

Alexandria paper struck by Guild



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IRS seeks wage rollbacks at six papers in N.Y., N.J.

The Internal Revenue Service is seeking to make Phase Two Guild pay increases at five ethnic New York City papers and the Jersey Journal conform to the eight-percent level ordered last November in a cutback at the city's four major dailies.

Claiming "an historical wage relationship" between the six contracts and those at the major dailies, the IRS last month challenged increases for the 1972-73 control year and then ordered a rollback without even waiting the allotted period of time for Guild objections.

It wasn't clear where the IRS

got its information about the increases it was challenging. In three of the cases, they were at or below rather than above eight percent—5.5 percent at Il Progresso Italo-Americano, and exactly eight percent at the Amsterdam News and the Staats-Herold.

Third-year increases at the New York Times, Post and Daily News and the Long Island Press were cut back from 11 percent by the Pay Board. Facing a cutback to the same eight percent are increases of 13 percent at El Diario-La Prensa, 11 percent at the Jewish Daily Forward and

9.43 percent at the Jersey Journal.

The Hudson County Guild marshalled an array of data to show that Journal settlements have not had the historical relationship to New York City contracts claimed by the IRS. But a rollback order was issued before the completion of a 10-day period the IRS had set for the Guild to file objections.

A similar order was issued to pare a 12-percent printers' increase at the Journal. The Journal joined the Guild and the printers in protesting the action.

(Continued on page 6)

Oregon, Nebraska, N. Dakota adopt reporters'-shield laws

Three more states have adopted laws barring forced disclosure of reporters' sources and information, and the drive for shield legislation is spreading across the country.

Legislatures in Oregon and Nebraska enacted virtually unqualified shield laws. North Dakota adopted a qualified one.

The laws were passed and bills went into the hopper in other states even as the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws invited comments on a draft of a model privilege bill it is seeking to draw up. The draft was so hedged

and qualified that TNG termed it "an abomination" and urged the commission to discard it entirely.

The Oregon bill was expected to win quick signature by Gov. Tom McCall, a former newsman, whose legal staff drafted it. The measure allows forced disclosure of sources only in libel suits.

The bill was adopted by the House, 49 to 11, on April 2 after an unsuccessful attempt to force it back into committee for qualifications. The Senate had approved it by 22 to 7.

Nebraska's unicameral legisla-

ture approved unqualified protection by a 39-to-6 vote April 1, enacting a bill sponsored by Sen. John Savage, a former Omaha World-Herald-News photographer.

But it was by no means certain that Gov. J. J. Exon would sign it. Exon had called for a qualifier that would compel disclosure of a reporter's personal knowledge of a serious crime.

In North Dakota, Gov. Arthur Link has already signed a bill with loopholes that would allow attempts to force disclosure if a state court found a reporter's

(Continued on page 7)

Perlik, Pilch meet

TNG, ITU explore cooperation

Exploration of the possibility of cooperation between TNG and the International Typographical Union in facing automation problems was initiated at a March 23

meeting in Washington between the presidents of the two unions.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and ITU President John J. Pilch agreed to a second meeting to continue their discussions, which included other "matters of mutual interest, concern and benefit" to the unions and their memberships.

As an outgrowth of the March meeting, the Guild will be included in top-level meetings of

the four major printing-trades unions on health and safety hazards in the industry.

The meeting with Pilch was proposed by Perlik as an effort to put past disputes between the two unions behind and to examine a cooperative approach to the challenges posed by new technological developments in the industry.

A joint statement by the two (Continued on page 6)

Guild wins 3 Sudbury elections

Sudbury, Ont.—The Guild won bargaining rights for 64 employees of the Sudbury Star, Lord Thomson's largest Canadian paper, in three separate representation elections April 10.

The Guild won by 21 to 15 in the 40-member editorial department, seven to six in the 14-

member circulation department, and four to three in the 10-member accounting department.

The Guild lost the advertising department by 13 to 10.

The Guild had signed up more than the required 65 percent of employees needed to gain certification without an election in all

but the advertising department. But it agreed to elections in all four departments in order to avoid delay in the certification for accounting, circulation and editorial.

Voting took place in a heavy snow storm.

The Star, a 39,000-circulation daily, handed out raises in all departments prior to the election, raising part-time circulation employees to the minimum-wage level.

The organizing campaign was conducted by Canadian Guild Director Robert J. Rupert and Joseph Hanafin, servicing representative of the Eastern Canada-Wire Service Guild Servicing Program.

The Guild received assistance from the Sudbury and District Labour Council, the United Steel Workers and Sudbury locals of the Typographical and Pressmen's unions.

Paper Handlers struck April 3, but Publisher O. Roy Chalk obtained a temporary state-court order barring the Guild and the Typographical Union from observing the picket lines and continued to publish for two days.

The Guild had the Supreme Court order lifted April 9, however, and the unit voted to honor the picket lines. It authorized (Continued on page 7)

Craft strike ends at Diario, N.Y. Guild unit goes back

New York City—A 108-member Guild unit at El Diario-La Prensa returned to work April 12 following settlement of a nine-day craft-union strike.

The settlement, ending efforts to move the paper's production to a printing plant in New Jersey, was reached April 11 at a bargaining session in New York Guild headquarters.

The Pressmen, Stereotypers and

Record average-pay hike sends per capita up 29c

With the average reporter top minimum in Guild contracts up a record \$17.64 over last year, per-capita payments by Guild locals to TNG are scheduled to go up 29 cents, to \$4.10, effective May 1 under a constitutional formula linking the two.

More than 20 cents of the increase will go to bolster TNG's General Fund, which had a cumulative deficit of \$216,381 at the end of the fiscal year's third quarter. The remaining 8.7 cents will go into the International Defense Fund.

Locals were notified of the prospective increase last week in a letter from TNG Secretary- (Continued on page 6)

The myth of newspaper poverty

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Photo by Bruce McKim, Pacific Northwest Guild

Busing to Victoria

Thirty-four members of the Pacific Northwest Guild alight from a specially chartered bus for the Guild's regional training institute on automation in Victoria. Striding off at the right is Local Administra-

tive Secretary Kirk Smith. Seventy-three members from Vancouver-New Westminster, Pacific Northwest and Victoria attended the March 31-April 1 institute, hosted by the Victoria Guild.

L.A. unions seek funds to press strike

Los Angeles, Calif. — The Herald-Examiner Joint Strike-Lockout Council is seeking new funds to continue prosecution of the five-year-old Hearst strike.

Strike-Lockout Director William R. Robertson, in a letter to local unions and labor councils, said the need for funds is urgent if the Los Angeles unions are to "continue the battle against this arrogant employer."

The International Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen, which preceded TNG in discontinuing benefits to Herald-Examiner members in Los Angeles, have agreed to provide limited assistance to help maintain the boycott against Hearst advertisers.

The ITU is providing \$500 a week each to its Los Angeles printer and mailer locals for 10 weeks, and the Pressmen's union is providing \$1,300 a month for three months.

The two internationals ended strike benefits in January. TNG benefits will end April 24 under action taken by the International Executive Board in February.

Only 12 strikers remain on Guild benefit rolls, however. The rest of 190 strikers on the rolls at the end of January have taken an option to collect the rest of their benefits in a lump sum.

The additional money sent by the ITU and the Pressmen will enable them to keep a total of eight members on boycott duty.

Thirty-two advertisers — including a major one, the Levitz Furniture chain—have dropped out of the Herald-Examiner since the start of the year.

The Strike-Lockout Council has vowed to continue strike activity despite the end of international benefits.

"Obviously some realignment of activities is going to be necessary," it said. "But the strike will go on as long as there are people who are willing and able to pursue it."

The Los Angeles Guild has taken a similar position.

The Los Angeles Federation of Labor has called on its affiliates for sustained support of news vendors who have refused

to handle the Herald-Examiner. It is seeking funds to maintain a subsidy of \$20 a week to 65 vendors; the Strike-Lockout Council was forced to discontinue a \$30 subsidy.

Despite discontinuance of the subsidy, members of the vendors' union have voted unanimously to keep the Herald-Examiner off their stands.

The Herald-Examiner is appealing a Federal Court decision requiring a new arbitration of the Guild's claim for several million dollars in alternate benefits and severance pay for four dozen strikers. It refused, pending action on the appeal, to comply with a judge's order to restart the grievance machinery.

EEOC cites Post-Dispatch for sex bias

St. Louis, Mo.—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has found the St. Louis Post-Dispatch guilty of pay discrimination against its female maintenance employees.

The commission upheld a complaint by the St. Louis Guild in behalf of Beautie Lewis, a maid

who was paid \$20 less per week than male cleaners doing the same work.

The EEOC said the Post-Dispatch has engaged in "unlawful employment practices by maintaining sex-segregated job classifications which deny females equal pay because of their sex."

The EEOC also said it found that not only are the classifications segregated by sex but by race as well. The paper's "maid" and "cleaner" classifications are predominantly black and, as such, violate the Civil Rights Act, the commission said.

The EEOC has initiated con-

ciliation proceedings to eliminate the sex discrimination, with court action in reserve if necessary. The Guild has asked the Post-Dispatch to reclassify Lewis from maid to cleaner, with pay retroactive to Jan. 1, 1970.

The Post-Dispatch had insisted that Lewis was not entitled to the higher rate of pay since she was not required to perform some heavy duties required of male cleaners.

The EEOC said it was "undisputed" that maids have not performed this work but declared that the Post-Dispatch had determined, "arbitrarily that one sex is better than the other" to perform such work "without showing a bona-fide occupational qualification."

The Guild pointed out that Lewis had worked side-by-side with another maid, Emma Webster, whose work was identical. When Webster retired, she was replaced by a male cleaner.

Management conceded that the cleaner did the same work formerly done by Webster. It also acknowledged that Lewis replaces the cleaner whenever he is off.

The EEOC said that the Post-Dispatch "employs a disproportionately low percentage" of Negroes overall—six percent—although it is located in an area with a 42-percent Negro population. In the light of recent Post-Dispatch hiring, it said, "we conclude that it fails to hire Negroes because of their race."

NLRB rejects Thomson appeal, reaffirms strike paper's validity

The National Labor Relations Board's general counsel has rejected an appeal by Thomson's Adrian Telegram against a decision holding that publication of an interim paper by the Telegram's striking Guild members and printers is an unfair labor practice.

Robert E. Allen, director of the general counsel's office of

appeals, upheld a regional director's action dismissing the Telegram's charge. Thomson contended that the interim Maple City Reporter was intended to put the Telegram out of business.

Allen, in brushing aside Thomson's claim that the Reporter was intended as a permanent replacement for the Telegram,

noted that the Reporter's articles of incorporation state that it will cease to exist upon settlement of the six-month-old Michigan strike.

Allen termed establishment of the strike paper "no more than permissive economic pressure on the company to settle the strike" and "not inconsistent with good-faith collective bargaining."

Bargaining in the strike has been at a standstill since the failure of a March 22 mediation session. It was the first appearance of a federal mediator in the strike, but the company refused to alter its position.

The Toledo Guild executive committee voted March 22 to sever affiliation of the Adrian Unit on the ground that the local is not adequately equipped to service it. A petition was filed with the NLRB to switch the unit's certification to the Detroit Guild, but the Telegram said it would oppose the move.

Quebec media, journalists organize a press council

Quebec City, Que.—A 19-member press council created by Quebec newspapers and broadcast stations will begin functioning June 4.

Jean-Marie Martin, former dean of social sciences at Laval University, will be chairman of the council, which will hear complaints on the handling of news

by daily and weekly newspapers and broadcasting stations.

The council consists of six members chosen by management, six elected by the Federation Professionnelle des Journalistes du Quebec and six public members chosen by those 12. The journalist members include Montreal Star Guildsman David Waters.

140 attend institutes on West Coast

Victoria, B.C. — Nearly 140 leaders and members of 10 Western U.S. and Canadian locals participated in the fifth and sixth of TNG's 1973 regional "Automation Revisited" institutes here and in San Francisco the last two weekends in March.

An abbreviated version of the automation institute was presented during a TNG local seminar on contract bargaining and enforcement in Honolulu April 6, 7 and 8 attended by 70 members of the Hawaii Guild. The seminar focused on bargaining with the Gannett chain, new owners of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, with which the Hawaii Guild will be negotiating for the first time early next year.

The Victoria and San Francisco institutes, which examined the operation of new computer-based production systems and their impact on both editorial and noneditorial departments, were conducted by TNG Administrative Operations Director Ellis T. Baker and Research and Information Director Jim Cesnik. Baker and Field Operations Director J. William Blatz conducted the Hawaii sessions.

The 65 participants in the March 24-25 San Francisco institute, sponsored by the Western District Council, also heard Floyd Tucker, San Francisco-Oakland Guild president; George Lane, chairman of the Los Angeles Guild's Long Beach Unit, and John Edgington, executive secretary of the San Diego Guild, describe the operation and impact of optical scanners at newspapers in their areas.

Steven Levine, chairman of San Francisco-Oakland's Joint Printing Co. Unit, described the use of video display terminals in the circulation phone room of the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner. Afterward, some institute participants were given a demonstration at the printing company while others observed the VDT's use as an editing tool at Associated Press's San Francisco bureau.

More than 300 Guild members from 54 locals have participated in the regional weekend automation institutes to date. Another is scheduled for Eastern Canadian locals, at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, May 12 and 13.

Automation films ready for locals

The two films used by TNG as part of its "Automation Revisited" regional weekend institute series are now available for use by locals, TNG Research and Information Director Jim Cesnik announced this week.

Each is about 20 minutes in length. One illustrates the use of video display terminals for editing at United Press International, the other the use of an optical scanner, starting with the preparation of classified and news copy and ending with production of type.

TNG has two copies of each film, Cesnik said, adding that the only charge to locals using the films will be for shipping and insurance.

Pacts expire in N.Y. but talks go on

New York City—With contract expirations two weeks past, the New York Guild and most of the other nine unions involved in bargaining with the city's major dailies are still far from settlement.

The contracts expired March 30 with only the ITU Mailers having settled. The International Typographical Union cleared the contract, and the Mailers' membership ratified it by a 98-to-47 vote April 1.

But leaders of the Guild and the New York printers' local have said the settlement—5.8-percent wages increases in each year of a two-year contract, plus increased contributions to the union's welfare fund—is unacceptable to their unions.

The News Deliverers, the only union in addition to the Mailers to have authorized strike action, reportedly neared a settlement March 30, but negotiations floundered over terms covering a new plant being built by the Daily News in Queens.

Automation is considered the main stumbling block to agreement between the publishers and the Typographical Union, but no significant progress on the issue has been reported.

Typographical Union President Bertram A. Powers said the publishers, while failing to make any proposals to provide protection for printers faced with loss of their jobs as a result of new processes, have made a whole series of retrogressive proposals in the automation area.

The retrogressions, as listed by Powers in the local's official publication, include the right to automate without limitation, elimination of a fund to compensate union members for the use of outside tape, the right to use such tape without limitation, elimination of training programs for paste makeup and Teletype-setting and the end of a limitation on the number of automatic linecasters a monitor can service. Powers said that initial meeting with the publishers have been "totally unproductive."

"There seems to be no sense of urgency and no desire on the publishers' part to clean up even the smallest items," Powers said.

Two ITU representatives and Frank Cremonesi, the international's automation coordinator, have been assigned to assist in the talks.

The Times, in the midst of bargaining, increased its advertising rates by 5.5 percent, blaming increased labor and newsprint costs.

Washington Star goes to plastic

The Washington Star & News on April 2 became the largest daily in the United States using plastic printing plates and 100-percent photocomposition.

Under the new Star process, reporters' copy is retyped, computerized and fed into photocomposition machines. The pages are pasted up and reproduced on Letterflex plastic-coated plates that go on the presses. Craft unionists were retrained for the new printing processes.



Photo by Ott Gangl, Akron Guild

A look at the scanner

Akron Beacon Journal printer Richard Coddington demonstrates the paper's new ECRM scanner to delegates attending founding meeting of the Knight Newspaper Guild Council. From left, Harry

Liggett of Akron, William M. Brown of Philadelphia, Helen Fogel of Detroit, Dennis Haas of Akron, Joseph Mele of Philadelphia (foreground) and Bernice Haun and Karen Field of Detroit.

Liggett named president

Knight Guild council organized

Akron, Ohio — The Knight Newspapers Guild Council was formed March 24 and 25 at a conference of 16 delegates from Knight papers in three cities.

Akron Guild President Harry Liggett was elected president, Karen Field, chairman of the Detroit Free Press Unit, was named vice president and Daniel V. McGarvey, vice chairman of the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News Unit, was elected secretary-treasurer.

In two days of meetings at Typographical Union headquarters and the Holiday Inn, delegates exchanged bargaining information, adopted a constitution and made arrangements for continued liaison via mail, telephone and subsequent meetings.

The constitution states that "importance shall be placed" on organizing Knight's non-Guild papers, all in the South. The two Philadelphia papers, the Detroit Free Press and the Akron Beacon

Journal are presently under contract.

The delegates—five each from Detroit and Philadelphia and six from Akron—included three local presidents: Liggett, Louis

Cook of Detroit and Oscar B. Teller of Philadelphia. William M. Brown, Philadelphia administrative officer, and Helen Fogel, Detroit executive secretary, also participated.

Philadelphia regains job of fired Knight delegate

Philadelphia, Pa.—The Philadelphia Guild has won the reinstatement of Joseph Mele, unit chairman at the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News fired for attending the March 24-25 conference of Knight Guild units.

Mele, one of five Philadelphia delegates to the Akron conference, was fired for "unauthorized absence from work" on the 24th. An advertising-production clerk, he had gone to the conference despite a management attempt to deny him a leave of absence for that date. Manage-

ment had said he could go only on the 25th.

The company sought to block the leave in the face of a contract clause requiring that leaves be granted to delegates attending "special meetings of The Newspaper Guild."

Dismissed four days after his return, Mele was reinstated following a four-hour grievance session April 2. The Guild and management agreed that future leave requests would be submitted in writing to avoid misunderstanding.

Canadian shield, press-council studies set

Winnipeg, Man.—Committees to study press councils, shield laws and a statement of ethics for Canadian journalists were the tangible results of a "Media 73" conference here over the April 6-8 weekend.

Guild members made their presence felt at the conference, notably in the shield-law workshop. The preamble to the resolution establishing a shield-law committee quotes language on source protection drawn directly from TNG's Canadian Model Contract.

The shield-law committee will prepare proposed legislation for federal and provincial governments. It will also support organizations of journalists aiding those who resist attempts by police, courts or other tribunals to force disclosure of sources, information or materials.

And it will establish a center where information regarding press freedom can be stored and made available to individuals or groups.

The proposed federal and provincial legislation will be present-

ed for approval at "Media 74."

The research paper around which most of the discussion in the workshop centered was prepared by Robert J. Rupert, the Guild's Canadian director, and Katherine Housser of the Canadian Guild office.

Press councils were roundly criticized—especially those in Ontario and Alberta, which were branded as publisher-dominated—in the press-council workshop, led by TNG International Vice President Eleanor S. Dunn of Ottawa.

One of two resolutions out of this workshop—to oppose the principle of press councils on the basis that they might lead to curtailment of press freedom—was defeated during the plenary session. Another calling for the establishment of a committee to study the concept of press councils and the workings of those currently operating in Canada was approved.

The conference protested a prison term of two years at hard labor for Rhodesian journalist Peter Neisewand, a correspondent

for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., who was sentenced April 5 after a secret trial in Salisbury, Rhodesia. His wife, who is five months pregnant, has still to learn what the government's charges against her husband were.

A resolution by Toronto Guild member Michael Moores called on the Winnipeg Press Club and the Toronto Men's Press Club to open all their functions to both sexes.

During the weekend the Winnipeg club, which admits both male and female journalists to membership, held its annual "Beer and Skits" night, to which not even women who are club members were admitted.

Among several guest speakers was T. J. Allard, executive secretary of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, who told the conference there was no formal agreement between the CAB and the Canadian Association of Police Chiefs. He said the controversial document dealing with police-broadcaster relationships was simply a "broad guideline" intended only for discussion pur-

Card check gives Guild CWA unit

The Washington-Baltimore Guild became the bargaining representative for 17 professional employees of the Communications Workers' union March 26 after a card check showed it had 13 signed up as members.

The CWA agreed to the card check when the National Labor Relations Board rejected its contention that all of the 17 were either confidential, managerial or supervisory employees. The staff members are in the CWA's development and research department.

The CWA had also argued unsuccessfully that the department staff, which is scattered across the country, was an inappropriate unit because of a lack of common supervision and working conditions.

The card check was conducted by Ben Siegel, special assistant to Washington Mayor Walter Washington.

poses, an explanation greeted with skepticism by the 150 journalists attending.

Dunn seeks data on media, police

Ottawa, Ont.—International Vice President Eleanor S. Dunn will head a panel on press freedom during the Media Club of Canada's triennial convention here May 24 through 26—and is looking to Canadian Guild members for help.

Dunn is preparing a report on the use of police press passes and is asking Canadian members to get in touch with her if they have had difficulty with press passes, been involved in incidents with police or can relate any other cases that might indicate a police attempt to control the media.

Other panel members include Justice Minister Otto Lang and Fraser MacDougall, secretary of the Ontario Press Council.

The MYTH of

newspaper poverty

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

IN 1971 WORD FILTERED through newsrooms of the country: "Hold down expenses. No new hires. No raises. It's a bad year, and next year will be worse."

When the final figures came in, advertising revenues for 1970 had fallen below expectations. By some magic there appeared on a number of newsroom bulletin boards quotations from the famous Nov. 5, 1971, memo from New York Times publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger to "Dear Times Staff Member" saying, "In terms of our business results, it is bad news . . . there's no doubt that the recession has something to do with our problems. But . . . we are overmanned in too many areas."

Profits quoted by Sulzberger were low. Many newspeople around the country assumed that if the mighty Times was profit-poor, so were lesser organizations.

There followed the deaths of big-city competing papers—the Boston Herald Traveler, the Washington Daily News, the Newark Evening News—with the usual implication that they were part of an epidemic; the annual stories of continuing hemorrhage of the Chicago afternoon papers; Look and Life died, adding to the gloom and unemployed journalists.

By 1973 economic cockiness had gone out of newsroom staffs. Reporters who had been looking for greener pastures decided to dig in where they were or leave the trade. Top papers slowed their hiring or stopped altogether, depressing upward movement everywhere. Newcomers found it harder than ever to get their first job. In the minds of most newsroom people this is the Great Recession and their trade is in an economic slump.

THIS IS MOSTLY HOGWASH. American daily newspapers are one of the most profitable of all major industries in the United States. And they were during the 1970-71-72 "Great Recession."

The illusion of poverty is part of the Hetty Green Syndrome that seems to be in the genes of American publishers. Somehow, proprietors of British and others nations' newspapers find it easy to admit in daylight before mixed audiences that they are in business to make money and that they love the stuff. Lord Thomson says, "I'd be a fool—wouldn't I?—if I bought them for any other reason."

But American publishers have always felt obligated to pretend that they are an auxiliary of the Little Sisters of the Poor. This was always amusing, but now that so many papers are owned by publicly traded companies which have to disclose their finances, it is taking on the air of slapstick.

Prosperity of newspapers is to be celebrated, most of all by working journalists. It is what keeps a free press alive. It holds the potential for higher salaries for journalists, which ultimately means higher quality journalism. And there always has been the assumption that high profits would be plowed back into a paper to make it better.

But there has been an ominous change. For more and more papers, high profits have come to mean something quite different: the end of independent papers. With the growth of chains, high profits quickly depart the originating paper and are used to produce a favorable stock-market position so that the parent company can acquire properties elsewhere. What used to guarantee a locally owned press has become the chief instrument for ending it. Yet publishers continue their traditional public posture of imminent bankruptcy.

HETTY GREEN was one of the country's shrewdest financiers and certainly the greatest female money-maker in our history. When she died in 1916 she had accumulated about 100 million dollars. On one occasion

This article is condensed slightly from the March/April issue of the Columbia Journalism Review. Bagdikian, former ombudsman for the Washington Post and president of the Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press, is presently a freelance writer.

when a bank offended her she pulled out all her accounts and drove away in a cab with baskets containing 25 million dollars. But she slept in assorted rooms in the Bowery, usually traveled in streetcars, and when she needed medical attention she put on rags and attended charity clinics. She was always afraid that if she looked wealthy her lawyers and bankers and doctors would overcharge her, as they undoubtedly would have. She also hated to spend money.

The Hetty Green Syndrome is endemic among American newspaper publishers. With periodic remissions. When it comes time for the publisher to bargain with his unions, he limps into the conference room sighing that he'll be lucky to pay last month's electric bill. Every time a paper dies, publishers form a Greek chorus crying that they are all about to be struck dead by the tragic disease of "unionism" compounded by the terrifying constriction, the "cost-price squeeze."

They have been known to climb Capitol Hill in Washington, like pilgrims at Lourdes, to beg (or strongly suggest) that their local member of Congress vote for something alternately called the Failing Newspaper Bill and the Newspaper Preservation Act, which exempts them from certain antitrust laws and thus can save them all from a terminal disease. Or to make burnt offerings to the President's Price Commission pleading that they need exemption from controls in order to make ends meet.

On the other hand, let television proprietors announce that they now dominate American leisure time, that the tube is the most effective advertising medium known to man, that electronic news and ads are the wave of the future, and in seconds the publishers are out of their rags and into their tailor-mades, rapping their silver-headed canes against the nearest camera lens and pronouncing that the American newspaper was never more strong, never more enduring, and never more profitable. The American Newspaper Publishers Association and its bearer of glad tidings, Editor & Publisher, then speak of different statistics:

When World War II ended there were 1,749 dailies, and today there are still 1,749 dailies. *Eh bien!* That's life; some die and some are born. In 1920 there were 300 automobile companies and now there are only four, but does anyone claim the auto industry is dying?

Newspaper revenues are growing faster than the Gross National Product. Newspapers get a larger share of all advertising money than any other medium. And that share is rising again. In 1971 there was 20.5 billion dollars in ad money floating around, and newspapers got the biggest single share of it—30.5 percent—and the alleged master of the media, TV, got only 17.2 percent, a drop from the year before. And unlike broadcasters, newspapers have another source of income, circulation. Why, in 1950 the papers netted only one billion dollars from subscriptions, but in 1971 it was almost three billion dollars.

ODDLY ENOUGH, WHEN PUBLISHERS are doing their Hetty Green act they are usually faking it and when they are Napoleonic they are closer to the truth.

The average pretax profit of publicly traded papers for the last five years for which figures are complete—including the "Great Recession"—shows a profit on sales of 15.6 percent. The average for all American manufacturing corporations during that period was 8.2 percent.

These publicly traded corporations control 23 percent of all daily circulation in the country—one of every eight papers sold each day. Contrary to popular impression, with the exception of the Washington Post Co., their revenues and profits are overwhelmingly from their newspaper operations and not broadcasting or other subsidiaries.

Dirks Brothers, a division of Delafeld Childs Inc., probably the most careful analyst of newspaper economics in the market, says that its experience with privately held papers shows that there is not a significant difference between the profitability of publicly traded and



privately held dailies that are well managed.

This seems borne out by a different analysis that is even rosier. Cooke Coen of Newspaper Analysis Service reports annually in *Editor & Publisher* on aggregate performance of "average" papers, homogenizing figures into a theoretical paper with 250,000 circulation. In 1970 such papers showed a pretax profit of 23.5 percent. In 1971 it was 23.2 percent. The 1972 figures had not been completed at this writing, but authorities agree that 1972 will be better than 1971.

Precise figures on newspaper profits are hard to come by because, of all industries, newspaper publishing is the most obsessed by financial secrecy.

A 1947 law requires the Federal Trade Commission to issue regular reports on profits for major industries. A few years ago when the head of the FTC, Paul Rand Dixon, was asked at a Senate hearing why no newspaper data were available as required, he replied, "I kind of suspect that nobody wanted the newspapers mad at them."

Thanks to Securities and Exchange Commission statistics for publicly traded newspaper companies, some comparisons are possible. For 1971—when the "recession" talk began permeating newsrooms—the average return on sales for the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations was 3.8 percent. The top returns, as listed in the Abstract, were: mining, 11.6 percent; pharmaceuticals, 9.1 percent; tobacco, 7.9 percent; soap and cosmetics, 7.7 percent; scientific equipment, 6.5 percent.

Dirks Brothers calculates that the average for traded newspapers for that year was 7.9 percent—or more than twice the average for the top 500 corporations and equal to the third most profitable industry in the country.

PUBLISHERS COMPLAIN of the "cost-price squeeze"—how all their increased revenue is more than absorbed in higher wages and material costs. But privately most have had a different kind of problem: how to get rid of profits before the permissive Price Commis-

sion cracked down on them.

Paul Miller, president of Gannett newspapers, biggest chain operation in the nation (53 papers), has been telling friends to watch their step when they visit Gannett plants because they've been painting everything in sight in a crash program to soak up profits that exceed guidelines. In an almost unprecedented move for newspapers, the Harris papers in Kansas, Iowa and California actually reduced advertising rates, though their circulation trends didn't force them to; otherwise their profits would have been beyond limits designated by the government.

Other statistics bear out the rosy picture. Newspapers get more than two thirds of their revenues from advertising and use 62 percent of their newsprint for it. Thus, advertising expenditures for newspapers hold the principal key to prosperity.

Advertising income for newspapers looks like this: 1965, \$4,457,000,000; 1966, \$4,895,000,000; 1967, \$4,942,000,000; 1968, \$5,265,000,000; 1969, \$5,753,000,000; 1970, \$5,745,000,000; 1971, \$6,215,000,000; 1972, \$6,900,000,000; 1973 (projected), \$7,350,000,000.

The exception in the steady growth was 1970, which caused such panic. But 1969 was a record-breaking year, and 1970 was a drop from that of 13/100ths of one percent. Then advertising revenue went on to ever greater records.

As for the cost-price squeeze, it is difficult to understand how the newspaper industry's over-all profits can be so high if their costs indeed outrun their revenues. The years for which figures are publicly known show that in the period 1963-1969 newspaper payrolls increased 44 percent but ad revenues increased 51 percent, and in 1971 newspaper employment dropped one percent while ad revenues rose eight percent.

NEW TECHNOLOGY WILL INCREASE profits even more. It will reduce manpower in the major cost category, production, and elimi-

nate many present expensive steps.

When the Jackson, Mich., Citizen Patriot (circulation 38,000) converted from hot type to cold, it reduced its total production staff by more than half. When the Hagedone chain in Oregon installed photocomposition in its plants it cut back the number of its compositors 75 percent. When the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram and Gazette spent \$89,000 for an optical scanner to read copy by computer and convert it to type, it replaced 12 paper-tape punchers who used to be paid \$120,000 a year. The scanner reduced setting time for a 2,500-word story from five minutes for the fastest human operator to 43 seconds and reduced the error rate from one per 600 words to zero. The Dow Jones Co., a pioneer in newspaper technology, calculated that investing 1.5 million dollars in automation since January 1969 has paid for itself in pretax profits every nine months.

It is often assumed that such savings will be impossible on any large scale because of unions. This has been true in some larger cities—notably New York, the most mechanically backward city in the business (though recently Bertram Powers, the most aggressive local leader of the International Typographical Union, said he agreed that the New York Times must automate to survive). There is no question that many urban papers are confronted by difficult union problems, some of them jurisdictional among competing unions in which the paper is not even a party. But for the industry as a whole, this has been exaggerated.

About half of all newspapers—mainly small-to-medium-size operations—don't have any unions, which is one reason they are in such demand by buyers. But only a few papers have more than four unions. Of the ANPA-member dailies, the ITU has units in 462, the pressmen's union in 400, the stereotypers' union in 227 and losing papers fast, the mailers union in 139 and not growing, the photoengravers union in 88 and losing papers, and the white collar-reporters' union, The Newspaper Guild, in about 168 papers.

Some big-city competing papers do show only modest profit margins, and until recently a few had losses. But these are rare compared to the entire field.

In 97 percent of newspaper areas there is monopoly ownership and in only one city, New York, more than two managements, but except in a few that have all-day papers they have divided the morning and evening fields between them so that they do not compete.

Another new source of economic power is the growing trend of selling stock to the public. Stock of about 19 newspaper-owning companies, which own 216 dailies and control 23 percent of national daily circulation, now is being publicly traded.

Despite high profits they did not, at first, attract much market attention, partly because their entry into stock exchanges occurred only within the past 10 years and partly because Wall Street wasn't used to corporation executives poormouthing in public.

PAPERS GO PUBLIC FOR MANY reasons. One is to avoid massive inheritance taxes on family-held or closely owned properties. Adolph Ochs bought the New York Times for \$75,000 of his own money, and the company now has assets of more than 170 million dollars. Eugene Meyer bought the Washington Post in 1933 for \$825,000, and his heirs now control properties worth more than 150 million dollars.

Even with the shrewdest tax lawyers, it is clear that eventually estate taxes would take large chunks of such properties. These taxes are 77 percent for market value of 10 million dollars or more. Almost no one pays such a rate; strategems for avoiding the tax include issuing public stock, thereby diluting ownership. It is still possible, as at the Times and Post, for families to retain control by having two classes of stock and holding the voting kind.

Five of the 10-largest chains are publicly traded and most of the remaining big ones are expected to be by the time their owners face

inescapable estate taxes. The three chains with the largest circulation—(Chicago) Tribune Co., Newhouse, and Scripps-Howard Newspapers—are not in the stock market. But five of the next six largest chains are publicly traded (Hearst newspapers, the No. 6 chain, is not).

Raising money for expansion is another powerful motivation for offering stock. This is fueling an already frantic race to acquire communications properties—a race so intense that some independent publishers no longer attend the annual ANPA meeting because they must spend all their time resisting the embraces of the big-chain paper-buyers. One small publisher said he felt "like a virgin stumbling into a stag party."

Since 1968 independent papers have been purchased by chains at the rate of 62 a year, or one every five days, 21 hours, and 17 minutes. In 1972 there were 1,015 dailies in chains, leaving 734 independents. At this rate (allowing for leap years), the last independent will disappear at 10:48 p.m. on June 7, 11 years hence—appropriately, a Thursday, a fat advertising day, and also appropriately, in the year 1984.

WHY THE RUSH TO BUY newspapers? First, they make lots of money. Second, they are going to make even more in the future because they are finally adopting 20th Century production techniques—which, in an industry that spends 50 to 70 percent of its budget on manpower, means enormous savings. Third, for all practical purposes they are a limited commodity, like beach-front property, and as independent monopoly papers get more scarce their value goes up. Fourth, tax laws and the way newspapers operate almost dictate purchase of other media properties.

Section 531 of the Internal Revenue Code says that if a corporation accumulates taxable earnings beyond the reasonable needs of the business, that money will be taxed at 27½ percent on the first \$100,000 and 38½ percent on amounts in excess of \$100,000. Cooke Coen's average paper for 1971 showed a profit before taxes of over five million dollars. Bookkeeping skill can go a long way toward reducing the proportion of that five million dollars that is taxable, but even if one million dollars of it could be thus protected, under 531 the owner would have to pay a tax of about 1.5 million dollars on the remainder.

The United States Tax Court, however, has ruled that a newspaper's accumulation of undistributed profits for the purpose of buying another paper (or communications facility) is a "reasonable need of the business." So the huge profits of papers almost inevitably go into buying other papers.

Whatever the brave speeches about local autonomy that are standard ritual at every chain acquisition, the purchased paper editorially is usually no better or worse than it was before. What the chain generally wants from the paper is high annual profit to be used not in improving local quality but to be exported to the home office to help purchase another paper someplace else.

The usual effect of a chain buying a paper is to Howard Johnsonize it. Howard Johnson restaurants have some virtues: Their production and accounting are modern and standard, but the food is never distinguished and the chief function is to turn a standard profit.

The danger is that loss of independent papers will fix a permanent standard of local mediocrity, except for a few flagship papers. The primary requirement of the local operator is to keep out the competition and to ship the required annual profits to headquarters.

THE SAME THING IS HAPPENING in Canada, except that details of it are better known because Canadian papers cooperated in an exhaustive study made by Sen. Keith Davey's Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media.

In Canada, newspaper profits in 1958-1967 ranged from 12.3 to 15.6 percent on equity and 11.8 to 15.6 percent on sales. Only a "few" papers, the Report said, showed enterprise and vigor. And high retained earnings have fostered chains (66 percent of all Cana-

dian papers).

Ironically, galloping chains make newspapers more than ever beholden to government. Every acquisition and every exemption from antitrust under the Newspaper Preservation Act must have the approval of the U.S. Attorney General. Newspaper operators looking forward to larger chains and broader conglomerates will not lightly offend the man—or his President—who can stop them any time he wants. High- and low-level political attacks can hurt. The day friends of President Nixon challenged two Washington Post TV licenses, Post stock dropped two points.

There is a simple remedy to the high rate of disappearance of independent papers. Legislation could specify that under Section 531 accumulating profits for the purpose of buying other newspapers is not a "reasonable need of the business." Congress could also limit the number of papers any corporate entity could control. Given the winning way publishers have with members of Congress, this is not likely.

One need not romanticize the independent paper in order to regret its disappearance. Most independent papers are mediocre or worse, just as most chain papers are. Few are operated on standards of quality that good journalists accept.

But if one has to choose between a mediocre independent paper and a mediocre chain paper, the local independent has advantages. For one thing, it has more potential for diversity. And it is more likely to have a local owner with a stake in the community. He can have all the arrogance of a local duke, but at least he's a local one who has to face his subjects and isn't an anonymous "them" in a remote corporate headquarters. And when it comes to news and ideas, a mixed bag of local dukes is better than one national king.

Almost every local editor and publisher thinks he is putting out the best possible product, but it is clear that this is not so. The live newshole in most newspapers, for example, is a national disgrace; the industry has the third highest profit of all industries yet skimps on its central product.

Community papers by the hundreds fail to cover primary policy-making bodies routinely with live reporters because it is cheaper to ignore them or to make a telephone check that gives a superficial and strictly official view. Hundreds of dailies are still paying their reporters less than they pay starting ad salesmen and compositors.

IT ISN'T NECESSARY TO WISH theoretically about the ability of the average paper dramatically to improve quality and still make a fabulous profit.

Take the example of the average 250,000-circulation paper used by Editor & Publisher in the "bad" year of 1971. The paper recorded an operating profit before taxes of \$5,039,644, or 23.2 percent on sales in 1971. The size of its live newshole (no standing features, no specialized departments, etc.) is not stated. But let us assume something drastic: Increase the entire editorial budget (salaries, contracting for wire services, travel, etc.), now at \$1,796,641, by 50 percent, or 32 columns—four pages. (Hundreds of papers in this country don't have a live newshole of 32 columns, but we are increasing it by 32 columns.) That expands this paper's average size from 100 pages to 104 pages a day, based on its present annual total of 36,828 pages. This would raise paper, ink, and composition costs by about \$690,000. The result? Instead of an operating profit before taxes of 23.2 percent, profit would be 21 percent—still fabulous.

This is a crude calculation. Actually, operating profit would not be that severely reduced; the added expense would affect taxes, and higher quality could lead to increased circulation, ad lineage and ad rates.

The opportunity is there, but most publishers ignore it. Most American dailies continue to slight the only printed product that no fancy future technology can take away—daily quantities of high-quality staff-produced news and analysis.

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Delayed payday

Former Newark News Guildswoman Karen Stoll receives \$1,147 check representing the difference between her poststrike pay and the Guild contract rate from North Jersey Guild President George B. Dawson as Local Administrator Donald W. Rosset stands by. Stoll was one of eight employees to

receive \$11,478 in back pay as the result of an arbitration decision holding that the News had no right to withhold normal increases to promoted employees under Phase Two wage controls before the News folded last Aug. 31. The payments ranged up to \$2,715 each.

Record hike in top-wage average brings 29-cent per-capita boost

(Continued from page 1)

Treasurer Robert M. Crocker.

The per-capita formula, adopted by TNG's 1964 Convention, bases payments, like local dues, on members' wages. It ties the per capita to a percentage of the average reporter top minimum in Guild newspaper contracts.

The new top-minimum average, computed from 129 contracts in effect April 1 covering newspapers published at least five days a week, was \$242.40, Crocker reported. The 1972 average was \$224.76.

The top-minimum average—and the resulting per capita—would have been even higher had the full increases in 20 settlements affected by wage controls been included.

Had the full increases been included, the average reporter top would have been \$244.95 and the per-capita increase 33 cents.

The new average was multiplied by .0165, producing a per-capita figure of \$3.99960, rounded off to \$4. To this was added a special 10-cent increase voted by the 1969 TNG Convention.

In establishing the formula in 1964, TNG determined that the then-existing per capita of \$2.30 represented .01625 percent of the 1964 top-minimum average of \$141.183. The Guild's 1967 Convention changed the formula to .0165.

The per-capita formula is designed to provide TNG with an increasing level of income to meet rising costs, geared to the increase in its members' income.

The per-capita increase does not affect members' dues, applying only to the monthly payments made by locals to finance TNG's operating costs.

The TNG Constitution provides that the new per capita

take effect May 1 (with payments due by June 15) unless revised by the International Executive Board.

The General Fund will receive \$2.90 of the new \$4.10 per capita and the Defense Fund \$1.20.

Deadlock ended

Toledo pact boosts top \$17.50

Toledo, Ohio—Wage increases of \$17.50 raising key top minimums to \$251.25 have been won in a one-year contract at the Toledo Blade and Times.

The increases, effective March 22, 1972, amount to 7.5 percent, but management refused to implement more than six percent retroactively until it receives a green light from federal authorities under Phase Two wage controls.

The membership declined to ratify the agreement in January because the company refused to implement more than 5.5 percent under wage guidelines. But ratification took place March 22 when the company agreed to implement another .5 percent retroactively and to implement the full 7.5 percent effective immediately.

The Guild also won substantial pension and insurance improvements. An increase of 58 cents a shift, to \$3.19, will finance a prescription-drug plan, improved medical insurance and a \$1,000 increase, to \$10,000, in life insurance.

Under the drug plan, employees will be able to purchase any prescription drug for \$1.

The company will increase its pension payments 27 cents a shift, to \$1.48. The extra money will improve the base percentage on which benefits are calculated from .85 percent to one percent of future earnings.

The Guild won an expedited-arbitration clause in dismissals, providing for a hearing and decision within 14 days of any

IRS seeks rollbacks at N.Y., N.J. papers

(Continued from page 1)

TNG counsel appealed to the Cost of Living Council against the precipitate action, and a few days later the IRS stayed the Journal rollback pending a review of the facts.

The IRS acted with similar haste in New York. The New York Guild is appealing to the Cost of Living Council, denying any historical relationship between contracts at the ethnic papers and those at the major New York dailies.

The council, meanwhile, was reportedly preparing new regulations that would keep the Guild and other unions whose increases were cut during Phase Two from regaining the lost ground during Phase Three.

The Wall Street Journal reported that the council was preparing to allow the recovery of lost money only where the total second- or third-year increases would not exceed 5.5 percent as a result.

Such a ruling would prevent the restoration of a contract minimum cut during Phase Two to its full contractual level during Phase Three.

The council, moving against a major Phase Three settlement for the first time, has challenged an 8.9-percent first-year increase negotiated for North Central Airlines mechanics by the International Association of Machinists.

But it has allowed eight-percent first-year increases for 50,000 New York dressmakers, and John T. Dunlop, council director, has indicated that it will not challenge a railroad-industry agree-

ment providing 10.7-percent increases over 18 months.

The skyrocketing rise in wholesale and retail prices has sparked moves for a new wage-price freeze. Sen. William Proxmire moved twice last week to put a mandatory six-month straitjacket on wages, prices and interest rates; the measure lost the first time by two votes and was ruled out of order on procedural grounds the second, but observers said it might well have passed on the second try had it come to a vote.

The Wall Street Journal reported that the Nixon Administration is rethinking its stand on reimposition of tighter controls following the announcement that wholesale costs rose at an annual rate of 26.4 percent during March, the steepest increase since the Korean War inflation of 1951.

The Journal said that some companies may already be raising their prices hurriedly in anticipation of a new wage-price freeze.

The Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 10 percent in February, according to the latest Bureau of Labor Statistics report. Grocery prices streaked skyward at an annual rate of 28.8 percent.

As part of the nationwide effort to bring meat prices down to affordable levels, the San Francisco-Oakland Guild's representative assembly voted to support the consumers' meat boycott, urging Guild members to stay away from meat counters the week of April 2.

Top-level cooperation explored by TNG, ITU

(Continued from page 1)

union leaders after the meeting said that while their discussions centered on "the impact introduction of new electronic and mechanical processes will have on those who work in the industry . . . they covered a wide range of subjects, including ongoing and forthcoming collective-bargaining procedures, activities and events, as well as organizing potential and developments in the newspaper industry."

The next meeting will be arranged after Perlik and Pilch report to the Guild's International Executive Board and the ITU's Executive Council, respectively.

Pilch concurred in Perlik's request that the Guild be included in future meetings of the ITU, Printing Pressmen, Graphic Arts International Union and Stereotypers on job hazards in and around printing and newspaper plants.

Pilch had met in Washington the day before with Pressmen's President A. J. Rohan, GAIU President Kenneth J. Brown and Stereotypers' President James H. Sampson, primarily to initiate a program dealing with health and safety conditions. But the meeting also dealt with jurisdictional and other disputes and with common economic objectives.

Perlik said in a letter to Rohan that "while it might be readily understandable that safety and health might not immediately occur as a subject in which The Newspaper Guild would have common-type concern, knowledge, experience or interest, that is not wholly true, and it certainly can't be denied that we have much interest in the other subject matter that came up."

Rohan, who initiated the health-and-safety meetings, agreed to TNG's inclusion in future sessions.

employee's discharge.

The key-minimum increases go to reporters, circulation district managers and display and outside classified salespersons. Other top-minimum increases

include \$19 for editors, to \$271.25; \$11.25 for inside classified sales, to \$160.26; \$10.75 for telephone operators, to \$155.50, and \$8.50 for copy runners, to \$120.25.

TNG requests Guild locals to help fund scholarship

TNG is asking Guild locals to make annual contributions to help finance the Guild's new scholarship to the Harvard University Trade Union Program.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., in a letter to local presidents April 6, said that he is recommending that the scholarship fund be designated as "a continuing memorial" to Irving Leuchter, TNG's counsel for a quarter-century.

The scholarship requires \$3,000 a year. TNG is committed to paying \$500 of that, and Perlik said he is also recommending that the commitment be increased to \$1,000.

The Harvard program's alumni association is contributing \$500, and the Twin Cities Guild, which proposed the scholarship, is committed to at least \$300 a year from its Sam Romer Memorial Fund, established in memory of a longtime labor reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune.

Perlik urged all locals to make similar continuing contributions. If more than \$3,000 is subscribed, he said, it may be possible to establish a second scholarship.

The scholarship is intended to

supplement TNG's annual Guild Service Award scholarship, which is limited to local members and unpaid officers. The Harvard scholarship is open to top local and international officers and to paid local officers and members of TNG's inside and outside staffs, Perlik noted.

Brian L. Flores, administrative officer of the Washington-Baltimore Guild, is currently attending Harvard as the first scholarship recipient.

Perlik said he was proposing that the scholarship rather than a fund established by last year's convention to support an equal-rights coordinator be made a memorial to Leuchter because the rights fund has already "served its purpose." A coordinator has been appointed, and the International Executive Board is recommending permanent financing through a per-capita increase by this year's TNG convention.

Perlik said annual contributions to the scholarship fund "offer both TNG and its locals an ideal, ongoing way in which to express their continued appreciation and respect for the service and dedication Irving gave our union."

Guild unit strikes Alexandria Gazette

(Continued from page 1)

down. Publication was six hours late on one day.

The Guild struck after a March 30 bargaining session at which the company put an extra \$5 on the table and then withdrew it when the Guild said no.

The Gazette had previously offered a \$30 increase in the reporter top minimum, to \$190; the Guild is seeking a \$270 top. Wages and hospitalization insurance are the principal issues in dispute.

The average salary of Gazette reporters is half that of those at Washington's metropolitan papers and is lower than wage levels at area weeklies, the Guild said. Gazette printers are paid \$45 a week more than the present reporter top.

The Guild filed an unfair-labor-practice charge after the Gazette instituted a unilateral \$10 raise shortly before the strike.

The Gazette has refused to meet with the Guild since the start of the strike.

Five deaf-mute pressmen and two Guild members were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and abusive language in the strike's opening hours. David Stack, a Gazette Unit alternate to the local executive board, was seized twice.

Two days later a picketing printer who was struck by a strikebreaker's car was charged with blocking its path. A justice of the peace who made the charge on the driver's complaint refused to listen to the printer's charge that he had been deliberately struck and that the strike-



Guild Reporter Photo by William E. Cummings

Aid from Washington

A "V" for victory is flashed by Washington Post printers who crossed the Potomac in heavy num-

bers to picket in support of 10 Guild members striking the Alexandria Gazette.

breaker had swung a golf club at him after stopping.

A reckless driving ticket was issued against one of the strike-

breakers whose car struck a pressman the first day.

City Court Judge George M. Giammittorio, acting at the

Gazette's behest, issued an injunction soon after the strike began, limiting pickets to five at each of the plant's two entrances.

3 more states adopt reporter-shield laws

(Continued from page 1)

testimony was needed to prevent a miscarriage of justice.

The bill had been shelved by the Senate until the North Dakota Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi brought John R. Finnegan, executive editor of the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press and chairman of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' freedom-of-information committee, into the state. Finnegan, a former Twin Cities Guild president, urged the Legislature to resurrect it.

New Mexico Gov. Bruce King has signed a law that, while granting no protection against disclosure, establishes a special Supreme Court appeals procedure for reporters ordered to testify by a lower court. The bill was a compromise of a privilege measure sought by the media.

In Rhode Island, meanwhile, TNG's model privilege bill was introduced in the Legislature by Rep. Aram Garabedian. A Providence Guild membership meeting March 29 voted endorsement of the unqualified bill, and Local President Frank E. Keane urged

quick action by the House Judiciary Committee.

The North Jersey Guild executive board March 25 urged the State Legislature to override Gov. William T. Cahill's veto of an unqualified bill without new legislative hearings.

Detroit Free Press Guildsman Paul M. Branzburg was among those who testified for an unqualified privilege bill in hearings before the Michigan House Judiciary Committee. He said unqualified protection for sources and information was in the interests of both press freedom and law enforcement.

Branzburg, whose contempt conviction for refusing to testify before a Kentucky grand jury was upheld in last year's Supreme Court decision on privilege, faces a six-month jail sentence in that state. But Michigan Gov. William G. Milliken returned extradition papers to Kentucky for the second time in March, asking further information.

Milliken himself is supporting an absolute privilege bill.

The San Francisco-Oakland Guild's representative assembly has adopted a resolution calling on both Congress and the state legislature to enact "clean and unqualified laws to shield newsmen from all actions tending to inhibit the free gathering and reporting of news." It urged organized labor and other groups to support such legislation.

The local has posted on all unit bulletin boards a standing notice that it is ready to supply Guild attorneys to furnish advice and, if necessary, file briefs for members who are subpoenaed for their sources or information.

A qualified shield bill was rejected by the New Hampshire Legislature, where a former radio

newsmen, Rep. Rudolph F. Nelson, spearheaded the opposition. And in the State of Washington, a privilege bill failed to emerge from the Senate Judiciary Committee.

A shield bill appears headed for burial in Georgia following its emasculation by a Senate committee. Media representatives turned thumbs down on the measure after an unqualified bill was hedged with exceptions.

The draft bill drawn up by a special committee of the Uniform State Laws Commission was criticized by the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press and the National Newspaper Association, as well as TNG.

The draft would give reporters immunity from testifying before grand juries and other inquisitory bodies but would allow compulsion to operate in trials.

Holding that privilege must be unqualified, TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., wrote the commission that its draft was "unbelievably unclear, complex and cumbersome," as well as contradictory.

"It would be of no practical use to any newsgatherer who is not fortunate enough to have a member of the bar, and perhaps at least one judge, available to him or her immediately 24 hours a day, seven days a week," Perlik said.

Saying that the bill falls in the category of one "worse than no legislation at all," Perlik called on the commission to either start again from scratch or "forget the whole project."

New support for reporters' immunity legislation has come from the New York Press Club, the Chicago-based Alliance to

End Repression and John W. Gardner, chairman of Common Cause. But Gardner proposed only qualified protection.

The American Bar Association has named a committee to study policy on privilege. Robert W. Meserve, president of the association, is on record in favor of highly qualified protection.

The U.S. Supreme Court in March refused to consider the appeal of Harvard professor Samuel L. Popkin, who invoked a "scholars' privilege" akin to that of reporters in refusing to disclose sources involved in the Pentagon Papers case.

Only Justice William O. Douglas voted to hear the appeal.

In Pennsylvania, Federal Judge William W. Knox upheld the invocation of that state's privilege law at a pretrial hearing in a gambling-syndicate case. Knox rejected an effort by defense attorneys to force Thomas A. Hennessy, publisher of the weekly Pittsburgh Forum, to disclose the source of a story on gambling operations.

At the Los Angeles trial of Daniel Ellsberg on charges of stealing the Pentagon Papers, Judge William M. Byrne, Jr., refused to force newsmen Stuart H. Loory to identify the source of a passage in his book, "The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam."

An attempt to force the weekly Wallingford (Conn.) Post to disclose the sources of a story involved in a libel suit was rebuffed by Chief District Court Judge M. Joseph Blumenfeld.

The information was sought by multimillionaire philanthropist Joseph M. Linsey, who is suing the Post for five million dollars because of a story linking him with the Mafia.

Diario strike ends, Guild unit returns

(Continued from page 1)

unit officers to call a Guild strike at their discretion.

Chalk had sought to move the Spanish-language daily's printing operations to the automated Morristown Record plant in New Jersey to save an estimated million dollars a year. But that plan was abandoned after the Typographical Union struck March 31 and threatened to picket the Record plant.

Chalk settled quickly with the printers, who went back to work after a day. The settlement called for the continuation of typesetting, although not necessarily printing, at the El Diario plant.

Although Chalk had demanded freedom to lay off craft-union employees and a two-year moratorium on wage increases, he agreed to pay the printers whatever is negotiated for the first year of new contracts at the city's major dailies. He will be allowed to delay half the increase for six months, however.

The Pressmen, Stereotypers and Paper Handlers, who had agreed to manpower cuts and the moratorium as an alternative to the switch to New Jersey, struck after the printers' settlement, demanding the same terms. The ITU Mailers, whose contract had also expired, said they were locked out and joined the picket lines.

El Diario was able to print its April 3 and 4 issues in a Brooklyn plant. But plans to print the April 5 issue in Wayne, N.J., failed when the unions set up picket lines there and the News Deliverers refused to cross.

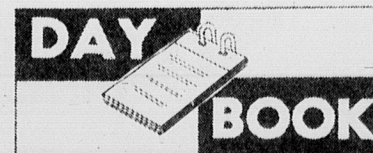
The settlement parallels that won by the printers but requires El Diario to match wage terms at the metropolitan dailies for two years instead of one, delaying half of the raises for six months each year. Printing must remain in the New York plant.

The Guild's contract expired at the end of 1972 but was extended during negotiations for a new one. Bargaining is continuing.

Dr. Jan Librach, 69; ex-RFE Unit officer

New York City—Dr. Jan Librach, former vice chairman of the New York Guild's Radio Free Europe Unit here, died March 20 at the age of 69.

Librach was a Polish senior editor with RFE from 1955 until he retired in 1969. He was elected director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in the United States after his retirement.



International Executive Board, spring meeting, April 30-May 4, TNG headquarters, Washington.

Empire State District Council, spring meeting, May 12 and 13, Holiday Inn, Jersey City.

Western District Council, spring meeting, May 12 and 13, Stockton.

Eastern Canada Regional Training Institute, "Automation Revisited," May 12 and 13, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa.

Midwest and Great Lakes District Councils, joint meeting, May 19 and 20, Chicago.

Middle Atlantic District Council, spring meeting, May 19 and 20, Sheraton Inn, Harrisburg.

40th Annual TNG Convention, July 30-Aug. 3, Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver.

Sacramento loses circulation vote

Sacramento, Calif.—The Sacramento Guild lost a three-day representation vote for inside and outside circulation employees at McClatchy's Sacramento Bee last month. Balloting March 24 through 26 resulted in an 80-to-32 defeat.

The Bee held a number of in-plant meetings during the two weeks preceding the vote to campaign against the Guild and handed out raises to district managers.

'No, we don't have any trouble disposing of our obsolete equipment'



DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Nixon's 'Six Crises' threaten to become baker's dozen

By WILLIAM J. EATON, Chicago Guild



LESS THAN SIX months after his smashing reelection victory, President Nixon is in deep trouble. He soon may have enough material to expand his book, "Six Crises," into double figures.

At home, galloping inflation is the major dilemma. Facing a revolt by the housewives in his New American Majority, Nixon imposed controls on meat that may be too limited and too late. Besides, many economists regard the sharp increase in industrial commodity prices as the real threat to long-run stability, and Nixon did little about that.

The President's Phase Three, with its do-it-yourself controls and wrist-tap penalties for most price violators, has been a disaster from the standpoint of inflationary psychology. As a result, he is under pressure to take drastic action, as he did when he imposed a wage-price freeze in August 1971.

A rollback to Jan. 10 price levels, while politically appealing, would be almost impossible to

enforce. Unlike 1971, the White House cannot fault organized labor for the latest inflationary outburst. The new railroad contract is a model of restraint, and the landmark agreement to arbitrate if necessary in the steel industry is another triumph for moderation.

True to the spirit of his charity-for-none and malice-for-many Second Inaugural speech, the President is trying to blame Congress for higher prices on the grounds that it wants to spend more than he does on Medicare, sewer projects and training the handicapped. It is hard for the supermarket shopper to figure what that has to do with the price of pork chops.

More to the point, Nixon wants to scrap the 40-year-old government policy of scarcity for agriculture and launch American farmers, the most efficient in the world, on a new era of abundance. If this revolution works, it eventually could bring lower farm prices at home, higher farm

income and more U.S. food sales overseas to narrow a worsening trade deficit.

A BROAD, THE PRESIDENT'S "peace with honor" seems to have moved the combat from South Vietnam to neighboring Cambodia, where B52s are raining bombs to help a corrupt dictator stay in power. Now that American troops have left and all the POWs are home, what justification is there for U.S. military intervention in a new Asian quagmire?

None, according to many U.S. senators, and the President seems to be heading into another confrontation with Capitol Hill just as the scars from the Vietnam war are beginning to heal.

The decline and fall of L. Patrick Gray, 3rd, Nixon's abandoned choice to head the FBI, is another self-inflicted wound. Gray bled to death after the White House stabbed him in the back for divulging too much about the Watergate inquiry, adding to Democratic thrusts at Gray's subservience to the President's junior assistants.

Thanks to Gray, however, we know for sure that the President's personal lawyer, Herbert W. Kalmbach, paid up to \$40,000 in cash from a secret reelection fund to a man widely accused of directing disruption of Democratic campaigns in 1972.

Gray disclosed that Kalmbach told the FBI that he hired the alleged supersaboteur, Donald Segretti, on the urging of Dwight H. Chapin, who was Nixon's appointments secretary at the time.

The smart money in Washington says that Chapin would not think of making a long-distance telephone call without checking with H. R. Haldeman, the President's staff director. So it seems that Nixon will not be able to resist Senate demands for testimony by Haldeman, Chapin and other past or present White House aides despite his plea for executive immunity from impertinent questions.

This combination of issues—runaway prices, more war and the slow Watergate torture—is scaring many Republicans on Capitol Hill as they look toward the 1974 elections. Unlike the President, they do not thrive on crises.

By TNG convention action, letters shall be limited to 200 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

money if you were handicapped in any manner? Your suggestion may help someone else. Send no money.

I will send a surprise gift for the best letter answering the question of how you would make a living if handicapped (specify the handicap).

I have a list of 150 labels that people throw away, that could help us. We can use S&H and TV stamps.

Keep in mind that there are over 29 million handicapped persons in the United States. Of every thousand babies born, approximately 30 are handicapped in some manner.

BERT REICHARDT
Indianapolis Guild

IT

SEEMS
TO US

Assistance is sought for the handicapped

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Editor:

A Guild member for many years and handicapped for life. I have been helping handicapped people free of charge for over 25 years. I need assistance to expand over the entire United States.

I am now collecting Betty Crocker coupons for wheelchairs. Anyone interested in helping, without spending money, please write to me at 16 S. McKim St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46201, with self-addressed, stamped envelope for complete information.

At present, I am also sending free envelopes to handicapped persons anywhere in the United States. I also collect discarded eyeglasses and can help get free guide dogs for qualified blind persons.

What would you do to earn

Editorial

Hard line in New York

New York City newspapers, which everyone concedes are in need of more modern production systems, have chosen a strange way to go about getting them.

Instead of seeking an accommodation that will enable their employees, particularly their printers, to survive, they have apparently embarked on a course of "Automate and the consequences be damned!"

How else interpret the following demands submitted to the Typographical Union at the start of bargaining on automation?

- The right to automate without limitations.
- Elimination of the fund under which union members are compensated for the use of outside tape and the right to use such tape without limitation.
- Elimination of automation training programs.
- Elimination of a limitation on the number of automatic linecasters a monitor can service.

On the other hand, the publishers have submitted no affirmative details to the printers on their plans for automation.

"They simply" say that they expect the right to automate in any way they see fit," reported Typographical Union President Bertram A. Powers in his union's journal. "They acknowledge no responsibility for the people who would be affected by automation, although they do say they will submit additional proposals on this vital subject at a later date." Or, machines first, people later . . . maybe.

The Typographical Union has been among the first to agree that the New York newspapers need to automate and has pledged its cooperation in working out an arrangement for doing so. But the publishers don't appear to want cooperation—they want unconditional surrender.

What the new electronic production systems mean to the rank-and-file printer has been made clear in San Francisco, Long Beach, San Diego and other places. Above all, the new systems mean radically fewer printers—as few as half those required for conventional production processes.

In most places, safeguards have been negotiated or arbitrated for incumbent printers—guarantees of lifetime jobs and/or augmented severance and pension benefits. Retraining is not uncommon; neither are provisions insuring that printers will hold some of the new jobs created by new processes and equipment.

But instead of heading down this well-trod path, the New York publishers appear to be careening headlong toward a confrontation with the printers that can only damage the prospects for automation, the livelihoods of all their employees and the interests of the newspapers themselves.

As Powers put it, the problem of automation is "a people problem—we haven't found the answer yet to what to do with the people who will lose their jobs in the process."

Somebody up in the executive suite apparently thinks he has found the answer: Throw the people on the scrap heap. It's an answer that is manifestly unacceptable to the printers, the Guild or any other union dedicated to protecting the interests of the workers who produce the copy and operate the equipment that generates all those profits for the publishers.

Automation isn't a dirty word. But callousness is.

The Guild Reporter



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and
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