they will find the news media of less use to them in obtaining clues, and the community because the media will be able to provide less of a check on whether the police are doing their jobs."

New York Guild officers issued a statement terming Bridge's jailing "an unprecedented and a severe blow to traditional concepts of freedom of the press and the people's right to know" and called on Congress and state legislatures to immediately pass laws that would "avoid the jailing of a reporter who refuses to compromise his professional integrity."

Bridge, who refused to answer questions before a grand jury on a story about a bribe offered to a Newark housing commissioner, must serve either until he answers the questions or the grand jury's term expires. It is due to expire Oct. 30, but the term has twice been extended.

Meanor said Bridge "has the key to the jailhouse door; all he has to do is answer five questions." But Bridge, on entering jail, said to do so would "compromise the meaning of a free press."

The Appellate Division of Superior Court, in rejecting Bridge's appeal, said New Jersey's shield law didn't shield Bridge because he had already disclosed his source—the housing commissioner—in his news story.

The North Jersey Guild had voted to support Bridge, although he was not a Guild member and worked during the Guild's strike against the News. It asked TNG to file a brief in the case and backed current efforts to expand the state's shield law.

State Sen. Richard W. DeMarco, Republican floor leader of the Assembly, said Bridge's jailing would spur a vote on the measure, which has already passed the State Senate.

Attorneys for Bridge and the American Civil Liberties Union plan to ask for a Supreme Court review of the case despite the court's refusal to grant a stay, to test whether the courts can demand testimony from a reporter who has not witnessed a crime. And the grand jury that requested the contempt citation reportedly is ready to re-examine its action in response to the furor over Bridge's jailing.

The New York Times reported that "there was growing pressure" on the jury to have Bridge released "on the grounds that the courts had already made their arguments against him and that his information pertaining to the grand jury's housing-authority investigation had never

Caldwell Shreds Notes

New York Times Guildsman Earl Caldwell will probably never be called on to face the grand jury he refused to confront—but if he is, the jury will never be able to examine his notes and tapes on the Black Panthers.

Caldwell, whose newsmen's-privilege plea was turned down by the Supreme Court last June, says he has ripped up his notebooks, erased the tapes and "shredded almost every document that I had that dealt with the Panthers."

"Many of those items should have been saved, for history's sake as much as for anything," he wrote in the Saturday Review. "But in America today a reporter cannot save his notes or his tapes or other documents."

But unlike Paul M. Branzburg, former Louisville Courier-Journal reporter who was sentenced for contempt after the Supreme Court decision, Caldwell is unlikely to face a jail term. Branzburg is in Michigan, where he is now a Guild member at the Detroit Free Press, and says he won't go back to Kentucky.

For Caldwell to be cited, the federal grand jury that investigated the Panthers would have to be reconstituted and a new subpoena issued, a course considered unlikely.

"If the government does anything to me," he said, "it would be just for the purpose of harassment. There is no more Black Panther Party as I knew it."

Caldwell is bitter about the Times's role in the case. The newspaper was a party to his suit in Federal District Court but dropped out when that court issued an order limiting the jury's questioning but still requiring him to appear. It submitted only a friend-of-the-court brief.

Last week, commenting on the jailing of Newark News reporter Peter Bridge, Caldwell said, "Now it's really impossible to do serious reporting in the U.S. if the government doesn't want you to."

been that vital to begin with."

Bridge, citing the type of questions he refused to answer, has said the jury probers were conducting a "fishing expedition."

Bridge's fate may foreshadow that of other newsmen being subpoenaed to reveal their sources in growing numbers. One jail sentence in California is already under appeal to the Supreme Court, and former Louisville Courier-Journal reporter Paul M. Branzburg has had to flee Kentucky to escape a jail term there.

In California, the case of William Farr, a former Los Angeles Herald-Examiner reporter convicted for refusing to disclose the names of attorneys who gave him material for a story on the Charles Manson case, is headed for the U.S. Supreme Court.

Farr, whose appeal has been rejected by the California Supreme Court, was also convicted despite a state law protecting newsmen's confidential sources. The court held that he lost his immunity when he left the Herald-Examiner to work in the Los Angeles district attorney's office, even though the stories were written while he was still with the paper.

The state law has since been amended to plug the loophole.

The Los Angeles Guild, like North Jersey, has supported Farr's appeal despite the fact that he worked for the Herald-Examiner as a strikebreaker. He is now with the Los Angeles Times.

In Memphis, Commercial Appeal Guildsman Joseph Weiler has been ordered to show cause why he should not be cited for contempt for refusing to disclose the sources of news stories on child abuse at a state hospital for the mentally retarded.

The Memphis Guild executive committee has voted to support Weiler and offered to supply him with counsel if he so desires.

Weiler has been ordered to

appear before the State Senate's General Welfare and Environment Committee Nov. 13. In two successive appearances last month he refused to answer questions on his sources.

In New York, two Buffalo television newsmen have been ordered to tell a grand jury what they saw during the early stages of last year's Attica prison revolt.

State Supreme Court Justice Carman F. Ball ordered Stewart Dan, a reporter, and Roland Barnes, a photographer, to answer questions put to them before a grand jury investigating criminal aspects of the revolt.

New York, too, has a privilege law, but like those in California and New Jersey, it proved to no avail. The court held that the law applies only to confidential information and said there was no evidence that the information sought by the inquest was based on confidential sources.

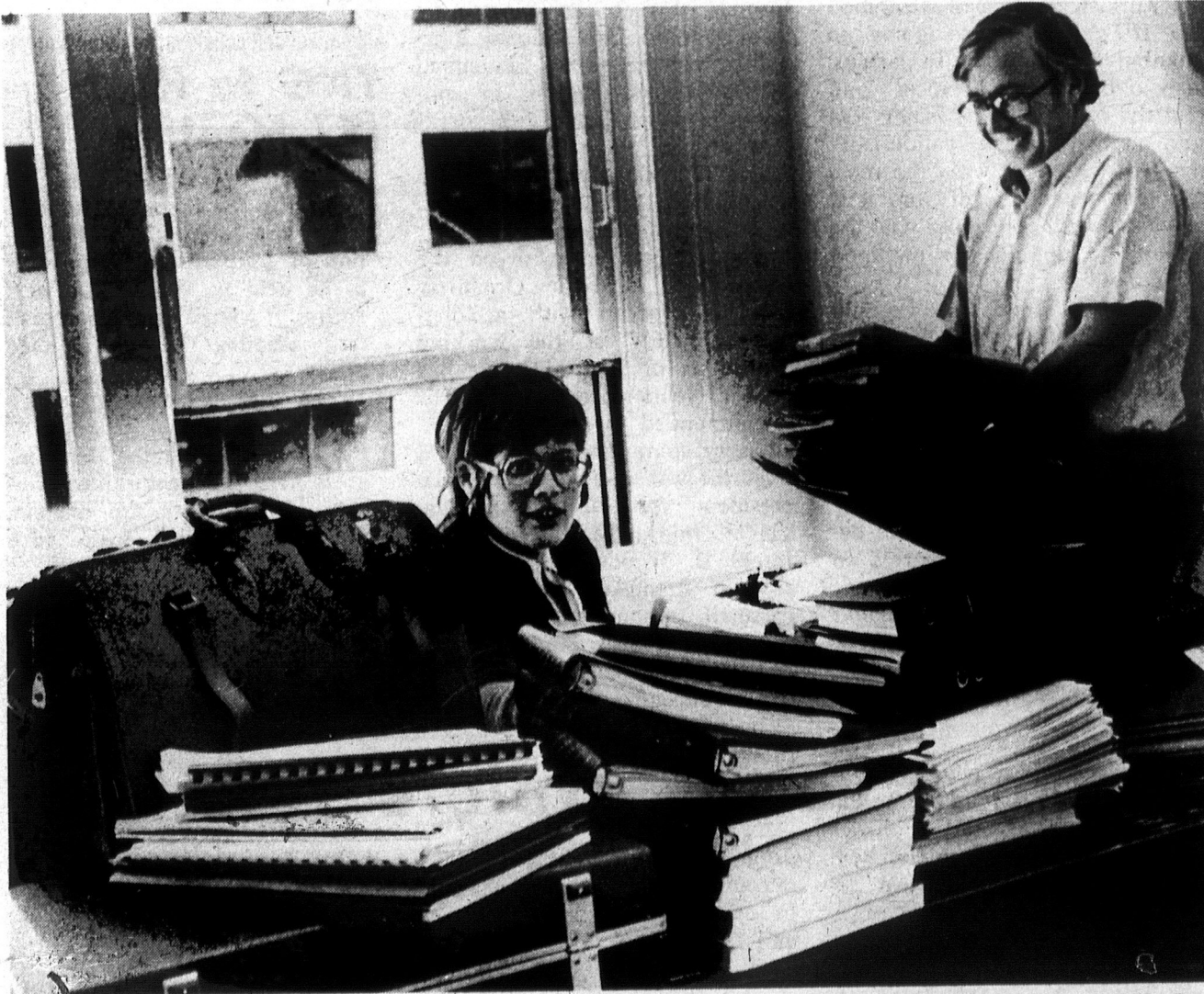
Judge Ball said that to uphold the privilege plea would make a reporter "the sole judge of when and as to what he would testify."

Membership Tops 33,000

TNG membership topped the 33,000-mark as of Aug. 1 for the first time in the Guild's history.

Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker reported a total of 33,027 dues-paying members, 172 above the previous record established only two months earlier.

The new total, however, does not reflect the prospective loss of more than 1,000 members whose jobs disappeared with closings of the Toronto Telegram, Boston Herald-Traveler, Washington Daily News and Newark News during the past year. Unemployed members are kept on the rolls for a year.



Guild Reporter Photo by Rod MacIvor

Taking Office in Canada

Robert J. Rupert, the Guild's new Canadian director, and Kathy Housser, researcher-secretary, move voluminous records into the Guild's new Canadian national office at 219 Queen St., Ottawa.

The office is designed to provide the Guild with "a distinct and clearly identifiable national presence in Canada and its seat of government," in the words of TNG's 1972 Convention.

IFJ Urges A Staff Voice in Newspaper Operations

Istanbul, Turkey—The International Federation of Journalists, in a far-reaching resolution on "Inner Press Freedom," called last month for guarantees of employees' integrity and a voice in their newspapers' operations.

The resolution, adopted unanimously by delegates including TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., called, among other steps, for regular consultation with employees on editorial operations, the right of veto by the staff over editor appointments and the right of employees to quit with severance pay if the paper's basic policy is changed without their agreement.

The IFJ congress, in another resolution, reaffirmed the right of journalists to protect confidential sources, with only "very limited exceptions."

The resolution on "Inner Press Freedom," the product of several years of study by a draft committee, called for arrangements under which, "inside the basic position of their press enterprise," editors and "permanently employed journalists" can "decide freely and without any interference from third persons on the contents of press publications and radio and television programs."

It acknowledged the publisher's right to set the paper's basic policy but said this policy should be included in collective-bargaining or personal contracts between the company and its editorial employees.

Under the IFJ guidelines, amendment of this policy would require agreement between the publisher and the editorial staff. If such an agreement could not be reached, employees would have the right to resign with notice pay and severance pay of at least a month's salary for each year of service.

Employees would have the same option in cases of merger or other ownership changes. Any dispute over whether such resignations are justified would be taken to a bipartite arbitration panel before going to the courts.

The resolution calls for the right of the editorial staff to veto appointments to "leading positions," such as editor, if three quarters of the permanent employees with at least a year's service are opposed.

Employees must be "informed and consulted" by management on "all decisions presenting editorial, technical, administrative, economic and financial implications" to their work, the IFJ said.

Perlik Gets Bodyguards

Istanbul, Turkey—TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., had an unrequested and unwanted bodyguard of three Turkish plainclothesmen for the last four days of the International Federation of Journalists' congress, and he still doesn't know why. The trio appeared outside Perlik's hotel-room door on the second night of the congress and said they had been ordered to provide him security as a U.S. journalist. Similar protection was provided for the Israeli delegate.

Perlik was later told by Turkish journalists that the authorities were under the impression he was an American Jew and had assigned the bodyguards mistakenly. But they stayed on.



IFJ Goes to Prison

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and other delegates to the International Federation of Journalists' congress visit four jailed Turkish newsmen in Istanbul prison. The prisoners, holding flowers brought by the delegates, are, from left, Cetin Altan, Sabri Yilnaz, Alpay Kabacali and Dogan Kologlu. The delegates, from left, are IFJ Presi-

The staff's interests must also be represented by elected editorial committees or delegates, it added.

The congress's resolution also called for assurances that a journalist will not be compelled to publish or abstain from publishing "something which is in contradiction to his journalistic duties or to his responsibilities." It also called for similar assurances against any compulsion to express an opinion in contradiction to his convictions.

The congress's stand on the protection of news sources was contained in a resolution on "Professional Secrecy."

Terming the protection of such sources "profitable to the public" and necessary for "the free exercise of the profession," it called on IFJ affiliates to seek approval by publisher associations and "public authorities" of a 1971 IFJ declaration in which the right to such protection is included.

It also asked journalists in countries where such protection is enshrined in law to support in "international organizations" proposals "seeking to ensure that journalists be able to escape the threat of undesirable investigations."

A third resolution, on "Press Freedom," condemned campaigns of repression against journalists in many countries and said the congress was "saddened by the erosion of press freedom" represented by the U.S. Government's effort to restrain publication of the Pentagon Papers. It commended the efforts of those who resisted "this unconscionable effort to weaken by government restraint the free-press guarantees of the U.S. Constitution."

The IFJ warned that economic pressures "may create a dangerously restricted and undemocratic concentration of newspapers and other media and press ownerships" and directed its affiliates to study and report on how such influences as advertising and the steeply rising costs of materials are affecting the press's viability.

It said increasing restrictions on press freedom "warrant fresh approaches" to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and the Council of Europe.

One of the congress's major

preoccupations was the extensive campaign of repression being waged against journalists by the host country, Turkey. Sadullah Usumi, president of the Turkish Union of Journalists, told the congress that 220 newsmen have been convicted under the country's restrictive press laws and that 18 prominent journalists had been jailed.

An IFJ delegation, including Perlik, visited four newsmen still being held in an Istanbul prison for articles written before the martial law under which the country currently lives were imposed.

Three IFJ affiliates—from Holland, Luxembourg and West Germany—boycotted the congress because it was held in Istanbul, the Dutch organization sending a letter of protest.

IFJ officials, in a reply authorized by the congress, noted that the Turkish union had welcomed the IFJ's decision to come to Istanbul "to help them in particularly difficult circumstances" and that the four jailed newsmen had told the visiting delegation that the IFJ's presence was "the most eloquent example of practical solidarity with colleagues who are fighting to uphold our common principles."

"Your presence has brought us a smell of freedom," one of them said.

The congress, in a resolution, called for release of the imprisoned newsmen and voiced concern at "the economic, legal and political risks" being run by the Turkish press. It said the decision to hold the congress in Istanbul "testifies to the courage of IFJ's Turkish journalist affiliates rather than the existence of press freedom."

The letter to the Dutch orga-

dent Karl Michanek of Sweden, Sadullah Usumi, president of the Turkish Union of Journalists; Kenneth Morgan, general secretary of England's National Union of Journalists; Perlik; Carl Hernlund, general secretary of the Swedish Journalists' Union, and IFJ General Secretary Theo Bogaerts. The newsmen are in jail for articles they wrote.

nization noted that the Turkish union had rejected all government proposals to help defray costs of the congress and that the IFJ executive committee had turned down all invitations for dinners and receptions extended by the authorities.

The congress also specifically condemned the imprisonment of journalists and the banning of newspapers in Greece, an action that provoked a walkout by the Journalists' Union of Athens Daily Newspapers. The Greek union insisted that there are no journalists presently in Greek jails, but the IFJ relied on a recent Amnesty International statement saying there are.

The congress urged that credentials that would protect journalists on assignment in war zones be issued under a proposed United Nations convention rather than by U.N. member states. Control of such cards should be lodged in an international journalists' committee, to be named by the United Nations in consultation with journalists' organizations, it said.

All IFJ affiliates were urged to press the federation's position on their governments.

The congress also urged the International Labour Organization to proceed with "a long-delayed study of the working conditions of journalists. It has been 13 years since the study was recommended by an employees' advisory committee."

Perlik was re-elected IFJ vice president for North America. TNG International Chairman James B. Woods, who was unable to attend the congress for personal reasons, was re-elected to the executive committee.

The congress voted to admit the Tunisian Association of

Journalists to IFJ membership but rejected an application by a Swiss journalists' organization in view of the fact a Swiss group already is a member. It instructed the IFJ bureau to examine the possibility of an expansion program that would make it "a more worldwide organization" and to report to the next congress on its estimated cost.

Noting that TNG had agreed to pay its current six-month per capita in Belgian francs rather than U.S. and Canadian dollars despite the fact that devaluation of the dollar had resulted in a considerable increase in the payment, the congress voted to require all future payments in that currency. IFJ headquarters are in Brussels.

Devaluation increased the Guild's payment for the last half of 1972 from \$2,975 to approximately \$3,400.

TNG to Host IFJ Meeting

Istanbul, Turkey—TNG will be host to the executive committee of the International Federation of Journalists at a meeting to be held in Washington next spring. It will be the committee's first meeting in the United States.

The invitation was extended by TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., during the IFJ congress here. The committee consists of the IFJ's top officers, plus one delegate from each affiliate.

The meeting will be held the last week in May or the first week in June at the Windsor Park Hotel.

Michigan Locals Explore J-Review

Battle Creek, Mich.—The Battle Creek Guild was host to two other Guild locals and a Kalamazoo journalists' group Oct. 8 for a discussion on the possibility of establishing a Michigan journalism review.

A gathering of 40 heard Ron Dorfman, editor of the Chicago Journalism Review, and Charles Lewis, a member of the Guild's negotiating committee at the Chicago Sun-Times, Lewis reviewed

progress of the Chicago Guild's current attempt to seek a voice in operations of the Sun-Times and Daily News.

Present were a Detroit Guild delegation, headed by Executive Secretary Helen Fogel and including a committee that is studying the feasibility of a Michigan review, and a Lansing Guild delegation headed by President Galen McClain. Representatives of the Kalamazoo Professional

Journalism Association also attended.

Battle Creek President Gregory LeFever announced that the local is planning additional programs for journalists in the area, as well as a series of panel discussions with representatives of the black community, city officials, trade-union officials and other groups as part of a series of "professional-development events."

Board OKs Right Of Editorialists To Guild Activity

The National Labor Relations Board last week ordered the Wichita Eagle and Beacon to restore Dorothy Wood to her editorial writer's job, backing up a trial examiner's finding that editorial writers have a full right to participate in Guild activity.

1st Pact Nets \$280 Top In Royal Oak

Royal Oak, Mich.—The Detroit Guild has negotiated an initial contract providing a \$280 reporter top minimum at the Royal Oak Tribune.

The \$280 top will take effect in the third year of the contract, starting in March 1974. The first-year top is \$235 and the second-year figure \$260.

The Tribune, with a circulation of 58,000, was the first of several suburban papers to be organized by the Detroit Local in an extensive campaign still under way.

The initial agreement provides a \$300 top in the third year for the editors' group, \$205 for display ad sales, \$155 for heavy janitorial, \$140 for the classified phone room and \$150 for outside classified sales and switchboard operator-clerks.

The Guild won maintenance of membership for all those employed before the March 6 contract date who were Guild members April 1, and a full Guild shop for all those hired subsequently.

The contract calls for a five-day, 40-hour week, a five-percent night differential, seven paid holidays, 15 days' sick pay, four weeks' vacation after five years' service, up to three weeks' severance pay, \$20,000 hazardous-assignment insurance, jury pay and publisher payment of full health-insurance costs.

A privilege clause permits employees to refuse to surrender notes, films, tapes and records or disclose information to anyone except the publisher and to refuse to authenticate any published material. Employees must be notified of any demand on the publisher for the surrender of such material.

The publisher must provide legal counsel if proceedings are instituted against the employee as a result of his refusal and must compensate him for any resulting financial loss.

No by-lines or credit lines can be used without the employee's consent, and any changes in copy must be brought to an employee's attention, if possible, before his by-line is used.

Guild Loses Election At Pasadena Paper

Pasadena, Calif.—Editorial employees of Ridder's Pasadena Star-News voted 37 to 29 Oct. 4 against a representation bid by the Los Angeles Guild.

A substantial majority of the unit had signed Guild cards in a weekend organizing "blitz" last June, but an intensive barrage of company letters to employees in the pre-election period undermined the Guild's position.

A unanimous three-member NLRB panel rejected management's claim that Wood's active role as a Guild negotiator and her participation in women's-rights activities had impaired her usefulness as an editorial writer. It was a landmark decision in the area of editorial writers' status, but the company immediately appealed the ruling to the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals.

The board adopted unchanged the examiner's recommendation that Wood be offered reinstatement to the editorial writer's job she lost in August 1971, with full compensation for any loss of pay. If necessary, Trial Examiner Ramey Donovan said, the nonunion staff member moved up to take over her duties should be displaced.

The decision shot down management's efforts to establish a double standard on union and other activity for its editorial writers, who the examiner said were clearly "Indians rather than chiefs." It found that the newspaper's objections to her women's-rights activities were merely a pretext "so that the transfer might not appear to be based solely on her union activities."

As for possible areas of conflict between a writer's personal views and the newspaper's editorial policy, the decision noted that the editorial positions of the Eagle and Beacon were determined by management and that the role of subordinate editorial writers was that of "craftsmen (and women) of the written word."

The three-member panel consisted of NLRB Chairman Edward B. Miller, John H. Fanning and John A. Penello.

The Wichita Guild is still negotiating for an initial contract, and last week it filed two more unfair-labor-practice charges against the company, accusing it of fostering a decertification petition filed last April and of refusing to provide payroll data.

The petition, filed by an assistant city editor, was later withdrawn.

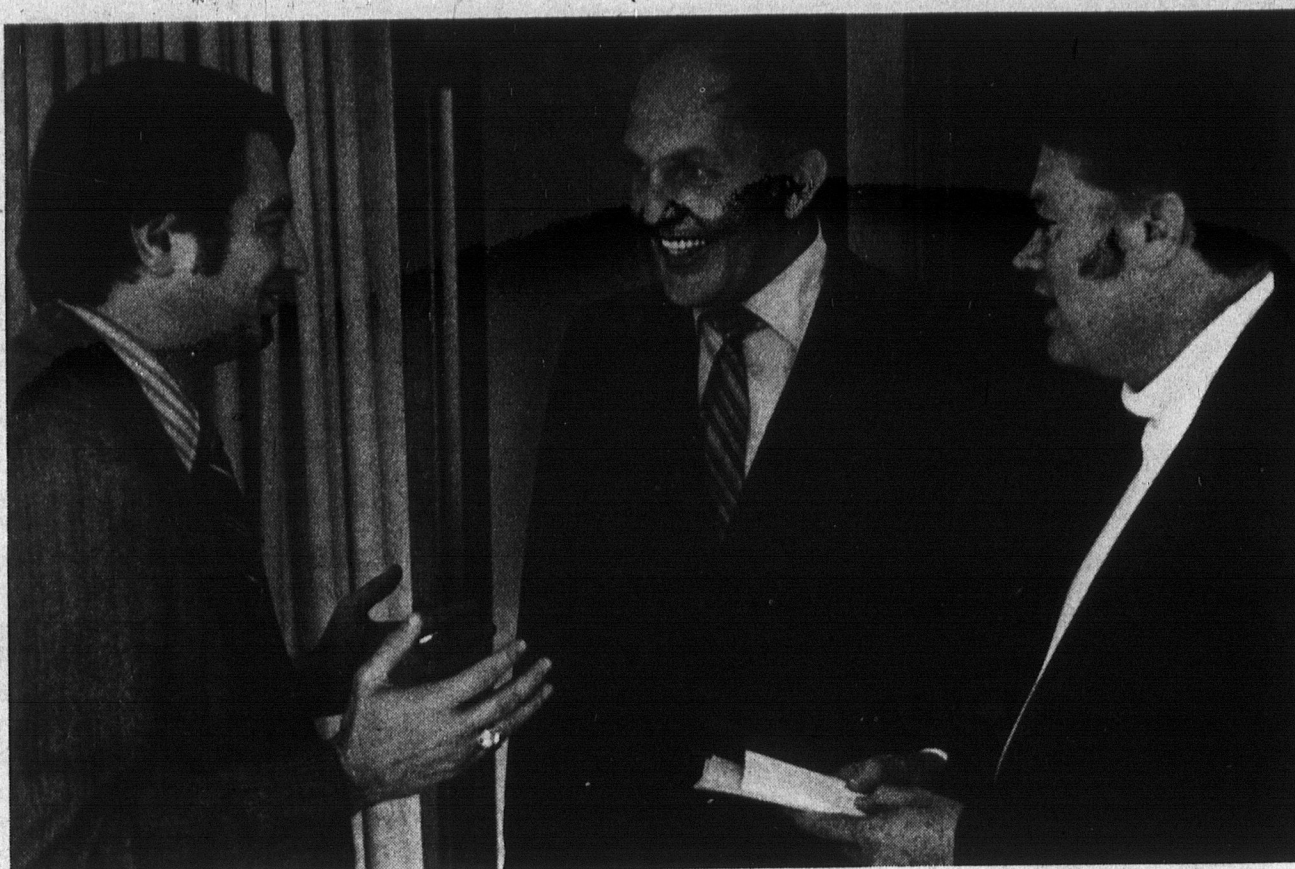
Guild Insurance Program Offers Additional \$1,000

Guild units participating in the Guild's group life-insurance program have the opportunity to raise members' coverage from \$1,000 to \$2,000.

The increase option was announced last month by TNG Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker. The cost for the additional \$1,000 coverage will be the same as for the first \$1,000—85 cents per member per month in the United States and 75 cents in Canada.

Crocker, in a letter urging non-participating locals to join in the program, said TNG views it as "not only a membership benefit . . . but also an attraction for nonmembers you are trying to organize."

There is no age limit, medical examination or other qualifica-



Guild Scholars

An academic discussion takes place at a meeting of the Midwest District Council between three Guild leaders who have taken or are taking courses in labor education. From left, International Vice President James A. McGill, president of the Gary Guild, who studied at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center as winner of TNG's 1971 Guild Service Award; Robert A. Steinke, executive secretary of

the St. Louis Guild, currently studying at the Harvard Trade Union Program, and John Carmichael, executive secretary of the Twin Cities Guild, who studied at Harvard last year. The 1972 Convention voted to have TNG seek establishment of an annual Guild tuition scholarship to the Harvard program, to be financed by contributions from TNG and locals interested in the program.

Service Plan Eyed in Midwest

Minneapolis, Minn.—The establishment of a servicing-organizing program in the Midwest is under study by a committee of the Guild's Midwest District Council.

The committee, consisting of Tom Stundza of Gary and Matt Pommer of Madison, was named by Council President Robert A. Steinke at a meeting here Sept. 30 and Oct. 1.

The committee will consider, among other possibilities, the inclusion of some locals of the Great Lakes District Council in the program. Meanwhile, delegates will sound out their locals on willingness to pay the necessary per capita to support the program.

The committee will report to the council at a January meeting scheduled for Peoria.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., reviewed operation of the Guild's pioneer New England Servicing-Organizing Program at the council session. Research and Information Director James M. Cesnik conducted a seminar on organizing techniques.

Blitz Drive Organizes West Virginia Papers

Morgantown, W. Va.—A whirlwind weekend organizing drive conducted with the assistance of five Pittsburgh Guild leaders resulted in the filing of a representation petition for 80 employees of the Morgantown Dominion-News and Post this week.

The petition, filed with the National Labor Relations Board by TNG, covers employees in all unorganized departments—advertising, editorial, inside and outside circulation, mailroom, maintenance and photoengraving. Business-office work is handled by the paper's parent firm, the Greer Steel Co.

The weekend drive was conducted by International Repre-

sentative Luis Montanez, Jr., with the aid of Pittsburgh Guild President Jonathan Williams, Vice Presidents William Levis and Anne Wintermantel, Post-Gazette Unit Secretary Charles Lynch and Monessen Unit Chairman Stephen Menzler.

They and an organizing committee of Morgantown employees signed up an overwhelming majority of the eligible employees.

The Dominion-News and Post are a morning-evening combination with a combined circulation of 20,000.

Guild Files Petition At Bay Area Daily

Fairfield, Calif.—The San Francisco-Oakland Guild is seeking to represent 46 employees in all nonmechanical departments of the Fairfield Republic, an 11,500-circulation daily.

The local filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board last week. The Typographical Union filed simultaneously for mechanical-department employees.

The local has been assisted in the Fairfield organizing campaign by TNG International Representative Charles Dale.

Circulation Unit Sought At Alexandria Gazette

Alexandria, Va.—The Washington-Baltimore Guild last week filed a representation petition for 11 circulation dealers at the Alexandria Gazette.

The Guild currently represents 10 editorial employees at the suburban daily. This is its first move into other departments.

Checks Return, Ex-Hollywood Boss Nabbed

Los Angeles, Calif.—Robert M. Horton, former publisher of the Hollywood Citizen-News, is facing a felony charge and 13 misdemeanor counts accusing him of issuing bad checks to his employees and an electrical contractor.

Horton was arrested in August after being sought by police for more than a month. He was apprehended when police stopped his car because of a broken tail light.

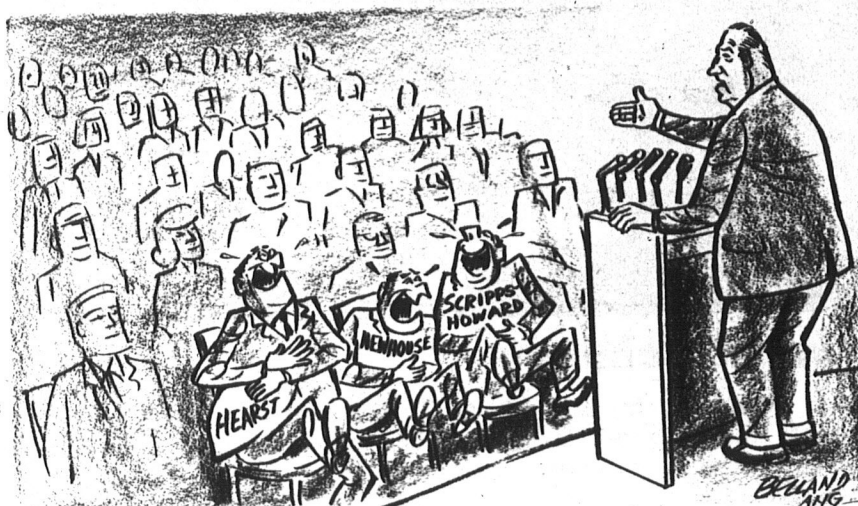
Pressmen and printers had received 13 of the bad checks while Horton was at the helm of the paper, which has been floundering in bankruptcy proceedings for two years. Craft unionists and Guild editorial employees had gone without pay so often that they insisted on being paid at the start of each shift. They are owed weeks of back pay.

The paper, once a daily, has barely been able to continue publication as a weekly, often printing in a different location each week. Its editorial staff has dwindled to a small handful, distribution is lagging, advertising down and the company so delinquent in its bills that telephone service once was cut off.

The Nixon Years

1969-70

1969



'Tell us that one again about monopoly in New York and Washington, Spiro'

1970



'What are you, some kind of glutton?'

1970



'Oh, we wouldn't want to do anything that might destroy the confidence of your sources'

1970



'I always wondered exactly what he meant by lowering our voices'

The Presidential Candidates Taking Their Measure

McGovern

DURING HIS 14 YEARS as congressman and senator, George S. McGovern has supported labor-backed domestic programs 94 percent of the time. In 84 key votes recorded by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver reports, McGovern voted right 79 times, wrong five times.

Specifically: McGovern consistently opposed compulsory arbitration—in the 1966 airline strike, the 1967 railroad strike, the 1970 railroad strike and this year's West Coast dock strike.

He cosponsored every major piece of civil-rights legislation enacted during the past decade and voted to end filibusters that delayed passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and blocked consideration of open-housing provisions of the 1968 Act.

He cosponsored the proposed Constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women and supported both the comprehensive day-care bill vetoed by President Nixon and enforcement powers for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

He supported a higher federal minimum wage and extended unemployment benefits, including coverage of migrant farm workers.

He voted repeatedly to provide jobs for the unemployed, including young workers, through public works and public-service job programs.

He voted for medicare and mental-health measures and cosponsored the Kennedy-Griffiths National Health Insurance Bill.

He voted for truth-in-lending and truth-in-packaging, the two big consumer bills of the last decade. He helped sponsor food stamps and school-lunch programs.

He voted to improve Social Security.

He supported the 18-year-old vote, increased federal aid to education and tax reform.

He voted against the confirmation of Clement Haynsworth, G. Harrold Carswell and William Rehnquist for appointment to the Supreme Court.

And he was one of seven senators who voted last December against continuing President Nixon's wage-price control program for another year.

In 1965, to the disappointment of his friends in labor (some of whom have never forgiven him), McGovern voted against ending a filibuster that successfully blocked a vote on repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes so-called state "right-to-work" laws.

"It's the only time I've cast a vote in the Senate that bothered my conscience, and it was a mistake," McGovern says. He favors repeal of Section 14(b) and voted against an open-shop, "right-to-work" provision in the Postal Reorganization Act.

"McGovern's record is commendable, particularly for one who represents a rural, agricultural state such as South Dakota," the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver says. "Few senators representing similar constituencies have comparable or better records."

"He was the first political leader to attack Nixon's wage- and price-controls plan as a sham designed to help business and hurt workers. He is the first Presidential candidate to support collective bargaining for public workers," and he has said he believes that all workers, including those employed by the government, should have the right to strike.

"McGovern's voting record and position on the issues clearly demonstrate he is in sympathy with the needs of the American people—union and non-union alike."

Nixon

DURING HIS 14 YEARS as congressman, senator and Vice President, Richard M. Nixon opposed labor-backed domestic programs 86 percent of the time.

In 69 key votes recorded by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver reports, Nixon voted wrong 59 times, right 10 times.

Specifically: While in Congress, Nixon supported the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which subjected unions to injunctions and suits for damages and outlawed the closed shop, secondary boycotts and union hiring halls. He also supported a motion overriding President Truman's veto.

He supported elimination of a million workers from minimum-wage coverage, an amendment providing only a voluntary Fair Employment Practices Commission without enforcement power, and a motion allowing states to deny unemployment benefits to workers declining to work as scabs.

As Vice President, he declined to break a Senate tie on a measure to increase welfare payments to the aged, blind and disabled, broke a tie to table a move to reconsider a so-called "Bill of Rights" subjecting unions to harassment and litigation and broke another tie to table an amendment doubling an appropriation for schools.

As President, Nixon has proposed antistrike legislation for the transportation industry and opposed collective-bargaining legislation and the right to strike for public employees.

He opposed the 1972 bill to raise the federal minimum wage to \$2.20 an hour and supported efforts to undermine the law by providing lower wages for young workers.

He opposed the 18-year-old vote, effective enforcement powers for the EEOC and adequate cost-of-living increases under Social Security.

He packed the Supreme Court and administrative agencies with conservative, business-oriented appointees. His National Labor Relations Board chairman voted with management 70 times in 73 decisions.

He imposed an "economic stabilization" program under which union contracts were abrogated and pay increases strictly controlled. But prices, profits, interest, unemployment and the individual's share of the income-tax dollar have continued to rise. The cost of living alone has gone up 18 percent since he took office; it now costs more than \$1,300 a year to buy food that cost \$1,100 when Nixon was elected.

As President, Nixon has used his veto power 12 times on domestic legislation.

He vetoed bills that would have established a comprehensive day-care program and increased needed appropriations for education, health, urban renewal and public works, hospitals and medical schools, jobs and medical care for veterans.

"Since he took office, President Nixon has shown that his policies clearly favor the special interests of the rich and the powerful," the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver says. "The policies of his administration have provided lush dividends to the corporate community, banks and wealthy individuals while relegating workers, middle income citizens, minorities and the poor to second-class status."

"Several years ago a high-ranking spokesman for the Nixon Administration said, 'Judge us not by what we say but by what we do.' On this basis, if you work for a living, how can you vote for Nixon?"

McGovern Vows to Open Press Door Nixon Shut

RICHARD NIXON has averaged one press conference every two months since he has been President. Sen. George S. McGovern says that, to "advance the goal of open government," he would hold press

conferences at least every two weeks.

In addition, in a letter to the Association for Education in Journalism, McGovern pledged to ensure, by executive order or legislation, that if he is elected President:

- Cabinet members will hold press conferences at least once a month.
- Cabinet meetings will be open to the press except in "rare cases" where national security imposes secrecy.

• Background briefings, in which information is supplied on condition that the source not be identified, will be ended.

President Nixon has gone for as long as 55 weeks without holding a scheduled press conference. Editor & Publisher reports, and the frequency of his press conferences contrasts sharply with that of his predecessors, who averaged 24 to 36 such conferences a year.

McGovern, in a speech to United Press International editors this month, said that corruption in the Nixon Administration "includes the corruption of our Constitution by assaults on freedom of the press."

Earlier, in his white paper on civil liberties, McGovern said:

"The shrill attacks by Spiro Agnew, the attempt to restrain publication of the Pentagon Papers, the investigation of the personal lives of reporters and the disruption of the newsmen's relationship with his sources are all disturbing indicators of the Nixon Administration's total failure to understand the vital role of the press in America today."

"The need for the press as a watchdog on government has never been greater. Yet the Nixon Administration has never realized that the robust and energetic exchange of ideas through the press is central to the well-being of this nation."

Writing on "Mr. Nixon and the Press" in the New York Times last week, James Reston emphasized that the "free flow of information in a democratic society can be interrupted by avoiding the press as well as by threatening reporters with jail or preventing papers from publishing."

This is not merely a struggle between the press and the government, Reston said, for in defeating the press, Nixon is defeating the American democratic system.

As a result, a Newark newsmen, Peter Bridge, was sent to jail last week for refusing to disclose his sources. President Nixon's choice as acting head of the FBI said he deserved it.

The Year the Guild Endorsed a Candidate

GEORGE MCGOVERN isn't the first Presidential candidate the Guild has endorsed.

Although it had long been forgotten, what has since become known as the Guild's tradition of political neutrality was twice broken in the first dozen years of the union's existence.

At the 1944 Guild Convention, delegates voted to endorse Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term. A minority report, opposing any endorsement, was rejected on a 153½-to-73½ roll-call vote.

The resolution called for "all-out active support" of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket while reaffirming the "autonomous right of each local to determine its own course of political action and the right of every individual in the Guild to vote as his conscience dictates."

The convention action followed an advisory postcard poll of Guild members on the question: "Should the 1944 Convention of the American Newspaper Guild endorse a candidate for President of the United States?"

The membership (which then totaled 21,000) voted 2,754 to 2,105 that the convention should do so.

The convention debate—and the comments scrawled on the postcard ballots—anticipated the arguments over the

Guild's 1972 McGovern endorsement only in part.

The case for endorsement was similar. As Cleveland's William M. Davy put it, "An unfriendly national administration for the next four years... need not pass a single law to wipe off a single New Deal agency. It needs only to give lip service to the agency, to starve it for funds and staff it with incompetents."

And as one member wrote on his ballot, "Of course. We're not living in a vacuum."

Opposition arguments focused on fears that a political endorsement would alienate prospective members and make organizing harder.

"I do not think that the endorsement of President Roosevelt... is going to get Mr. Roosevelt one more vote," Twin Cities delegate Kenneth B. Crouse said.

But if the endorsement alienated one or more members or prospective members, he declared, "then I think this endorsement will be a miserable failure."

No one at the convention, however, expressed any fears of an endorsement raising questions about the objectivity of the press or of reporters covering the election campaign.

And there is little indication in the pages of the Guild Reporter of newspaper editorials or columns protesting the

endorsement or viewing with alarm the prospect of newspaper reporters plunging into political action.

Predictably, Editor & Publisher denounced the Guild convention for presuming to make an endorsement, and the Reader's Digest printed an article by a Boston Guildsman headed, "I Object to My Union in Politics."

But the publishers and columnists evidently saved what the GR called their "hysterical outcries" for the CIO's newly-established Political Action Committee, headed by the late Sidney Hillman.

The postconvention issues of the GR were filled with letters on political candidates—but they dealt with candidates in a heated internal Guild election. However, 18 members at the Indianapolis Star wrote in to protest the "pro-Rooseveltian bias" of the GR and said GR Columnist James A. Wechsler, then a member of the Washington Guild, shouldn't be given space for his pro-FDR views "unless someone with equally pronounced prejudices is permitted to present counterarguments."

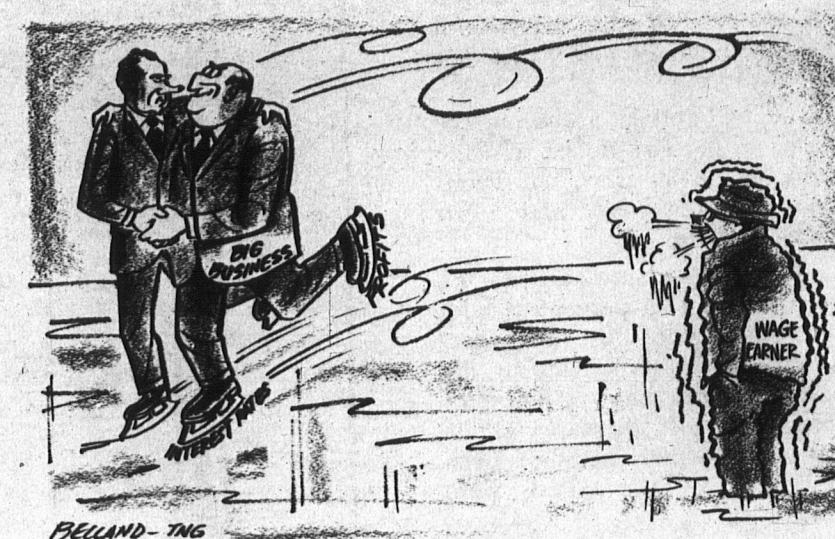
The Nov. 15 GR, following Roosevelt's re-election, carried a 5-column streamer across the top of Page 1 reading: "Election Credit Shared by ANG"

The readout said "Guild Paces Many CIO Units in PAC Drive," and the story

The Nixon Years

1971-72

1971

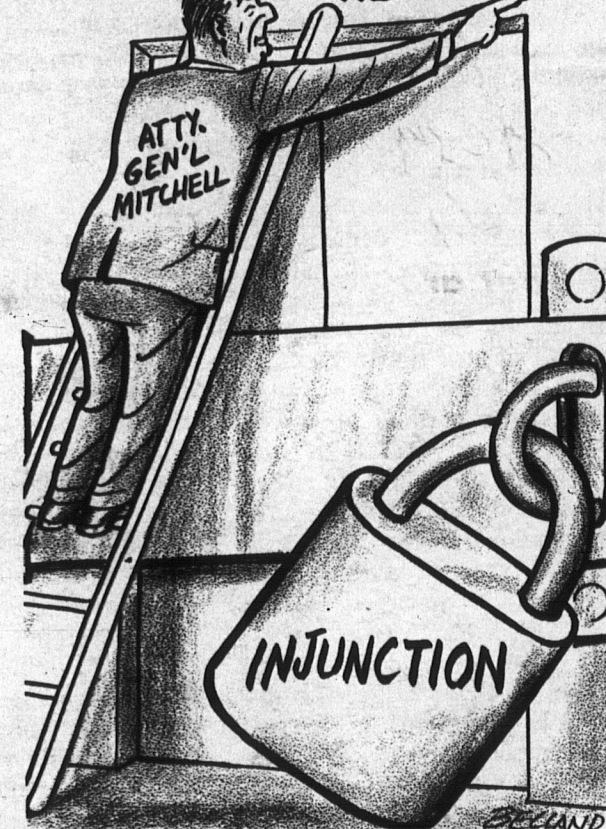


Ice Follies

1971

The New York Times
"All the News That's Fit to Print."
WE LET YOU

Cartoons
by
Belland
from the
Guild
Reporter



Preventive Detention

1972



'Businessmen? There's nobody here but us workers'

Board Rolls Back Pay at Washington Post

(Continued from Page 1)

ruled that the Newark News was free to pay the full increases under a North Jersey Guild contract whose economic terms were negotiated before Phase Two controls.

The Pay Board upheld an IRS ruling limiting first-year increases of 8.1 percent at the St. Louis Post-Dispatch to seven percent. The IRS subsequently held a first-year increase of 10.9 percent at the St. Louis Globe-Democrat to the same seven percent, and a 7.6-percent first-year increase at the Cincinnati Post & Times-Star to 5.5 percent.

The IRS rulings are being appealed to the Pay Board, and the board is being asked to reconsider its Newsweek and Post-Dispatch decisions.

Craft-union increases ranging from 9.5 to 12.5 percent at both the Washington Post and Star-News were also cut back by the board, to from eight to nine percent. But Guild increases at the Star-News, which had not been challenged by the board, were unaffected.

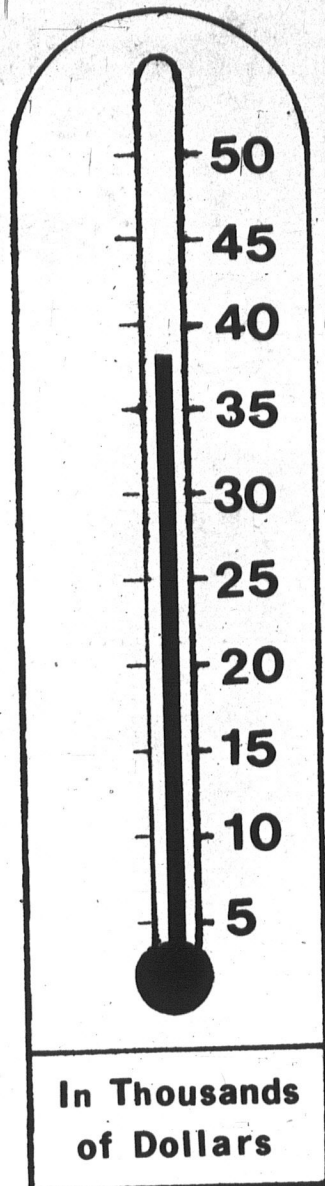
The Washington-Baltimore Guild noted that the rollback would leave the Post, which has received Price Commission approval of circulation increases averaging 13.6 percent and ad-rate increases averaging 5.2 percent, with "windfall profits." The Pay Board asked the Price Commission to investigate whether the price increases should be stripped back.

The local executive board issued a statement scoring the wage cutback as "another government-imposed settlement, with wide implications in a national industry, that is sure to chill free collective bargaining."

The executive board said the action "clearly demonstrates again the injustice of national economic policies that squeeze a tight clamp on the wages of workers, leave unchecked the profits, dividends and executive compensation of their employers and have clearly failed to stem the inflationary spiral of living costs or roll back the recession-level unemployment that have persisted month after month throughout the so-called controls period."

The local proposed to the Post that the 4.5-percent increase disallowed by the board be diverted to allowable pension improvements. The Guild's contract provides for renegotiation of economic provisions in the event of Pay Board rejection of any terms.

The board, in sweeping back the wage increases, rejected Guild arguments that they should be allowed to stand because of a close relationship with unchallenged increases negotiated before controls at the Washington Star and with federal govern-



Nixonometer

The cost of defending Guild wage settlements before President Nixon's Pay Board has risen to \$38,745—\$7,500 for legal expenses and \$31,245 for economic consultants' fees. TNG notified locals last month that they will henceforth be asked to split the costs with TNG.

ment salary levels.

It also rejected the Guild's contention that productivity increases justified the pay hikes, saying the claim was insufficiently supported. The Guild said that the Post had refused to supply the information needed to prove the productivity increases, that the Pay Board had refused to subpoena it and that the National Labor Relations Board had declined to force transmittal of the data on the ground it didn't want to "interfere" with the Pay Board's jurisdiction.

Although the board's order required an immediate rollback, employees will not be required to return any of the increase money they had already received. The increases, bargained during Phase Two, were effective last October and May.

The Post, denying that the board's action will leave it with windfall profits, said it could justify its higher prices by increases in other than labor costs. But the Guild noted that Post profits rose 54 percent for the

first quarter of the year and 32 percent the second quarter.

The Guild's proposal that the disallowed increases be diverted into pensions was held in abeyance while the Post and Star-News negotiated new contracts with four craft unions. The papers reached tentative agreements with the Pressmen, Stereotypers and ITU Mailers last week but were still negotiating with the Typographical Union.

The IRS decision at the Newark News opened the door for Guild-covered employees there to collect the full amount of increases negotiated last September up to the time the paper suspended early last month. But the News indicated it would contest the increases before the Pay Board.

The company had insisted that the increases could not be paid because the contract was not signed until after Phase Two began. But the IRS said its approval of the economic terms was not required because they were bargained before Phase Two.

The North Jersey Local immediately served the News with a demand that the company make all employees whole for the increases denied them. But the News told the IRS it was challenging any increase over 5.5 percent on the ground that a wage stipulation limiting the increase initially was negotiated during Phase Two.

The board's San Francisco-area decision allows full Guild increases at the Santa Rosa Press Democrat, Richmond Independent, San Mateo Times & News Leader and Vallejo Times-Herald.

The board approved increases totaling from 14 percent to 16.1 percent in the first two years of the settlements, the first extending into the first year of Phase Two controls starting last November and the second effective a short time afterward, Nov. 29.

The board said it was approving the increases because of the contracts' close relationship to an existing contract—the San Francisco-Oakland Guild's agreement with publishers in San Francisco and Oakland.

At the Tacoma News-Tribune, the board heeded a Guild plea for reconsideration after ordering a 9.2-percent increase rolled back to seven percent in the first year of a contract and holding a second-year increase to 5.5 percent despite an historic relationship with contracts in Seattle, where identical increases are in effect.

Local Administrative Secretary Kirk Smith, in asking for reconsideration, said the decision "would disrupt the historic collective-bargaining relationship that has kept Tacoma and Seattle pay rates at parity for more than 20 years."

At Newsweek, the board ap-

proved an Internal Revenue Service ruling that reduced a 7.6-percent increase to 5.5 percent, refusing to allow a bonus to be included in base pay for computation purposes.

At the Pottstown Mercury, however, the board said that, while deferred increases appeared to be in excess of the board's standard 5.5-percent guideline, evidence presented by the company was insufficient to demonstrate that they were "unreasonably inconsistent with the criteria of the board."

The St. Louis Guild is asking the board to reconsider its limitation of Jan. 1, 1972, increases at the Post-Dispatch, which were allowed to stand at seven percent because of a tandem relationship with craft-union settlements.

And it is appealing the IRS's ruling at the Globe-Democrat, where increases effective the same date were allowed up to seven percent on the basis of the board's "catch-up" criterion, which permits such increases if raises in the previous contract averaged less than seven percent.

The Cincinnati Guild is seeking the full increases negotiated at the Post & Times-Star effective last March 1.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker notified locals last month that they would henceforth have to pay half the cost of research, advice, preparation of cases and other "out-of-pocket expense" incurred by TNG in processing Pay Board cases.

The cost of processing board cases has now exceeded \$30,000, they said, stating that "the burden has become too heavy for TNG's budget to support."

The total cost rose to \$38,745 by last week.

Dirks Brothers, an investment-analysis firm, reported last month that the American Newspaper

Publishers Association is considering launching a new attempt to exempt the newspaper industry from price controls. A move to free newspapers of both wage and price controls failed in Congress last year, when, Dirks Brothers reported, ANPA's board of directors voted narrowly not to join.

Dirks Brothers said that approximately half of publicly owned newspapers face "no restraints on their earning power" for 1972 because they were not near their base-period profit margins. But such chains as Gannett, Ridder, Media General and Harte-Hanks are doing so well that price controls may affect them, Dirks said, and they, with Hearst and Scripps-Howard, are expected to lead a drive for exemption.

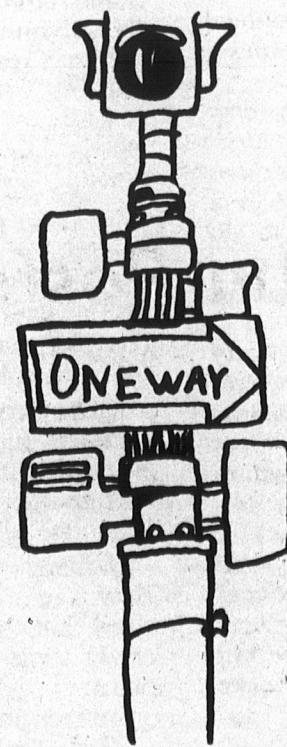
However, it added, "some publishers fear that winning an exemption from price controls would expose them to the possible loss of wage controls, which for some (the New York Times, for example) would constitute a clear and present danger."

The Price Commission recently allowed the St. Louis Globe-Democrat to increase its advertising rates by 3.12 percent, the San Francisco Examiner to increase its home-delivery rates by an average of 8.2 percent and its classified-advertising rates by an average of 4.25 percent, and the Milwaukee Journal to raise its advertising rates by 2.16 percent.

The Washington Star-News has asked a 2.2-percent increase in ad rates, Copley Press for a 2.88-percent increase in advertising and circulation rates, the Baltimore Sunpapers for a 2.97-percent rate increase, the Kansas City Star for a 2.66-percent hike in ad rates, Newsweek for 3.61-percent increases in both advertising and circulation rates, and Time Inc. for a 5.6-percent increase in ad rates.

General Information

Economic Stabilization Program



Internal Revenue Service



Economic Stabilization Program

One-Way Street?

Union officials were intrigued by this title page of a new Internal Revenue Service brochure on wage-price controls. Was it saying, they wondered, that controls are a one-way street for employers and a stop light for workers' wage increases?

Haggart Case Keyed to Past Policy

Toronto, Ont.—An arbitration board hearing the Toronto Guild's plea for the reinstatement of columnist Ron Haggart has rejected both the Guild's and management's contention on his employment status, leaving the issue to be decided on the basis of the Star's practice in treating probationary employees.

Haggart, a popular columnist for the Toronto Telegram, was hired by the Toronto Star when the Telegram folded. But the paper canceled the agreement

before his first column appeared, saying an article he had written in a New Democratic Party publication endorsing NDP candidates in a provincial election impaired his credibility.

The Star claimed Haggart wasn't yet an employee when the hiring decision was reversed. The arbitration-board majority ruled that he was—but that, as a probationary employee, he could be fired for any reason. It rejected the Guild's contention that Haggart's employment by the Star

from 1958 to 1968 took him out of the new-employee category.

A separate hearing held by the board Oct. 3 focused on the issue of whether Haggart had been discriminated against in view of the Star's past practice in treating new employees.

Guild testimony cited a number of cases in which new employees were not required to serve a probationary period and stressed that Haggart's political views were well known before he was hired.

Mundo Strike Ends in 'Major Victory'

(Continued from Page 1)
comparable work."

"The last contract," they noted, "had not only low minimums... but an escape clause under which El Mundo could and did pay experienced people much less than the contract minimum."

As a result, the new minimums will bring increases of as much as \$125 and \$115 for many members. The salaries of some will be doubled.

Among other top-minimum increases over the four-year period are the following:

Copy editors, \$90, to \$258; columnists and cartoonists, \$103, to \$275; copy boys, \$58, to \$130; electricians, \$64, to \$190; mailers and paper handlers, \$65, to \$150; printers, \$62, to \$170; auto-body repairmen, \$89, to \$190; drivers, \$62, to \$160; voluntary classified sales, \$65, to \$160; janitors, \$43 to \$115.

Forty of the newly covered district managers will be raised \$94, to \$210, while others raised to that figure will get raises of \$73 to \$93.

General increases range from \$36 to \$85 over the four-year term.

The settlement replaces five contracts, each with numerous substandard clauses, with a single contract that McCormick said "will serve as a new, strong foundation for good future settlements."

Among its provisions:

- Double time for all overtime over eight hours a day.
- Four additional holidays.
- An additional \$2.40 a week per employee for pensions.
- An increase of four weeks, to 22, in maximum severance pay.
- Life-insurance coverage of \$7,500, up \$4,500.
- Full company payment for health insurance (employees for-



A Casualty Returns

Puerto Rico Guild Vice President Bienvenido Ortiz Otero, clubbed unconscious by police on the first day of the El Mundo strike, returns to his reporter's desk following the strike settlement. Ortiz was hospitalized for a week after the attack.

merly paid \$13 a month).

- A three-percent Christmas bonus (Puerto Rican law requires two percent).
- Eight weeks' maternity leave at half pay and up to six months more without pay.

As part of the agreement, El Mundo agreed to rehire two plant guards who are not in the unit but who refused to cross picket lines at the start of the

Guild's strike last February.

The agreement was ratified overwhelmingly by an estimated 95 percent of the unit Sept. 9. It followed months of bargaining, both here and in Washington, where TNG officials participated.

TNG paid approximately \$800,000 in benefits to the strikers during the protracted shutdown.

Local President Alfredo Gonzalez, Jr., in a letter to TNG at

the strike's conclusion, voiced "our deepest, heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the International Executive Board and all the locals who in so many ways helped us in our strike."

"Your backing has been an example to the labor movement both internationally and locally," he said. "If it had not been for your decisive help, we would have been short in obtaining the contract we have received."

Crocker, replying to the letter, said that, while "we all gladly provided money and advice... the major part of this achievement belongs to you, your fellow officers and all of your members for an example of unwavering courage and determination which will shine as an inspiration to Guild members everywhere for years to come."

"We are sure, also," Crocker said, "that your stand against El Mundo's entrenched power and money will give new hope to thousands of your compatriots who are struggling against similar odds to improve their lives and those of their families."

The strike was one of the most turbulent in the Guild's history. More than 25 pickets were arrested and several were beaten in the opening days as police tried to keep the entrances clear for strikebreakers. El Mundo flew in strikebreakers from Miami and airlifted papers out of the plant by helicopter.

The strike won islandwide support both inside and outside the labor movement, however, and El Mundo finally gave up attempts to print in June, after negotiations were moved to Washington at its request. They dragged on, with interruptions, for four months, but the company finally yielded on major wage and coverage issues, paving the way for a settlement.

Merger Seeds Sprout in Printing Crafts

With the Lithographers' and Photoengravers' International Union merged with the Bookbinders on Labor Day into the Graphic Arts International Union, new merger moves are developing among the industry's craft unions.

The fast-shrinking Stereotypers' Union, which has been discussing merger with the Pressmen for some time, voted to continue the talks at its convention in Denver last month. And the Typographical Union has made a new overture to resume merger talks with the Pressmen.

ITU President John J. Pilch told the Stereotypers' convention

that his union favors a merger of all graphic-arts unions, citing technological changes that are erasing craft lines. And ITU Vice President Joe Bingel suggested to the Pressmen's convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., last month that the two unions renew merger discussions that foundered some time ago "and continue until a merger is achieved."

"We would be able to eliminate forever legal scabbing on each other—something every member of both our unions has abhorred for a long, long time," Bingel said.

Pressmen's President Alexander Rohan issued a strong appeal

for merger discussions between his and other printing-trades unions on the convention's opening day. The convention heard Joseph Tonelli, president of the newly merged United Paperworkers International Union, cite the economies and strengthened bargaining position achieved through his merged union.

James A. Sampson, president of the Stereotypers, told the ITU's August convention in Milwaukee that merger attempts with both the LPIU and the Pressmen had proven difficult. Voicing hope that the ITU convention would "again discuss this problem," he said "merger is

absolutely necessary for the Stereotypers."

But Joe Bailey, another ITU vice president, assailed a talk by TNG Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker to the International Mailer's Union convention in Houston a month earlier. Crocker had told the Mailers that the Guild was ready to discuss inter-union cooperation with the IMU "from local cooperation on a case basis all the way to merger."

"If they (the Guild) succeed in merging with the Mailers' group that is dual to the ITU...," Bailey said, "they won't stop at the mailroom. They'll keep moving step-by-step into editorial, classified, business-office and circulation departments. Needless to state, our jurisdiction in a number of areas will be placed in jeopardy."

Bailey cited an earlier address in which Pilch, in Bailey's words, pointed to the amount of money the Guild, "through ill-timed strikes," had cost the ITU in lockout benefits.

Pilch, in urging a reduction in lockout benefits, cited the cost to the ITU of Guild strikes in Los Angeles, Newark and elsewhere, as well as a Pressmen's strike in Baltimore and other unions' strikes in Detroit.

"I believe it is high time that we relieve our members of the responsibility of supporting that type of activity," Pilch declared.

The convention subsequently cut strike and lockout benefits from 60 percent of scale to 50 percent.

70 Printers Turn to Guild In San Juan

(Continued from Page 1)

wanted to affiliate. All but a handful quickly signed Guild cards, and the Guild began paying them strike benefits.

With a majority of the strikers signed up, the Guild itself began picketing for company recognition. The Star, unable to grant voluntary recognition because another union, the ITU, was involved, asked the National Labor Relations Board for a quick election—and got one of the speediest on record.

On the night of Oct. 2, a few hours after meeting with Guild and company representatives, Regional Director Raymond Compton announced an election for the 4th. The Guild and the ITU were both on the ballot, with the ITU receiving the six votes that did not go to the Guild.

The next day the new Guild unit met and voted to go back to work Oct. 7 to give the Guild "a reasonable time" to negotiate a settlement.

It authorized the negotiating committee, which will include Local President Alfredo Gonzalez, Jr., Star Unit Chairman Tito Stevens and International Representative Harry McCormick, to resume the strike whenever it deems necessary.

Picket lines came down the next day, and bargaining began Oct. 9.

The Guild recently negotiated an initial contract for 22 Star drivers and mail-room helpers formerly represented by the Seafarers' International Union, which waived representation rights. The three-year agreement provides increases of \$32 for mailers, with a minimum of \$120, and \$55 for drivers, with a minimum of \$151.

The settlement also provides \$7.20 per week in employer payments for hospitalization insurance and \$3.37 for pensions, a \$7,500 life-insurance policy and a \$10 night differential, all new; four more holidays, for a total of 13; an 18-week increase in maximum severance pay, for a total of 26; seniority in shift selection and days off, a jurisdiction clause, job security, double time for overtime and an end to subcontracting.

Guild Seeks to Add 42 Imparcial Drivers

San Juan, P.R.—The Puerto Rico Guild filed a petition to represent 42 drivers at El Imparcial this week. Cards were signed by an overwhelming majority of the group.

The Guild represents all of the paper's other employees in non-mechanical departments. Management has contended the drivers are independent contractors.

Puerto Rico UPI Unit Votes Against Guild

San Juan, P.R.—Employees of Puerto Rico United Press International have voted 12 to 0 to switch affiliation from the Puerto Rico Guild to the Independent Union of United Press Employees.

The new group's petition was filed with the National Labor Relations Board after all but one member of the Guild's UPI unit abandoned a strike for a new contract and returned to work. The Guild unsuccessfully challenged the group's standing as a union.

Bill Seeks Lid on Postal-Rate Hikes

A bill that would substantially reduce the effect of staggering postage increases on labor and other nonprofit publications has been introduced in Congress by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Rep. Morris K. Udall, chairman of the House Postal Services Committee.

The bill would sharply curtail rate increases of as much as 800 percent facing the Guild Reporter and similar publications over a ten-year period.

It would do so by reducing the postage rate on the first 250,000 copies of each issue to two-thirds of the otherwise applicable rate and by providing that all future increases, including one scheduled for next July,

be split 50-50 between the publications and the government.

Under these provisions, the rate of 1.7 cents per copy scheduled to be reached in stages over the 10-year span would be reduced to .7 of a cent. The original rate, before the initial increase effected in July, was .2 of a cent; the current rate is .4 of a cent.

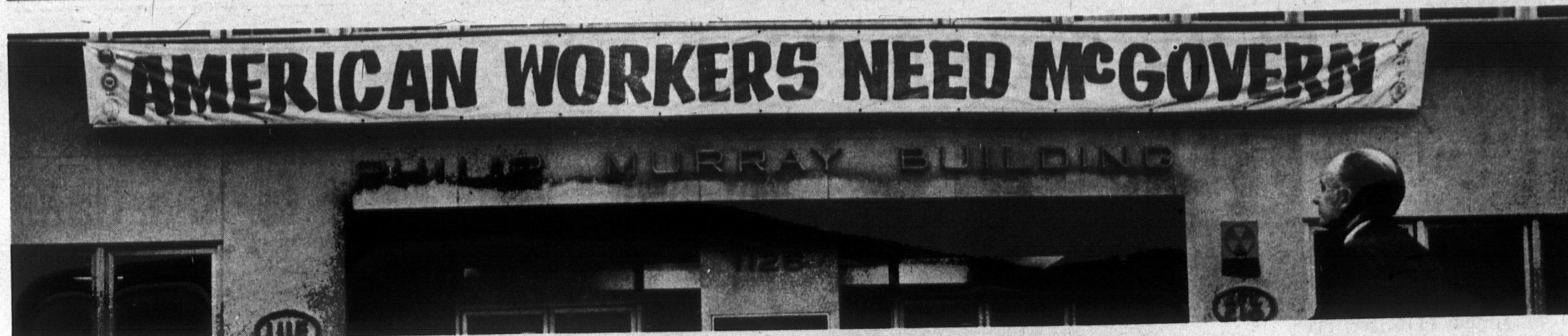
The International Labor Press Association is supporting the jointly sponsored measure, although it does not go so far as bills introduced by Rep. Dominick V. Daniels of New Jersey and Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin.

Daniels's measure would rescind the increases already ef-

fectured by the Postal Service, while Nelson's would freeze the rates of all publications with circulations of 250,000 and under.

Nelson, in a speech introducing the bill, said the Postal Service's actions are "consistent with a business philosophy which only recognizes the interests of the corporate manager and the stockholders" rather than with the provision of quality postal service.

"The encouragement of small, independent journals and publications in this country is important in offering a public window to minority groups," Nelson declared, warning that the scheduled increases threaten to put many of them out of business.



Banner Occasion

TNG Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker surveys McGovern banner draped by TNG and five other unions across building housing TNG headquarters in Wash-

ton. The Guild seal is at the banner's lower right; other unions joining in the campaign message are the International Union of Electrical Workers, Textile Workers,

United Automobile Workers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and American Federation of Technical Engineers, all with offices in the building.

Referendum Move Seems Dead; Only 1 Second In

(Continued from Page 1)
publication in the Guild Reporter, which, in this case, came Sept. 8. Although several additional locals registered dissents to the endorsement of Sen. George S. McGovern, only San Diego reported seconding the Twin Cities motion. It acted at a membership meeting Oct. 3.

A Detroit Guild membership meeting, on the other hand, itself endorsed McGovern, the Madison membership voted unanimously to support TNG's endorsement pending the time newspaper publishers stop making Presidential endorsements, and the Cleveland Guild membership defeated an attempt to rescind its executive board's support of the endorsement.

A North Jersey referendum on local policy resulted in 50 votes to endorse no one, 17 to endorse McGovern and seven to endorse President Nixon. A Gary membership meeting voted to criticize the International Executive Board for "exceeding its authority" by endorsing McGovern before the Republican convention and completion of the Democratic convention, and a Sheboygan membership meeting voted unanimously to disassociate itself from the endorsement.

In Canada, the Vancouver-New Westminster executive board adopted a statement saying it "does not associate itself" with the endorsement, noting that Canadian convention delegates abstained from voting on its authorization.

The Detroit Guild, in addition to endorsing McGovern, asked TNG to divert contributions made to the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education to the McGovern campaign and to seek the return of all contributions made

during the past four years, for the same purpose. It criticized the AFL-CIO's position of neutrality in the Presidential campaign as "an arbitrary and unreasonable violation of the trust" of COPE contributors.

The local's new Oakland Press Unit had voted 13 to 9 to disapprove of the endorsement as "a policy detrimental to journalists in their relations with the public." But the local's membership meeting voted by about three to one for the endorsement, citing Nixon's economic policies and Administration practices that it said "have consistently adversely affected the rights of a free and responsible press."

It noted specifically that "this is the first administration to challenge the right of a free press to determine what constitutes news," in the Pentagon Papers case, and cited the votes of Nixon's Supreme Court appointees against reporters' rights to protect their sources.

The meeting authorized the appointment of a political-action committee to carry out the Guild's political and legislative programs.

The Madison Guild, in affirming support of the endorsement, said that newspaper editorials denouncing it "are in themselves an indication that the publishers, not the reporters, determine the bias found in their newspapers."

It requested "all publishers to refrain from endorsing any candidate in the Presidential campaign lest the reader be given a slanted viewpoint, pending which action the MNG reaffirms the support given McGovern by the TNG."

The Cleveland Guild, while rejecting opposition to the endorsement, adopted a motion re-

TNG Locals Get Committee List

TNG last week sent U.S. Guild locals a list of state committees established by the National Labor Committee for the Election of McGovern-Shriver.

"If your local and/or your members are interested in helping elect George McGovern and Sargent Shriver, get in touch with your state committee," Research and Information Director James M. Cesnik suggested. TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., is a vice chairman of the national labor committee.

quiring the local executive board to poll the membership before making major endorsements in the future.

The North Jersey referendum followed actions by the unit's Newark News, Woodbridge News Tribune and Bridgewater Courier-News units against the endorsement and a paid ad in the Elizabeth Journal condemning the endorsement. The ad, signed by 25 of the Journal's 35 Guild-covered editorial employees, said working newspapermen and women cannot "publicly endorse a political candidate and still remain impartial in the public's eye."

The Gary Guild criticized the endorsement as "contrary to the directive" of convention delegates after a petition denouncing both the IEB's action and the convention sanction for endorsement was signed by 41 of 59 members.

The Sheboygan Guild, in opposing the endorsement, said no endorsement of candidates should be made by the Guild "at any level" because of "the involve-

ment of working news writers."

The Guild's St. Louis Post-Dispatch Unit voted to disavow the endorsement but added that the action was not to be "misconstrued as an endorsement for any Presidential candidate."

Earlier, 186 Post-Dispatch members signed a petition asking the IEB to rescind the endorsement and the Guild to refrain from future endorsements. Sixteen members signed a statement concurring in the convention's action.

The Wire Service Guild's Associated Press Branch in Kansas City voted to ask a referendum on the endorsement before action was initiated by Twin Cities. And four members of the local's Montgomery (Ala.) Chapter signed a statement disassociating themselves from the endorsement.

Forty-four Guild members at the New York Post also protested the endorsement, stating that "a nonpartisan union whose membership includes a large group of journalists should not endorse any political candidate."

The endorsement continues to be argued pro and con in the nation's journalism reviews.

Don Effenberger and Robert Protzman, writing on the pro side in a debate in the Twin Cities Journalism Review, said the endorsement "followed both in procedure and spirit the union movement's traditional role in speaking out on a decision that affects the lives and livelihoods of each of us."

As for it affecting reporters' integrity, they said, "We always believed a person either did or did not have integrity and weren't aware it came and went so easily."

But Donald Giese and Jim Landberg, arguing con, charged that the endorsement has struck the press a damaging blow at a time when "we are becoming one-legged men in an ass-kicking contest." Under the endorsement, they said, "everybody suffers—the public, the press, all who work in

any corner of any department in any newspaper plant."

Richard Cramer, writing in Buncombe, the Baltimore journalism review, declared that "the fact is that the political endorsement of a newspaper can compromise its reporters' credibility" but that "the endorsement of his labor union certainly cannot."

Art Pine, taking the other view, argued that reporters "have responsibilities to the public, which—like those of clergymen or doctors—require some self-imposed limits on personal activism" and that "those who want to work as journalists ought to be prepared to live within this framework."

Jim Wood, writing in the San Francisco Bay Area Journalism Review, supported the endorsement, declaring that, in addition to being "therapeutic for the Guild officials involved," it "reflected the strong pro-McGovern sentiments of many working newsmen," helped "focus attention on some of the unhappiness felt by many newsmen concerning Nixon Administration attitudes toward the press" and has "sparked interest in the Guild itself: People are turning out for meetings; there are letters in the Guild Reporter."

But the Columbia Journalism Review took a negative view. An editorial said that, while "newspapermen have all the rights of other citizens . . . they have the right to exercise those prerogatives as private individuals and not to have their careers thrown into battle, except by choice."

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., in a letter printed in response to a Los Angeles Times editorial, said that an endorsement such as the Guild's "can hope for one thing only: that perhaps the member will give some weight to the opinion of the elected leadership whose task it is to sort out what, in its judgment, is best and worst for the organization's welfare, just as he gives some weight to the opinions of his wife, his next-door neighbor, his colleagues on the beat—and his publisher."

Toledo Unit Joins Craft Strike

(Continued from Page 1)
print and ink in preparation for the strike. But it made no immediate attempt to publish.

Leaders of the Lenawee County AFL-CIO Council and a major United Automobile Workers' local at the American Chain & Cable Co. plant have pledged



International Executive Board, fall meeting, Oct. 23-26, TNG headquarters, Washington.
Middle Atlantic District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 4 and 5, UAW Hall, Cranford, N.J.
Western District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 4 and 5, Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco.
Empire State District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 11 and 12, Albany.
Great Lakes District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 11 and 12, Terre Haute.

full support of the strike. The Typographical Union has promised not to go back to work until both it and the Guild win a contract.

The Typographical Union won representation rights at the Telegram in June, two months before the Guild's 23-to-9 election victory. Bargaining began in July but became stalemated quickly on three major noneconomic issues: union security, job security and union status for foremen.

Telegram officials told the Typographical Union they wouldn't grant it a union shop because they would then have to give one to the Guild. They said they "expected trouble with the Guild," with which they had not even begun to bargain.

The Typographical Union authorized strike action early last month and received international sanction. Bargaining broke off

Oct. 1 and the union struck Oct. 10, catching the company by surprise. No further talks have been scheduled.

Guild members took a sidewalk vote to observe the picket lines, acting unanimously. The next night they voted 20 to 2 to strike on their own.

International Representative Willard Hatch handed Telegram General Manager E. E. Porter the Guild's initial proposals yesterday. Porter handed them back without a word.

Only supervisors and a solitary Guild janitor crossed the picket lines. The Guild filed an assault charge against the janitor, James A. Smith, at the start of the strike when he opened the plant door so forcefully it struck a Guild picket, Pat McCrate.

The two unions have opened a joint strike headquarters and have formed joint strike committees.

Publishers Back Nixon, 17 to 1

Six hundred and sixty-eight U.S. newspapers have endorsed President Nixon for re-election, according to a survey by Editor & Publisher. Only 38 are backing Sen. George S. McGovern.

Only 169 newspapers replying were uncommitted or independent, E&P said. The total backing Nixon constitutes more than 94 percent of those endorsing and 76.5 percent of all papers responding.

Indications are that Nixon will have the highest endorsement of any Presidential campaign in at least 40 years. The highest previous percentage was President Eisenhower's 1952 figure of 67.34.

Support for McGovern is so slight among the nation's newspapers that the New York Times alone accounts for 55 percent of the circulation of those backing him. The Times announced its endorsement Sept. 28, citing, among other factors, that Nixon has encouraged "an ominous erosion of individual rights and First Amendment freedoms and has demonstrated his indifference to such dangers by deliberately selecting Spiro T. Agnew as his potential successor."

IT SEEMS

TO US

**Political Reporter Terms
His Politics No Handicap**

DENVER, COLO.

Editor:

I am getting a bit weary of hearing newsmen whine that TNG's endorsement of George McGovern will destroy the image of objectivity they have worked years to build and increase the credibility gap between press and public.

If an "image" of objectivity is all we have to protect, then we're in real trouble. And if the people are questioning the credibility of the press, I submit part of the reason might be that we've been too reluctant to leave our ivory towers and get involved in the real world where the people are.

As a delegate to the San Juan Convention that authorized the IEB to make an endorsement, I originally opposed the idea because I feared it would give Spiro Agnew more ammunition for his attacks against the media. On reflection, I realized Agnew's rhetoric would continue to be voiced against us no matter what TNG did.

I've been a political reporter for some years and a registered Democrat even longer. The people with whom I work know my political affiliation, but they also know it hasn't affected my fairness, honesty and objectivity in reporting the events of the political world in the slightest.

RICHARD H. TUCKER
President
Denver Guild

**'Unanimous Consent' Held
Endorsement Requirement**

CHALFONT, PA.

Editor:

Perlik and the IEB for McGovern, the Teamsters' Fitzsimmons for Nixon, and Meany for neither—the perfect reductio ad absurdum of political endorsement by labor unions and leaders. It makes further argument almost superfluous.

Valid objections have been raised against the Perlik-IEB-convention action. I add another: I challenge their "right" to do so. When and how did they acquire it? Such a right can only be conferred by unanimous consent of the membership—obviously impossible.

Even authorization by a majority, in this instance, would infringe upon, indeed violate, the rights of individual members, who unite only in pursuit of economic goals but hold diverse, even conflicting convictions and beliefs on virtually everything else. To assert such a right is arrogant assumption.

It's also foolish. The Guild can speak with one voice only at the bargaining table. Dabbling in politics, always of doubtful value, weakens unity, lessens confidence in leadership, alienates present and potential members and diverts energies from basic Guild problems. The McGovern-endorsement fiasco is painful proof. So let's get back to our "moss-

draped tradition"—fast. Also, let's have less political propaganda in the GR. We're a labor union, not a political organization.

MICHAEL CASINO
Former President
Philadelphia Guild

**Newspaper Hypocrisy,
Reporter Naivete Seen**

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

Editor:

The furor over the Guild's Presidential endorsement has revealed a pair of peculiarities that appears to afflict the newspaper business:

1. The hypocrisy of publishers.
2. The naivete of working newspaper people.

The first was hardly a surprise, since it long has been recognized that most publishers and their agents in the executive suites suffer from the "holier-than-thou" and "white-knight" syndromes.

But the second was a surprise—at least to me. Apparently, the stereotype of the cynical and sardonic yet logical working press is a figment.

For publishers to editorialize that the Guild endorsement compromises the integrity of newsmen and newswomen or hampers them in gathering and disseminating the news is both an affront and a blatant double standard.

For the working press to take the same position in the face of the deluge of publisher endorsements is naive, illogical and unfair, unless coupled with a demand to publishers that they, too, cease making endorsements.

In fact, the Guild's endorsement merely tends to balance the scales of favoritism. The 1968 Republican ticket, for example, received 634 daily-newspaper endorsements. The Democratic ticket got 146.

BILL DAVIS
San Jose Guild

**Advance Notice to Locals
Urged on Endorsements**

ELIZABETH, N.J.

Editor:

Your editorial put-down of R. T. Koles in the Aug. 25, issue, just received, fails to note, as Robert M. Crocker did at the MAD Council, that: (1) The endorsement of a Presidential candidate was to be made after the conventions by the IEB; (2) Perlik was asked by the McGovern people to go to Miami and make the immediate endorsement and did so after a poll of IEB by telephone.

Three North Jersey units—Bridgewater, Newark and Woodbridge—have conducted special meetings and gone on record against the endorsement. Reporters and photographers in the Elizabeth Unit have taken a paid ad in the Daily Journal against the endorsement.

The question of endorsing a candidate should be submitted to the locals before the convention, not to the delegates before dawn on the last day.

JEAN-RAE TURNER
Vice President
North Jersey Guild

P.S. You may be interested to know that I've had nothing to do with the actions of the four units, since I'm far removed as Middlesex County Courthouse reporter in New Brunswick. Removal was due, I'm told, for Guild activities.

**Minority of One Hits
San Diego's Stand**

CORONADO, CALIF.

Editor:

From what I could hear, I was the only one who voted against the resolution of the San Diego Guild calling for a referendum on the McGovern endorsement. The resolution was dreadfully written, appeared unworkable and probably illegal under our rules, and I suspect was intended by some as an anti-McGovern ploy.

I, for one, agree with the counsel ruling it invalid. But I also would like to see—after the election—a general referendum solely confined to whether TNG should make political endorsements in the future.

There is no question that the San Diego Guild's action, even with only one sixth the membership present, accurately reflected majority opinion here, much as I disagree with it.

The real tragedy is that the time and effort that went into this discussion before, during and after the vote couldn't be harnessed into making the papers here better. The situation here, with a monopoly press, affluent and fast-growing population, pro-

vides perhaps the best opportunity in the nation today for quality journalism.

And the need is desperate.

JERRY RANKIN
San Diego Guild

**What Lesson for the Guild
In Teacher Endorsement?**

ALLENTOWN, PA.

Editor:

It will be interesting to see if the objectors to the Guild's endorsement, especially those with school-age children, get equally concerned over recent actions by the nation's teachers.

If not, they must subscribe to the theory that more than two million teachers can support a candidate and yet maintain objectivity in the classroom.

PAUL D. LOWE
President
Lehigh Valley Guild

**Query: What if Nixon
Had Been the One?**

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Editor:

I keep wondering what the reaction would have been had The Newspaper Guild endorsed Nixon?

MOE RAISER
Wire Service Guild

**Jobs Found
For Most in
Washington**

A Guild committee set up to help former employees of the Washington Daily News find other jobs has just about worked itself out of business.

Alex Bilanow, unit chairman at the paper when it suspended publication in mid-July, reported that only a few of the 75 employees in the all-editorial Guild unit are still looking for replacement jobs.

The Washington Star, which bought out the News and added the name to its flag, hired the largest contingent—25. Three went to the Washington Post. Several went to other cities or to jobs in government agencies, trade associations and public relations.

Bilanow termed the success of the job-hunting project "phenomenal" and the active participation of executive-board members of the Washington Guild "extremely helpful." Many former Daily News staffers, he said, have expressed appreciation that "the Guild really cared."

The unit's job-finding committee voted formal thanks for the help given by former News Managing Editor David Stolberg and Rep. Gilbert Gude, of Maryland, who helped circularize Capitol Hill offices and passed on information about job possibilities to the Guild committee.

**Wanted: one million Americans
to help finance the
McGovern-Shriver campaign**

Nobody asked you if the war in Vietnam should be dragged on by the Nixon Administration for another four years.

Nobody asked you if two out of every three of your tax dollars should be gobbled up by the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex.

Nobody asked you if you wouldn't rather have more of your hard-earned dollars spent on cleaning up the air you breathe and the waters you swim and fish in...making your streets safe again...providing better hospitals and more doctors.

When you complained about private auto traffic jams due to poor public transportation...or rising meat prices...or the scarcity of jobs...nobody seemed to listen or care.

Now you have a chance to vote for someone who does care and will listen. George McGovern.

But in order to be elected as President, McGovern needs more than your votes in November. He needs your dollars now.

In his campaign against Richard Nixon, Senator McGovern is up against the massed strength of the most powerful vested interests ever gathered around an incumbent President.



It has been estimated that the Nixon campaign will spend at least \$40 million to assure his re-election.

Some \$10 million of that is large donations hastily gathered in from anonymous contributors before the new public disclosure law took effect.

In the face of this formidable defense, Senator McGovern is financing his election campaign the same way he did his amazingly successful primary campaign.

He is seeking mostly small donations from the many rather than mostly large donations from the favored few.

In his acceptance speech at the Miami Convention, he declared:

"Let the opposition collect their \$10 million in secret money from the privileged few. Let us find one million ordinary Americans who will contribute an average of \$25 each to this campaign—a million-member club with members who will not expect special favors for themselves but a better land for us all."

To achieve this goal, McGovern's Million-Member Club has been established and is well on its way toward signing up a total of one million contributors by November 1.

It is a staggering undertaking. It has never been done before in American politics. But never before has there been such a need and such an opportunity for historic change.

Achieving this goal means that every deeply concerned citizen, whether in the habit of making political contributions or not, must join in this great endeavor to reopen the White House to the people.

Whether you can afford \$10, \$1,000, or even just \$1, send what you can as soon as you can. Let's match Nixon's millionaires with McGovern's Million Members.



**Your
MILLION-MEMBER CLUB
Membership Card
and Button**

will be sent to you as soon as your contribution has been received and entered. If you have already given...please give again!

McGovern-Shriver '72 Dept. SM01
1910 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

I want to be one of the one million Americans who are being asked to contribute an average of \$25 to the McGovern campaign. Please enroll me as a member of the McGovern Million-Member Club and send me my club membership card and button. Enclosed is my contribution of:

☐ \$25 (Sponsor) ☐ \$50 (Patron) ☐ \$ (Whatever you can send)
☐ \$10 (Friend) ☐ \$100 (Angel)

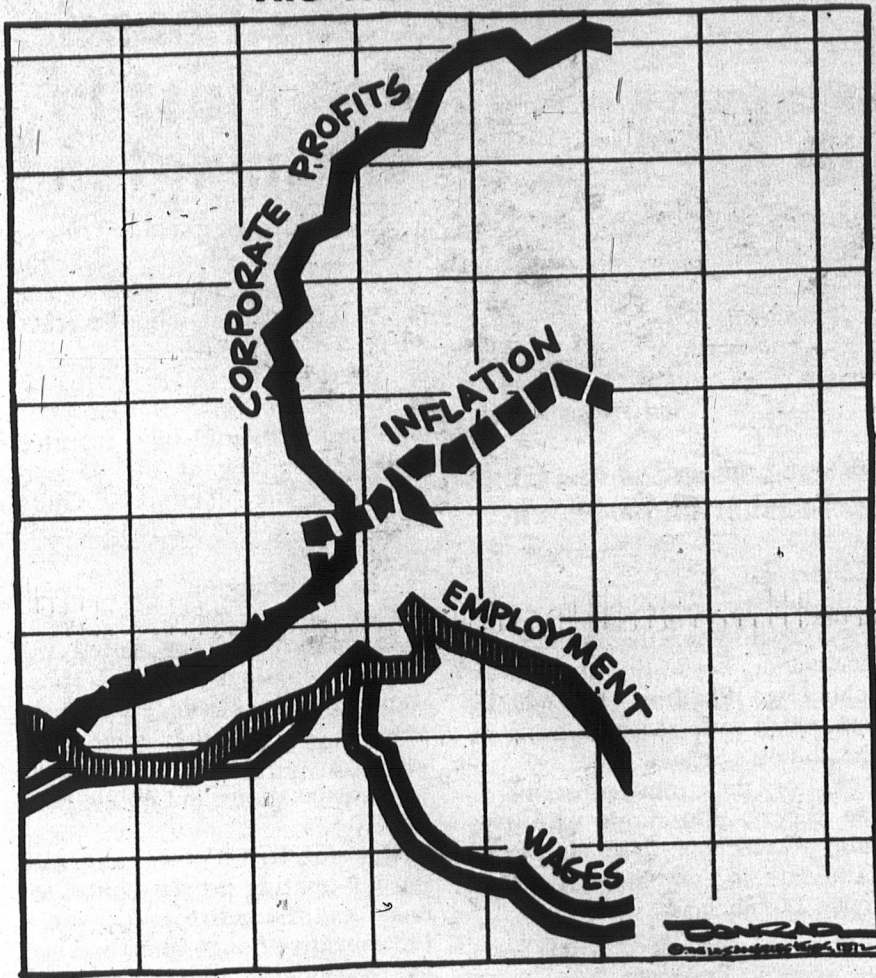
Name _____
Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____
If you are currently employed, the following information is also needed for record purposes only under the new political contributions act:

Occupation _____ Name of Company _____ City & State _____
A copy of our report filed with the appropriate supervisory office is (or will be) available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20540.
Marian Pearlman, Treasurer

This unpaid ad is sponsored by McGovern for President Committee, authorized by McGovern to solicit funds in his behalf.

The Nixon Profile



Editorial

Measured in Deed

"In the U.S., attention has for months been focused on the forthcoming Presidential election, in which voters will decide whether they want more of the same: an Administration that has sought with rhetoric and promises to mask its benign neglect of the nation's pressing social crisis while imposing on workers and their unions the brunt of its effort to correct the nation's economic problems."

Thus began the Political Action Committee report adopted by delegates to the Guild's 1972 Convention last summer in San Juan.

Emphasizing that this is one election year no Guild member can afford to sit out, the report continued, in part:

"As the November elections draw closer, U.S. Guild members might well heed the advice offered by President Nixon himself a year after his Administration took office:

"I would rather be measured by my deeds than all of the fancy speeches I may have made."

"Among the deeds worth measuring as Nov. 7 approaches are the following:

- "After calling for a 'national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for a healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life,' the President vetoed a comprehensive day-care bill backed by labor, women's and other groups, saying it would 'commit the vast moral authority' of the government 'to the side of communal approaches to child-rearing,'

- "After the President pledged his Administration's 'priority attention' to elimination of 'the blight of poverty,' his Cost of Living Council this year ruled that only those earning less than \$1.90 an hour (\$76 per 40-hour week) qualify for the wage-control exemption mandated by Congress for those with 'substandard' wages or who are among the 'working poor.'"

- "The Nixon Administration gave the nation a tax law providing nine billion dollars in tax relief—eight billion dollars for corporations, one billion dollars for individuals—and last year it produced a tax bill providing an estimated additional 88-billion-dollar saving for business over the next 10 years."

- "The Nixon Administration sought last year to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers and has gone all the way to the Supreme Court in its efforts to compel New York Times reporter Earl Caldwell to divulge confidential information to a grand jury."

- "The Nixon-appointed majority on the National Labor Relations Board has changed that body's character, just as his appointees have changed the character of the Supreme Court."

"Workers and unions which depend on the NLRB for protection of their legal rights, TNG Counsel Bredhoff concludes, 'must face up to the stark reality that "we lost the last election" and that the effects of the loss 'will be felt for a considerable period.' 'Workers and unions can mitigate these effects in the future,' he points out, however, 'by resolving to avoid such a loss in the forthcoming election.'

"It is imperative that we do so."

"President Perlik, in his opening address, said, 'It's time for the Guild to throw what weight it can, formally and officially, behind candidates offered to the respective electorates.'"

"This committee agrees."

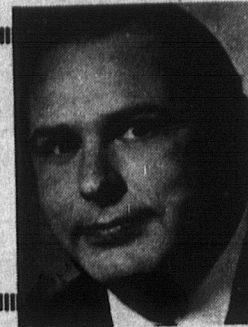
So did the convention, and the International Executive Board, acting under its authorization, subsequently endorsed Sen. George S. McGovern for President.

The comparison of the records of Sen. McGovern and President Nixon set forth on the center spread of this issue of the GR shows some of the reasons why the IEB made the choice it did and why President Perlik, in announcing the board's endorsement of McGovern, said, "He is the kind of man every person who works for a living should support."

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Nixon, Confident of Victory,
Lets Them Eat Cake

By WILLIAM J. EATON, Chicago Guild



WHILE THE PRESIDENTIAL campaign seems to be descending into a name-calling orgy, the real issues separating President Nixon and Sen. George S. McGovern were highlighted in a recent week's work in Congress.

Acting indirectly through White House aides, Nixon quietly knifed a minimum-wage increase, an independent consumer-protection agency and his own proposals to revise the "welfare mess." The President kept up the pressure for a 250-billion-dollar ceiling on spending that inevitably would reduce outlays for health, education and welfare programs. And he again emphasized his support for antibusing legislation that could turn back the clock on school desegregation in the South, which he helped to achieve two years ago.

Nixon clearly is benefiting in Congress from the polls and the political atmosphere, which point to a landslide victory for him on Nov. 7. It seems remarkable, however, that any White House incumbent could avoid political damage from actions that can be viewed as antiworker, anticonsumer and antipoor. The President's ability to escape virtually unscathed shows how successfully he has been able to make McGovern's Presidential qualifications the chief issue in 1972.

TAKE THE DEAD-OR-DYING bill to raise the federal minimum wage from a miserly \$64 a

week, or \$1.60 an hour, to \$80 a week, or \$2 an hour. This rate was last raised in 1966, and the proposed 40-cent increase (60 cents in the Senate version) would barely make up for the devastating inflation of the past six years.

But House Republicans and Southern Democrats, acting with the President's blessing, refused to compromise on Nixon's demand to keep the minimum wage at \$1.60 for fulltime workers who are 16 or 17 years old. The subminimum, referred to as "McDonald's Amendment" because it would be a boon to short-order hamburger stands, would jeopardize the job of anyone over 18 entitled to the \$2 rate.

While the President preaches about the work ethic, his supporters in Congress balk at a decent wage for millions of the working poor who desperately need more income.

In another affront to those who work for low pay, Nixon scuttled his welfare plan that would have provided a \$2,400 guaranteed income for a family of four and some benefits to breadwinners who earned less than \$4,800 a year.

He showed wisdom and political courage by advocating this sweeping change in the welfare system in 1969. As time went by and Election Day came closer, however, the President began to run away from his own proposal.

The House-approved measure was sandbagged in the Senate

while Nixon washed his hands of efforts by a bipartisan group, including conservative GOP Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio, to push through a bill tailored to meet Administration requirements.

YET SOMEHOW, the President never is blamed for the rise in the number of persons on the welfare rolls—from nine million when he took office to 15 million now. Remember his 1968 campaign pledge to move people off welfare rolls and onto payrolls? The result has been almost exactly the opposite, with unemployment rising from 3.4 percent at the start of his term to 5.5 percent in September.

Reform of the federal income tax to assure equity between the well-to-do and the workingman should be a major campaign issue. Nixon's opposition to closing of tax loopholes and his on-again, off-again consideration of a national sales tax should disturb the Middle American he is courting. His vague and shifting assurances that there will be no federal tax increase in 1973, plus an equally vague plan for property-tax relief, raise doubts about his credibility.

The President is rightly proud of reopening the door to Red China and negotiating arms limits with the Soviet Union. On the key issues of domestic policy and the continuation of the war in Vietnam, however, he does not deserve the massive vote of confidence he seeks.

Newark News Death Called Suicide

Newark, N.J.—The Newark News had only itself to blame for its failure to come back successfully after the Guild's strike, North Jersey Guild President George Dawson told a Sigma Delta Chi forum Sept. 21.

Readers didn't buy the paper because "there was nothing in it," Dawson said, noting that much of the staff had been lopped from the payroll and others had left.

"There were no indications that the paper was serious about staying in business for any length of time," he declared.

The News, which had 252 editorial employees at the start of the strike, had cut its staff to 135 by the time it resumed publication, and 20 more quit the paper subsequently.

Dawson and Douglas Eldridge, former chairman of the Guild's Newark Unit, participated in a panel discussion held by the state SDX chapter on the future of journalism in New Jersey in the wake of the News' demise.

Eldridge, who is now editing a monthly newspaper published by the City of Newark, proposed that government subsidies be made available to newspapers.

Eldridge noted that the government subsidizes both public broadcasting and the railroads, declaring that "the Newark News was just as important to New Jersey as the Jersey Central Railroad."

Eldridge likened the News' fate to that of the Packard car—"a solid car with loyal fans, but management didn't keep up." Studebaker bought it and tried to

cheapen the car instead of improving it, he said, "but nobody was fooled and the Packard ultimately died."

Dawson emphasized that the News failed to publish for seven months after settling with the Guild—first because of its in-

sistence that the agreed-on contract terms be waived because of wage controls and then because of negotiations with the crafts on printing in the Newark Star-Ledger plant. The News sold its plant and Sunday edition to the Ledger during the strike.

The Guild Reporter

ELLIS T. BAKER, Acting Editor
DAVID J. EISEN, Associate Editor

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