

Key minimums to reach \$483 at the Times



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Toronto wins 15.3 percent at the Globe

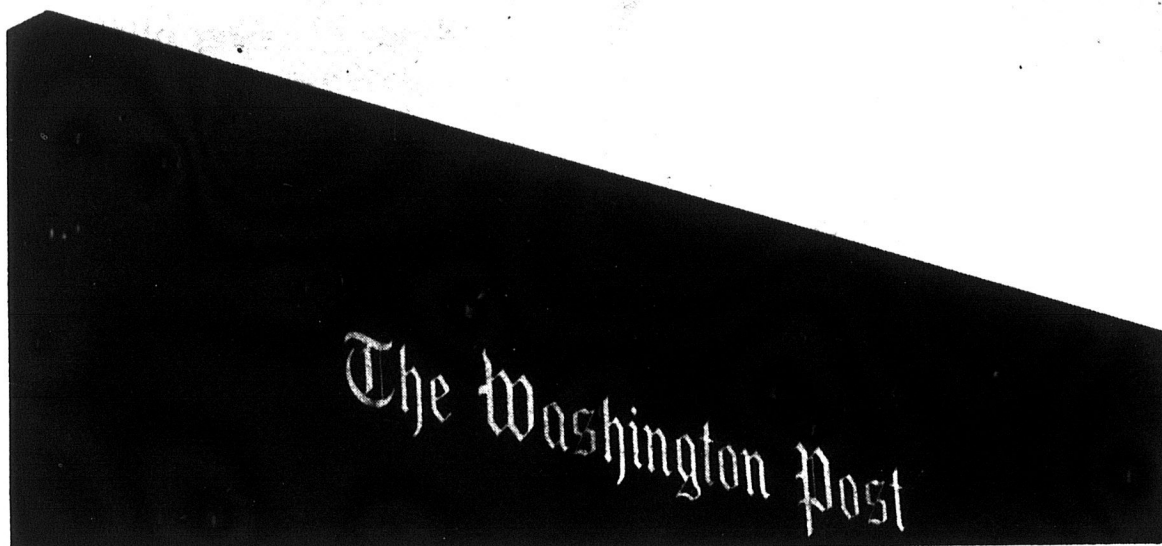
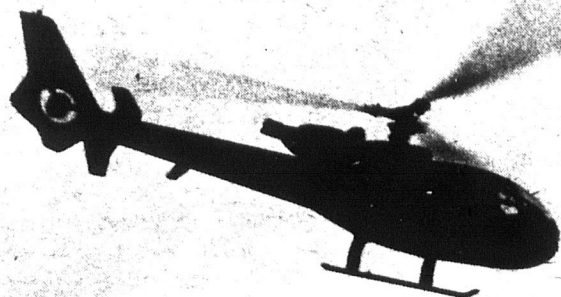
Toronto, Ont.—Minimums are increased 15.3 percent — by as much as \$42—in new one-year Toronto Guild contracts for delivery, editorial, inside-circulation and maintenance employees of the Toronto Globe & Mail.

Twelve percent of the settlement—to a maximum of \$33—has been put into effect retroactive to the old contracts' expiration last May 31.

The Guild and the company are jointly petitioning the federal Anti-Inflation Board, enforcer of the wage and price controls announced by Prime Minister Trudeau in October, for approval of the remaining 3.3 percent in order to maintain the historic relationship between Guild and pressmen's settlements. The pressmen's local of the International Printing & Graphic Communications Union settled before the controls were imposed.

The \$42 increase takes the top minimum for reporters to \$317 a week, the top for rewrite and deskmen to \$327, the flat minimum for editorial writers, cartoonists and senior parliamentary correspondents to \$352 and the

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POST SKYLINE AT DUSK—ALSO DAWN, NOON, MIDNIGHT AND IN BETWEEN
Helicopter used to ferry 'replacement' pressmen to struck paper's roof at all hours

Post declares talks at impasse, moves to replace its pressmen

The Washington Post on Dec. 16 began interviewing applicants for what it said were 140 job openings for "permanent replacements" for the more than 200 pressmen who struck the paper 77 days before.

Declaring bargaining with Pressmen's Local #6 at an "impasse," the company made the move after passage of the Dec. 14 deadline it had set for the union's members to reverse their 249-to-5 rejection a week earlier of the Post's "final" contract offer.

Members of the Post Guild Unit on Dec. 15 had for the

fourth time since the paper was struck voted down a motion calling upon all of the unit's 800-plus members to honor the picket lines. Between 500 and 600 have been working inside the struck plant in defiance of a referendum vote among all members of the Washington-Baltimore Guild and directives from the local's executive committee. The vote was 361 to 219.

On Dec. 12 Katherine Graham, the Post's publisher, refused a request by the Greater Washington Central Labor Council that she and James A. Dugan, the pressmen's president, meet with

Mayor Walter E. Washington to discuss with him the possibilities of returning to the bargaining table.

Graham said she believed such a meeting would only "raise false, unjustified hope" for a settlement.

The mayor had met and spoken to both Dugan and Graham individually before the joint meeting was requested.

On Dec. 10, the day the Post issued its ultimatum to the pressmen, it began ferrying more than 60 nonunion pressmen into the plant in the helicopters it had

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Reporter top avg. surpasses \$300

The average of reporter top minimums being paid at dailies under Guild contracts in the United States, Canada and Puerto Rico on Dec. 1 was \$300.29 a week, according to TNG's Collective Bargaining Dept.

The Dec. 1 average was \$4.33 higher than it had been Oct. 1, when last previously computed, and \$14.26 higher than on April 1, the beginning of the Guild's current fiscal year.

The average reporter top minimum passed the \$200 mark in 1970 and the \$100 mark in 1953.

Deadline set for strike at N.Y. Post

New York City—Guild members at the New York Times voted 885 to 188 Dec. 4 to ratify a new three-year contract raising weekly salaries and minimums by \$28.98 to \$87 and taking key top minimums to \$483.96, highest negotiated in any Guild newspaper contract to date.

Guild members at the Daily News two days before voted 605 to 90 to ratify the New York local's tentative settlement with that paper raising salaries and minimums by \$29.20 to \$84.92 and taking key minimums there to \$457.28 by March 31, 1977 (GR, Nov. 28, Page 1).

Members of the New York Guild's Post Unit, meanwhile, voted 18 to 1 Dec. 8 to authorize the local's bargainers to call a strike against that paper. A strike deadline was later set, first for 6 a.m. Thursday, Dec. 18, then moved it back to 6 a.m. Monday, Jan. 5.

Employees at or above top minimum for the classifications which include display ad sales representatives, circulation roadpersons, reporters and copyreaders receive increases totalling \$79.10 under the new Times contract: \$31.90 retroactive to March 31, \$24.24 next March 31 and \$22.96 March 31, 1977, putting

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Attrition pact settles strike in San Juan

San Juan, Puerto Rico—Agreement by the San Juan Star to the first contract at any Guild paper to provide plant-wide attrition for employees displaced by automation has ended the Puerto Rico Guild's strike against the paper after 52 days.

The settlement was reached in a pair of marathon bargaining sessions Dec. 5, 6 and 7, ratified by Star Unit members Dec. 8, and publication of the island's only English-language daily resumed Dec. 11.

The automation protection is the first of its kind to be won by any union from a Puerto Rican employer, the Guild reported.

Chief issue in the strike, in addition to wages, was the company's refusal to guarantee automation staff-cuts by attrition outside the production departments. The Guild represents all 230 of the Star's employees.

The settlement also provided

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'GUYS WITH DIRTY FINGERNAILS BECOME . . . MERE HUMANIDS'

Strike at Post not so inexplicable, columnist says

BY PATRICK OWENS

CALL THEM the-natives-are-restless stories.

Sudanese bushmen, or New Mexican Apaches, or Detroit's lumpenproletariat suddenly rise up and, for no visible reason, lay waste to their neighborhoods, attack the management, utter strange and irreverent imprecations and generally threaten to ruin such of civilization as it has been their good fortune to experience.

When I was a lad, the Dukhobors of Canada were often restless. With the fit upon them, they would offer up dark mutterings and burn down their houses. I never did find out what made the Dukhobors restless; it is a piece of scholarship I have neglected.

The natives have been restless in Washington this fall—the natives in this case being the pressmen who

Patrick Owens, a columnist for Newsday, is a veteran labor reporter who also has worked in newspaper management, at the (Little Rock) Arkansas Gazette and the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial. A former Nieman Fellow and winner of the Sidney Hillman Award, he was a member of the Detroit Guild from 1965 through 1968 while at the Free Press. He now is a member of Local 6 of the International Printing & Graphic Communications Union. This article is reprinted with permission from the December issue of [MORE], the journalism review published in New York City.

operated the presses at The Washington Post. Initially, their restlessness, which led them to sabotage the presses on which they earned their livelihood,

was as mysterious in the press accounts as the restlessness of the Dukhobors or the Apaches.

No one covering the story in the first several days, when public opinion congealed against the pressmen, could understand why they had done such a thing. I first learned of the pressmen's restlessness from the New York Times of Oct. 2. Ben A. Franklin, a veteran Times reporter with an extraordinary sensitivity to the problems of working people, had written what seemed to me a very strange story. It started this way:

Washington, Oct. 1—The Washington Post, the nation's seventh-largest newspaper, was forced to cease publication by what company officials called an anti-management outburst of vandalism in its pressroom by striking

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Isaacs: performance makes 'professionals'

Philadelphia, Pa.—Whether a newspaper reporter is to be considered an "amateur" or a "professional" depends upon his or her performance rather than the possession of a college degree, Norman E. Isaacs, publisher of the Wilmington News and Journal, conceded in a National Labor Relations Board hearing Dec. 4.

The session was the opening one on the Wilmington papers' claim that all its reporters, photographers, copy editors, editors, editorial writers and columnists should be segregated as "professionals" for Guild organizing and bargaining purposes.

The key criterion for deciding whether reporters are "professionals" under the act is whether the job requires "knowledge of an advanced type . . . customarily acquired by a prolonged course of specialized intellectual instruction and study in an institution of higher learning."

Isaacs admitted under cross-examination that he himself hadn't completed high school but agreed that he considered himself "as competent a newspaperman as any reporter on your staff."

Isaacs, who came to the News and Journal with a national reputation early this year after an internal upheaval that brought the resignation of two editors, took the stand to set forth his contention that reporting the news requires an educational background sufficient to qualify the reporter as a "professional."

But he conceded under cross-examination by Guild attorney Bernard N. Katz that he had referred to some News and Journal employees as "amateurs." Isaacs said he was referring to "certain individuals" and not to the staff as a whole.

"You were not referring to whether they have a college degree?" Katz asked. "Right," Isaacs replied.

"You might label one without a degree as a 'real profes-

sional'?" Katz continued.

"Yes," said Isaacs.

"And you may label one with a college degree as an 'amateur'?" Katz pursued. "Right," answered Isaacs.

"So the criterion is not educational requirement but performance," said Katz.

"Right" was the answer again.

Under earlier cross-examination, Isaacs conceded that, in testifying as an expert witness in the Madison ethics case, he had said "journalism cannot be a profession" because journalists cannot be licensed under the First Amendment. But he claimed the quotation was "wrenched out of context."

Isaacs sought to invoke columnist Walter Lippmann as an authority to bolster his contention that increasing specialization has made journalists into "professionals."

But under cross-examination he said he agreed with a statement by Lippmann, in the article he had cited, that "journalism is still far behind established professions like medicine and law in that there does not exist an organized body of knowledge and a discipline which must be learned and absorbed before the young journalist can practice."

Isaacs said it was the News and Journal's "ongoing policy" to hire employees with college degrees, but not necessarily in journalism. The newspaper is looking for employees with "broad-ranging qualifications in the special area in which they are about to serve," he said.

"We prefer that they come with at least a master's degree," he declared.

But he admitted that "the practice does not always coincide with the policy."

Katz sought to question Isaacs on his position as an "avowed foe" of the Guild, but NLRB Hearing Officer Martin Sobol ruled that line of interrogation out of order.

The hearing will resume Dec.



Photo by Jose Feliciano, Puerto Rico Guild

Picketline Thanksgiving in San Juan

San Juan Star Guild strikers celebrate Thanksgiving Day with a party and dinner on the picket line.

On the menu: roast pig (above), rice with pigeon peas and boiled plantains.

29 with testimony by Fred Hartmann, the papers' executive editor, on the specific qualifications and duties of the 80-plus employees the News and Journal is attempting to sever from other editorial employees in the unit. Hartmann was on the stand when the hearing was adjourned.

At the start of the proceedings, Katz objected unsuccessfully to the company's move to reopen the case for testimony on the "professional" issue, which he noted was one that had been determined "decades ago" by the NLRB. The reopening has delayed a representation election at the News and Journal.

A similar management claim, at the Steubenville (Ohio) Herald-Star, has been referred to the full NLRB for decision after the completion of hearings, and one involving columnists and critics at the Philadelphia Bulletin is also headed for the full board.

Attrition pact settles strike

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\$120 to \$275 in lump-sum payments to each employee upon ratification and raises minimums by \$14 to \$34—key editorial and advertising tops by \$32, to \$282 a week—over the contract's final 21½ months.

The new contract also provides the first minimum higher than \$300 in a Guild contract on the island: \$307 for a group of 16 editors, assistant editors and the data processing supervisor, up from \$273 in the old Star contract which expired Dec. 1, 1974.

Minimums for more than 70 percent of the Star's employees are raised \$32, including those for "shop" employees, whose top goes to \$208 a week, and district managers, whose top goes to \$242.

The settlement also provides an additional holiday, for a total of 15 (15 full and six half holidays in the business office).

The mileage rate is increased four cents, to 18, and a formula calls for additional increases of 1.5 cents for each 10 cent increase in the price of gasoline from a base of 36.4 cents.

A \$10-a-day premium is established for overnight assignments off the island, and employees are guaranteed 75 percent of the proceeds of any of their work

sold to another publication. The employee must agree to the sale price.

The publisher also is forbidden to use a by-line with a story in which substantive changes are made unless the author agrees to them.

Toronto wins 15.3 percent at the Globe

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top for electricians and machinists to \$301.

The starting minimum for electricians and machinists is upgraded from 30 to 50 percent of the top, producing a raise of \$72.80, to \$150.50 a week.

The 15.3 percent increases raise flat minimums for city truck drivers by \$28.70, to \$216.25, for garage mechanics by \$30.51, to \$229.91, and for cleaners by \$23.20, to \$174.80 a week.

The minimum for beginning reporters and photographers is raised \$25.63, to \$193.18, while that for rewrite and desk employees goes up \$26.68, to \$201.03 a week.

Top minimum for intermediate circulation clerks is increased \$24.11, to \$181.66; that for stenographers is up \$22.86, to \$149.50, and that for circulation office boys goes up \$17.23, to \$129.83.

The settlement also cuts service time for four weeks' vacation by a year, to eight, and for five weeks' vacation by five years, to 20.

Mileage rates for editorial and delivery-maintenance employees not required to use their cars is increased three cents, to 15, retroactive to May 5 and another cent effective from Nov. 3; for those required to use autos the rates are increased two cents, to 16 for the first 300 weekly miles and nine cents thereafter, and another cent from Nov. 3. The company is to furnish cars for photographers and reporter-photographers next May 1.

Guild votes set for 230 at 4 papers

About 230 employees of four newspapers are scheduled to vote on bargaining representation by the Guild before the end of January.

The day after Christmas all of the approximately 70 employees of the Bay Guardian, a San Francisco "alternative" weekly, will choose between representation by the San Francisco-Oakland Guild and the Bay Area Typographical Union jointly and no union.

The paper's publisher, Bruce B. Brugmann, discharged 16 full- and part-time employees late in November, stating it was necessary to try to turn around operating losses incurred since the paper began publishing weekly. He told the New York Times that the paper's top reporter sal-

ary is about \$135 a week. Fourteen of those fired are listed among the eligible voters.

On Jan. 15 about 30 advertising employees of the Joliet Herald-News will vote on representation by the Chicago Guild.

The local presently represents the Copley-chain paper's editorial employees.

And on Jan. 22 about 135 employees of the editorial departments of the New Haven Register and Journal-Courier will vote on representation by the New York Guild.

The morning Journal-Courier has a circulation of about 32,000, while the commonly owned evening Register has a circulation of about 103,000.

Meanwhile, inside circulation

department employees at Hearst's San Antonio Light voted 24-to-8 against representation by the San Antonio Guild in an election held Dec. 2, seven months after the Guild had petitioned to represent them.

An election had been scheduled for last July 11, but was postponed when the National Labor Relations Board agreed to hear the publisher's appeal of a regional director's decision that parttime student employees were eligible to vote.

In California, the Los Angeles Guild is appealing to the full board from a regional director's decision to hold two elections at the Van Nuys Valley News & Greensheet—one in the circulation department and another among employees in the advertising, business and editorial departments.

The Guild is seeking a single election among the 400 employees of all four departments. To allow the circulation department to be seaprated would violate years of labor-board precedent, it maintains. The local filed a petition with the NLRB seeking representation rights for the group last June 4.

Independent union voted in at Her-Ex

Los Angeles, Calif.—Employees of Los Angeles Herald-Examiner departments formerly represented by the Guild voted 177 to 92 for Employees for Better Working Conditions, an independent union, as their bargaining agent Dec. 3. The Guild was not on the ballot.

The 321 persons eligible to

vote included drivers and employees in the editorial, advertising, circulation and business departments. The Los Angeles Guild had represented more than 800 employees in the same departments, save the business office, before striking the paper Dec. 15, 1967. It has been staffed by non-union workers ever since.

Perlik raps press 'gags,' 'fair-trial' guidelines

Court orders to "gag" the press, like those upheld by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun in a Nebraska murder hearing, place the United States "in clear and present danger" of having the First Amendment "reduced to a scrap of paper," TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., has warned.

Blackmun's Nov. 20 decision also resurrects the age-old conflict between the press and judiciary over two constitutional rights—fair trial and free press, he noted. And it brings with it the threat that fair-trial guidelines entered into voluntarily by some newspapers and bar associations may become law, he warned.

The courts may be sacrificing freedom of the press on the altar of another Constitutional right—

that of a fair trial—by pursuing the "doubtful principle" that pre-trial publicity, including the reporting of court proceedings, can make a fair trial impossible, Perlik stated.

He was speaking in reaction to court orders forbidding Nebraska's press to report on pre-trial hearings for Erwin Charles Simants, 29, charged in the Oct. 18 killings of six members of a family in Sutherland, Neb.

The full U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 12 agreed to hear Nebraska news organizations' appeal of the orders but refused to do so immediately and refused to lift the orders pending its hearing the appeal.

And by that time, John Paul Stevens, the Chicagoan President Ford nominated to the high

bench, will have joined the court. During his confirmation hearings early in December he said that he places "a very high value" on the First Amendment and is "always very concerned with any inhibition on the opportunity of the press to report freely."

But, he said he sees as a "serious problem . . . the risk that reporting may impair a defendant's ability to obtain a fair and impartial trial," adding that he feels that information about criminal cases should "be kept out of the public domain until it appears in the record of the trial itself."

Perlik called on the press to fight court imposed restrictions, saying that "prior restraint on what the news media can publish about proceedings in open

court is the most serious and widespread infringement on freedom of the press since the First Amendment became one of our nation's articles of democratic faith."

In a statement issued Dec. 2, Perlik said TNG staunchly supports Nebraska news organizations seeking to have the restraints struck down.

He called upon the press to heed the advice of Harold R. Medina, senior judge of the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, to "stand squarely on the First Amendment" in resisting gag orders.

The first gag order in the case was issued Oct. 23 by trial judge Ronald Ruff. It permitted reporters to attend the preliminary hearing and report the names of those testifying but prohibited the publication of testimony and interviews with witnesses or law enforcement officials connected with the hearing.

That order was replaced with a second one by District Court Judge Hugh Stuart on Oct. 27, which forbade the press to publish the existence and contents of any confession the defendant may have made to law enforcement officials.

The Nebraska Press Association appealed the second order to the state supreme court on Oct. 31, then asked Blackmun to stay the order after the Nebraska high court postponed action. He did, in part.

Prodded by Blackmun's decision, the Nebraska Supreme Court voted 5-to-2 on Dec. 1 to uphold the district court gag order limiting pretrial news coverage of the murder case.

In his six-point ruling, Blackmun left much of the gag order in effect but stayed the "wholesale" adoption of the Nebraska voluntary "bar-press guidelines" devised in conjunction with the courts for reporting of information in pending criminal cases.

Blackmun said incorporation of the "voluntary code" was the most troublesome aspect of the district court's restrictive order. "I find them on the whole . . . sufficiently riddled with vague and indefinite admonitions," the justice said, and stayed their "wholesale and mandatory im-

position in the present context."

But he stated that the courts were "free to reimpose particular provisions included in the guidelines" if those provisions were pertinent to the facts of the case, were "adequately specific" and in keeping with the rest of the order.

Perlik said Blackmun's ruling, "reinforces all the doubts expressed by many editors about entering into such agreements."

The Nebraska guidelines, like those in 22 other states, were drawn up in an attempt to prevent confrontations between the press and the courts.

"I used to think guidelines might be helpful. Now I believe them to be a snare and a delusion," Medina said in an article written for the New York Times, adding that he does not "like any part of" the latest proposal by the Bar Association.

The ABA has proposed guidelines under which judges planning to enter restrictive orders would give the press and others a chance to testify about them at hearings prior to imposing curbs.

Blackmun's ruling also upholds a prohibition of the exact Nebraska press's disclosing the nature of the limitations imposed by the courts.

In California, meanwhile, prosecutors in the Patricia Hearst case asked a federal district court judge on Dec. 8 to forbid public comments by Patricia Hearst's defense attorneys, F. Lee Bailey and Al Johnson, and other "principals" in the pending trial. The prosecutors charged the attorneys were trying to "evoke a sympathetic public image" for Hearst in order to "influence potential jurors" to view her sympathetically.

In Maryland two weeks previously the U.S. attorney's office asked a federal judge to bar the state's governor and five co-defendants from making out-of-court statements about the corruption and fraud indictments returned against them Nov. 24.

In still another instance, in David City, Neb., a District judge cited Blackmun's opinion as the basis for partially upholding a county judge's gag order in a first-degree murder case.

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

The court: Merry Christmas, but keep it to yourself

By WILLIAM J. EATON, *Chicago Guild*

AN UGLY, ominous Christmas present for those who love freedom has been delivered by the Supreme Court. The justices refused, on a 4-4 vote, to end the censorship of Nebraska news media imposed by the Nebraska Supreme Court and now, sadly and shockingly, upheld, temporarily at least, by the tribunal that pronounces the law of the land.

It appears that President Ford's choice for the high bench, Federal Appeals Judge John Paul Stevens of Chicago, will cast the deciding vote in this historic test of whether the First Amendment is still the rock on which democracy is built.

In any event, the Supreme Court is in no rush to consider a flagrant case of prior restraint. The criminal trial that produced the censorship may be over and the issue could be moot before the nine justices see fit to deliver a final decision next spring.

The issue is so simple that a summary decision by the Supreme Court was imperative to protect a free press and the public's right to know what goes on in the criminal justice system. In contrast to the furor over injunctions which halted publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971, however, there is little concern shown by the publishers and broadcasters over a much more insidious threat to a cornerstone of our Constitution.

THE NEBRASKA courts and the Supreme Court of the United States have given their blessing to judicial censorship to guard against the hypothetical danger to a jury free from bias. Wrong, wrong, wrong!

First, there are many ways to insure that an unbiased jury is seated. Not all prospective jurors read newspapers or listen to news accounts, even in a sensational case.

• The trial can be moved to an area of the state that has not been saturated with pre-trial publicity.

• A judge may instruct the jurors to disregard information about the case not heard in the courtroom and excuse those who cannot comply.

Many juries have overcome passions to acquit unpopular or

publicized defendants. Angela Davis is one example and there are countless others.

A second consideration ignored by the judges who imposed and blessed the gag order is that restraints on publication do not stop discussion of a celebrated criminal case. Rumors, spurred by the gag order itself, may prove far more prejudicial than a fair and accurate account of what transpired in open court.

BUT THE MAIN issue here is the sickening precedent of judges acting as censors, including those in Nebraska and too many on the Supreme Court. Justices William J. Brennan, Thurgood Marshall and Potter Stewart did their duty by the First Amendment, joined half-heartedly by Byron R. White.

The pro-censorship votes were cast by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, Lewis F. Powell, Harry A. Blackmun and William H. Rehnquist. Sad to relate, Justice William O. Douglas would have cast the fifth vote for an end

to the restraint on publication of material disclosed in open court or court records.

"There is no power on the part of government to suppress or penalize news of the day," Douglas wrote last March.

Stevens, who has the appearance of a legal nitpicker in contrast to the giant he succeeds, soon will have a chance to prove the devotion to the First Amendment that he mouthed at his confirmation hearings.

The enormity of the censorship can be seen by comparison to the Watergate cover-up case. If the federal courts in Washington had issued the same types of gag order, the newspapers here would have been barred from publishing accounts of the House impeachment inquiry and the facts surrounding the resignation of Richard M. Nixon from the Presidency on the theory that H. R. Haldeman, et al, would not have received a fair trial. Unthinkable! Yet that is what we have for an early Bicentennial gift from our gag-minded judges.



Broun judges: Beveridge, Bagdikian, Dillman

George Beveridge, ombudsman for the Washington Star, Grant Dillman, vice president of United Press International and manager of its Washington Bureau and Ben Bagdikian, president of the Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press, have been selected as judges for TNG's 1975 Heywood Broun Award contest.

That announcement came from contest chairperson Tom Lask, assistant cultural editor with the New York Times and past president of the New York Guild.

The Broun Award is presented each year for journalistic achievement "in the spirit of Heywood Broun," first Guild president.

The contest is open to persons in the Guild's jurisdiction who are employed at newspapers, wire services, magazines and broadcast stations in the United States, Canada and Puerto Rico. The winner, to be announced on Jan. 26 when the IEB starts its winter meeting in Washington, will receive \$1,000 and a citation.

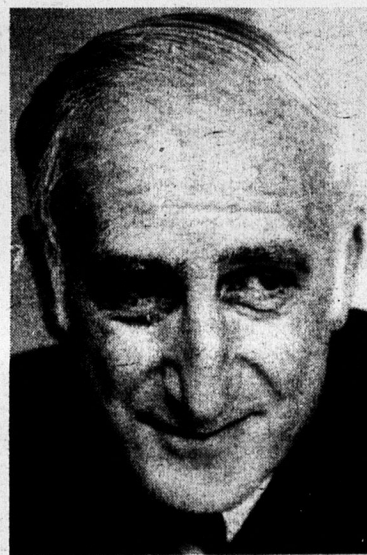
Before being named ombudsman last month, Beveridge, who has worked at the Star since



GEORGE BEVERIDGE

1946, served as assistant managing editor responsible for metro area news coverage, editorial writer and reporter. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1959.

Dillman began his newspaper career in 1938 as a copyboy for the Columbus Evening Dispatch, joining UPI (then United Press) in December 1942. He was man-



BEN BAGDIKIAN

ager of UPI's Columbus Bureau until 1945 when he was transferred to Washington and assigned to the White House. He became bureau chief in February, 1973.

Bagdikian, a research fellow at American University, began his newspaper career at the Springfield (Mass.) Morning Union in



GRANT DILLMAN

1941 and worked on dailies for 19 of the last 34 years. He was the Washington Post's ombudsman in 1972.

He has contributed to the Saturday Evening Post, Esquire, Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, the Sunday Times Magazine and Columbia Journalism Review and was a Guggenheim Fellow.

Vandalized presses, Post strike not so inexplicable, Owens says

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members of a pressmen's union. All the Post's 72 printing units were said to have been sabotaged.

The pre-dawn vandalism and arson in the basement and subbasement of the Post's downtown building at 16th and L Streets, N.W., was followed this afternoon by an angry jostling and name-calling confrontation between picketing pressmen and members of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, the editorial and clerical union. Many Guild members said they were crossing the picket line to protest what had happened in the pressroom.

Franklin had made a pass at the union side of these events. He quoted James A. Dugan, the president of Newspaper Web Pressmen's Local 6 of Washington, as saying that the union had not authorized the sabotage. Then he quoted Dugan as saying:

"Anything that has happened the management must take full responsibility for. . . They have harassed and reprimanded the men. They want to change the manning tables and our hiring practices. They were stalling since December on a new contract. We had not even gotten to wages. The men were upset."

So far as I was aware, the damage in the Post pressroom was the worst labor-connected vandalism to be visited upon an American newspaper building since Oct. 1, 1910, when The Los Angeles Times building was dynamited, with the loss of 20 lives. Still, I had trouble understanding how serious it was. The Post said, in a statement, that the damage

"appears to have been executed by people who had pre-planned and synchronized their actions. . . . It would be impossible for these kinds of damage to be done in that short a time without a plan, without assigned tasks and without people who knew precisely what they were doing."

NEWSPAPERS PRESSMEN have had a lot of trouble with a lot of newspaper publishers in recent years. So have the other newspaper craft workers and their unions. Yet none had destroyed the equipment on which they worked. This was a form of economic masochism, for there would be no jobs for pressmen while their presses were being repaired. Franklin did not make this obvious point. Why had the pressmen destroyed their means of livelihood?

The Washington Star did little to answer that question in its extensive coverage Oct. 2. It did quote the anonymous leader of another craft union as saying he had informed the pressmen he did not condone their action. "It doesn't make sense to destroy your own job," the Star reported him as saying. This struck me as another standard occurrence in natives-are-restless coverage. It was the Washington, 1975, equivalent of tracking down a Navajo chief in 1896 so that the chief could explain that not even he, a fellow savage, knew what in the world had got into the Apaches.

The Star also printed a long story Oct. 1. This did not resolve the mystery, but it did offer some clues to an old labor skate like myself. For one thing, Lawrence A. Wallace, the Post vice president for labor relations, had broken off contract talks with the pressmen at 9:30 p.m. the night before. The local's contract was to expire two-and-one-half hours later. Labor and management representatives traditionally go through at least the motions of bargaining right down to the contract expiration or strike deadline to preserve the impression that they care greatly about a settlement. In terms of labor etiquette, it had to be assumed that Wallace was saying the Post was ready for a rumble.

The Post was dark a single day. Then it began publishing at nonunion, offset dailies as far as 150 miles from Washington, using helicopters to ferry prepared page plates to the pressrooms it had contracted. Post management could hardly be expected to fold its tent in the wake of the press wrecking. But the paper was doing a good deal more than simply getting out.

Without much in the way of explanation that I could find, the Post was setting out to break the pressmen's strike. None of the newspaper reports appeared to find this particularly intriguing. In the next several days, the Post got a number of its presses back in action and was able to dispense with the friendly non-union presses of its allies in the exurbs and hinterland. This process, too, was reported without much curiosity about what, exactly was going on here.

After Mark J. Meagher held a news conference Oct. 11, however, the light began to dawn. As Franklin reported in the Times the next day:

Evidence of the Post's determination to exercise "the right to publish" emerged clearly for the first time yesterday when Mark J. Meagher, the 40-year-old accountant who is the newspaper's executive vice president and general manager, told newsmen in an hour-long conversation of the paper's secret two-year preparation of a "contingency plan" to shield itself from an expected production workers' strike. The preparation included the training of production and other workers—including some women—to substitute for pressmen, paperhandlers, photoengravers and typesetters. . . .

"These were propositions that we knew the unions—

the pressmen particularly—were going to find difficult to accept," Mr. Meagher said. "The Post made a conscious decision that, if we were going to have parity at the bargaining table, we were going to have the ability to publish [during a strike]."

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Local 6 was not a giant union with a full panoply of lawyers, publicists and strategists. It had no full-time officers. James Dugan, its president, still held down a position in the Post pressroom. Dugan's own hypothesis of the violence—that it was brought on by a fit of temporary insanity—did not do much to help his cause. (The actual perpetrators of the sabotage were, of course, suspects in potential felony prosecutions. They could hardly speak for themselves.)

Motivated by a shrinking profit margin (it had dropped below 10 per cent on revenues), the Post had resolved to take advantage of new technology to change fundamentally the power and status of its craft workers. Meagher said the ability to publish without the craftsmen would give the Post parity with their unions. But the ability to publish, which the Post had achieved, had destroyed the ability of the unions to exert much more than moral suasion.

In collective bargaining, the essential question is always how much each side can make the other suffer if it should come to that. When it does come to that, there is a strike. In a conventional strike, the employer loses its income because its employees have put it out of business. The employees lose their income, too, because they are off the job. Sooner or later, one side or both make concessions because they want to start making money again.

The Post was not making as much money as it had been. But it could look forward to large savings if it broke—or even housebroke—its craft unions. For two years, it had been preparing to do this.

In July, when the pressmen proved unwilling to surrender prerogatives they had won in previous negotiations, the Post short-shrifted the bargaining and intensified "cross-training" of people to replace the pressmen. It would be difficult to imagine a more cold-blooded approach to workers, or one more calculated to drive them into a rage.

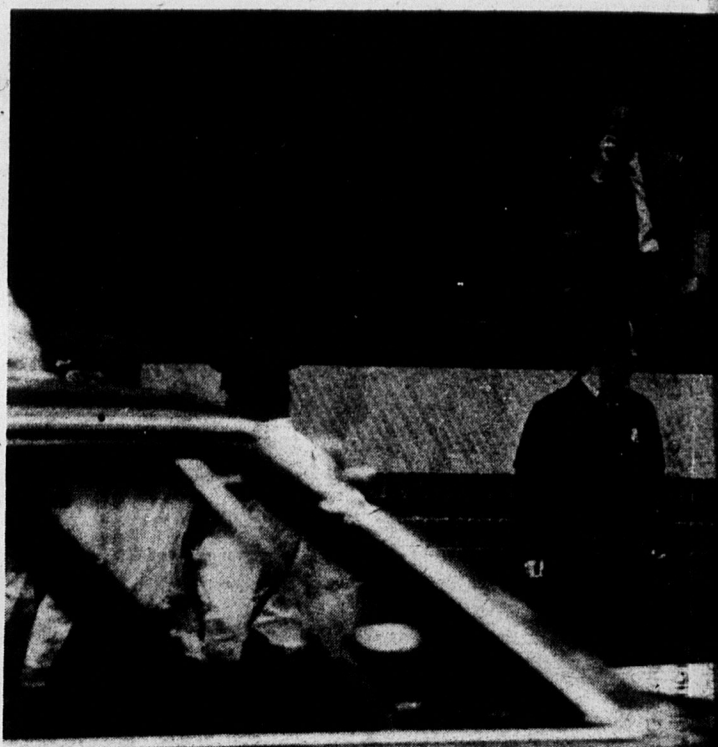
BEHIND THE POST's decision lay a revolution in newspaper technology. Up through World War II, newspaper production was a job for skilled craftsmen. They operated and kept in repair complex equipment that could not, as a practical matter, be run by anyone else. A series of inventions have since made it possible for less skilled people to do work once monopolized by the craftsmen.

The printers, traditionally the most skilled and irreplaceable of newspaper craftsmen, have virtually been automated out of business. Typists operating new machinery can now do much of their work faster and for much lower wages than the printers can do it. A number of newspapers—not content with the savings involved in such a shift—are now installing computer-based electronic systems that convert the peckings of reporters on a machine that resembles an electric typewriter into "cold type," entirely bypassing typesetting by printers.

The pressmen have suffered less stupendous losses in value. They operate on machinery the same in its essentials as it was 50 years ago. But the new presses are more complex, on the one hand, and simpler to operate, on the other. Their innards are beyond the ken of the average pressman. Yet their actual operation requires donkey work rather easily learned.

And the erosion of the value of craft skills has been cumulative in its effect. It was one thing for a newspaper to think of replacing all its craft workers in, say, 1950. It is another to appreciate, in 1975, that only a few highly skilled people will be required to supervise semi-skilled grunts in the pressroom and in a newspaper's other mechanical departments.

You have to be romantic about capitalism not to expect the Post, or any other newspaper management,



POST 'INSIDERS' LOOKING OUT OVER HEAVY
From left: Larry H. Israel, Post Co. president,
and, at far right, Bill Richards, a

to take advantage of the situation that has resulted.

And, in point of fact, publishers in what used to be called the "scab belt" have been taking this advantage for a very long time. From Los Angeles to Miami, and at a host of smaller cities in between, dozens of newspapers have over the past quarter-century weighed the high cost of union labor, plus the pain and aggravation involved in dealing with a dozen or so unions, against the transient pains of breaking a strike.

The Post was now embarked on an enterprise that looked, from the outside, like the same sort of thing. It had demonstrated that novices with a few weeks training could replace journeymen pressmen who had spent—and were being paid for—four years in apprenticeship.

In by far the best piece on the strike I've seen to date, Philip Noble reports in New Times (Nov. 14) that the Post this year budgeted 2.5 million dollars in straight-time pay, 1.3 million dollars in overtime and another \$328,000 in penalty time for its 180 journeymen pressmen. A management freed of any constraints from the union could hope realistically to cut the total—\$4,128,000—in half. It could not do this without wrecking some lives and risking a lot of criticism, so it might be willing to save only a million or a million and a half, letting the pressmen return converted into something resembling a house union.

Like the other craft unions, the pressmen (who now called themselves the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, AFL-CIO) had responded to over a quarter-century of technological change by stiffening their bargaining positions and demanding what unions are supposed to demand—more.

At the Post, they were making \$14,500 a year as scale, and an average of \$22,000 with overtime. Their contract gave them control of work schedules, and this permitted them to earn premium pay for overtime work rather than sending more pressmen to the Post.

With all the craft unions respecting the pressmen's picket lines, attention concentrated on the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, the union representing editorial and clerical workers at the Post.

If the pressmen were to have a show of standing off the Post, they would have to have the Guild with them. The Guild, with about 800 members among the Post's 2,800 employees, did a multitude of jobs necessary to producing a newspaper—jobs that management would have to fill somehow in the absence of Guild members. And the Guild's editorial wing was necessary to a quality product. The Post news staff may be, person for person, the strongest in the country.

It seemed to me that the Guild people were in a tight place. They could surely see that without their support the strike had almost no chance of success and that the Post's unions stood to be irremediably weakened. On the other hand, success of the strike was by no means assured, even if the Guild too hit the bricks. If they honored the picket lines, the Post would have to replace them somehow. Both their jobs and the editorial quality of their paper—of which most of the Post's journalists were intensely and understandably proud—would be at risk.

There was a huge disagreement within the Guild. But none of the stories I read about the disagreement mentioned these basic concerns. They concentrated instead on the repugnance Guild members felt at the pressroom sabotage and at violence in the pressroom (where a pressroom foreman was also a union member had been beaten and threatened) and on the picket line (where pressmen had engaged in many acts of violence against picket-line crossers). "The pressmen violated a cardinal rule of trade unionism: they destroyed the employer's property," Post labor

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FACT: The Post had trained replacements for the pressmen and many other crafts long before the strike began. It had recruited many replacements from non-union papers in other parts of the country and sent them to a familiarization course in the Southern Newspaper Production Center in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. More than 60 of these recruits were flown into the Post from Oklahoma City on December 9th and 10th. Post management claims that they are beginning to advertise for pressmen today are false as they already have more men than they say they need to run the press-

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their contract for more than 6 months with working members assessing themselves to pay a stipend to the laid off workers while the union was fighting to get their regular jobs restored.

This past July U. S. District Judge George L. Har upheld the union and ordered the men back to work and ordered the Post to arbitrate the matter under the terms of the Pressmen's contract. Thus, the effort of the Post to gut the pressmen's contract during its term had failed.

During this same period and for months before, pressmen were subjected to daily harassment by supervisors and written reprimands were sent to many which threatened discipline up to and including discharge, for offenses as minor as spilling ink on the pressroom floor. These reprimands were not given to the workers but were sent to their homes so that the threats of discharge could work their way on their wives and families. Every union in the plant was suffering similar treatment. The International Typographical Union Local 101, representing the Post's typesetters, had labored for more than a year to win a new contract. The Post recently has pointed with pride to this contract, saying that it was arrived at without a strike and that it provides "lifetime" jobs for all members covered under it. What they don't point out is that since the contract was signed, the Post has made major assaults on it. The Post also does not note that it has sued the Printers Union for more than a million dollars in connection with their contract bargaining.

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It has been said that the Washington Post at best, wants no unions and at worst, house or housebroken unions. We believe the facts show that this was and is their aim. In order to increase the profit margins of their giant conglomerate and to maximize the economic pressure on Washington's other daily newspaper, the Post has involved itself in this conspiracy.

Whether it is an ego trip for its owner, Katherine Graham or a diabolical attempt at restraint of trade, the result of the Post's attempt to break its unions is the same. If the Post achieves a monopoly in the city of Washington it will need even fewer employees at its own facility. How many advertising salespersons will

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Manning, or the number of men who would work on each press, has been the subject of collective bargaining between the Post and the Pressmen's Union of the more than 70 years of their contract relationship. In 1966, the Post was party to winning agreement from the Pressmen's Union to permit a third party to decide whether the manning which pressmen claim is necessary to operate equipment safely and efficiently was correct. The publishers brought in time-and-motion experts and studied the operation thoroughly and reported the findings to an arbitrator. The arbitrator's decision was that the manning claimed by the pressmen was indeed correct and confirmed its need. Subsequent to this arbitration Post management installed larger motors on the presses, which enabled them to achieve a 20% increase in production with the manning mandated by the arbitrator—there were no concessions made to the pressmen, nor was any of this productivity increase ever shared with the men. Subsequent contracts confirmed the manning tables until the management attempted to destroy them during an operative contract in December of 1974 (more about that later).

Company claims that the Pressmen earn the highest compensation of all newspaper craft unions should also explain that in order to be so compensated they must work 6 1/2 days a week, 52 weeks a year to earn the \$22,500 which the company claims is an average wage!

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A. J. Liebling

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SECOND, they say they had arranged for pressmen from other newspapers to temporarily bring the Post pressroom back to full normal operation as soon as possible.

FACT: The Post used some supervisors and many union covered workers from Guild jurisdiction who had been trained to work in craft jobs in violation of the Guild contract and unfair labor practice charges filed by the Guild more than three weeks before the strike began still sit in the desk of the Director of the 5th Region of the National Labor Relations Board. After a protest from the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, the Post was forced to discontinue the use of students from the Cardozo area of the city as strikebreakers. This hasn't stopped them, however, and they have used students from surrounding counties and at one point were using young women from Mount Vernon Junior college, informing them that the work which they would perform was "non-union". In reality it was the work of striking mailers.

THIRD, they say they have invited all those other Post craft unions whose contracts expired on September 30 to enter into "serious and intensive" negotiations toward a settlement.

FACT: There were nine unions whose contracts expired on September 30 and each of these unions tried in vain to get meetings with the Post starting in July of this year. In the 90-day period from July to September the Post spent a total of 19½ days negotiating with all 9 unions whose contracts were due to expire September 30. Since the strike began, the Post has attempted only those meetings which it deemed necessary to their public relations effort.

HOW THE STRIKE BEGAN

Post accounts of how this longest newspaper strike in the history of Washington, D.C. began are clouded with rhetoric and self-serving statements about the need of the Washington Post to "regain control" of its operations and to end work practices which management called "featherbedding."

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Management claims that the pressmen had "taken pressroom management away from the Post and the way they were doing it was delaying delivery of the newspaper, costing money which could have been used to improve the Post's quality, purchase needed new equipment, to provide increases in pay for other union and non-union employees, and to hold down advertising and subscription rates."

Nothing could be further from the truth! The markup of "marked-up operating assumptions of the Publisher" means that the company makes all determination on what the total requirement for men will be based on the company's estimates of how many presses and press units will be needed. The company even tells the men what part of the press they will work on.

The estimates are made by determining how many presses and how many units of each press management thinks it will need and multiplies the number of units by manning requirements spelled out in the contract. To this is added the number of men, flymen and apprentices and the total is the number of regular employees who know they will work at least 5 seven hour shifts during the marked up week.

Management cannot reduce the manning which is spelled out by contract but it can reduce the total number of workers by saying fewer men are needed on the markup.

In December of 1974, the Post reduced its markup by 36 men without a corresponding reduction in the amount of work needed to be done on the presses. The union took the position that the Post had fired 36 regular employees and sent the men to the Employment Office to file for compensation. The Post blocked payment of unemployment benefits, claiming that the parties were involved in a labor dispute and that, besides, there was work for them at the Post as "substitutes."

The hooker here is that in reducing the markup without a corresponding reduction in the amount of work to be done, there still existed a need for these 36 men. This is the work which the Post now offered the dismissed men. The work would be paid at straight time rates with no hospitalization, sick and accident benefits, life insurance, sick leave, annual leave or contribution to the pension fund in their behalf.

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their contract for more than 6 months with working members assessing themselves to pay a stipend to the laid off workers while the union was fighting to get their regular jobs restored.

This past July U. S. District Judge George L. Hart upheld the union and ordered the men back to work and under the terms of the Pressmen's contract. Thus, the effort of the Post to gut the pressmen's contract during its term had failed.

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The other unions and the Post have had a running battle in efforts to maintain the integrity of their contracts in order to effectively represent their people. The Newspaper Guild currently has more than 30 grievances and arbitrations pending with the Post due to the stalling and the refusal of Post management to furnish information vital to the prosecution of these cases.

It is against this background that the strike started on October 1, not "without warning" as Post Executive Vice President and General Manager Mark Meagher would have the public believe.

Indian Printer, an industry trade publication, says in its November issue "According to published statements that have appeared since the strike began, the Post's management was not only preparing for a strike, but was fully expecting one." It goes on to say "Mark J. Meagher, executive vice president and general manager of the Washington Post, revealed that the newspaper had begun a contingency plan two years ago, to protect the paper from a strike by production workers" (familiar language to those Washington watchers who try to discover the difference between offensive and defensive weapons).

Meagher went on to say "The plan included the training of clerical and other non-union personnel to take over for pressmen, photoengravers and typesetters."

There are no clerical employees at the Washington Post who are not covered by the Guild contract. In fact the Post used very few supervisory personnel in their plan to gut the crafts. They asked many persons who are covered by union contracts, taking benefits from them but who are not members to assist them in this effort and in some cases they have even persuaded union members to do the work belonging in the contractually defined jurisdiction of other unions.

On October 12 New York Times Reporter Ben A. Franklin reported: "Evidence of the Post's determination to exercise 'the right to publish' emerged clearly for the first time yesterday when Mark J. Meagher, the 40-year-old accountant who is the newspaper's executive vice president and general manager, told newsmen in an hour-long preparation of a contingency plan to shield itself from an expected production workers' strike. The preparation included the training

of production and other workers—including some women—to substitute for pressmen, paperhandlers, photoengravers and typesetters."

"These were propositions that we knew the unions — the pressmen particularly — were going to find difficult to accept," Mr. Meagher said. "The Post made a conscious decision that, if we were going to have parity at the bargaining table, we were going to have to have the ability to publish (during a strike)."

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(MORE) A New York journalist re-view, commented on Franklin's story: "The behavior of the pressmen could now at least be understood if not condoned. They had reacted in despair to a two-year-old plan to replace them when their contract expired with non-union workers. Quite a few of them — perhaps, as I have subsequently learned, as many as a third — had been run out of other pressrooms in strike situations by publishers using the Post's tactics." It is against this background that the strike began on October 1, 1975 and continues to this day.

LET'S LOOK AT THE OFFER

Had the pressmen and stereotypers accepted the "final contract offer" which the Post said offered "big pay and benefit increases" this is what they would have received:

JOB SECURITY AND UNION SECURITY — 63 men would have immediately been out of work as regular employees and have joined a group of "floaters" which seemingly would be guaranteed "an opportunity to work five shifts a week" — but another clause states that "Any such person who fails to accept work on any shift offered, shall not be guaranteed five shifts work in that calendar week." He could lose all other shifts in that week.

This "floater" group would, in fact, be on 24 hours notice every day of the week — certainly not the kind of job security with which one could buy a house, automobile or refrigerator.

The remaining men would be covered by this kind of language: "... is defined as an employee schedule of five day shifts, or five night shifts, or a combination of days and nights totaling five, in each calendar week." This language could result in pressmen being required to work as many as five shifts in 72 hours at no overtime pay.

Couple this with "if the Publisher has reason to believe that the union will be unable to supply the number of requested persons, the Publisher may subcontract work covered by this agreement to any firm or printing or publishing company to the extent necessary to make up for the deficit in the requested number of persons, in order to issue the paper without delay." This gives the Publisher the right to bring in non-union workers and effectively guts the union security provisions the pressmen have had for more than 70 years.

How can any union be asked to negotiate itself and its members into oblivion?

MONEY AND BENEFITS — As of the expiration of the contract 70% of the pressmen were working shifts (four nights and one day) which made their base wage \$333.74 per week and not the \$304.95 base rate which the Post loves to cite. For 70% of the pressmen the first year increase of \$28.10 would, in fact, amount to a pay cut of some 69 cents.

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It could be argued that the \$28.10 was a buyout for the overtime shift but then that amount could not possibly be referred to as a "salary increase" and an exact buyout would be more in the neighborhood of \$30. The additional money in the second and third years is \$30 but not all of this can be called "salary increase". There now exists the need for an additional \$4 to maintain present benefits in the pressmen's health and welfare plan and the likelihood of further increase of premiums during the contract period is very real. The Post has said that any benefit payments would have to come out of the total money package further reducing the "wage increase."

Taking only the currently needed welfare payments and discounting any erosion by increased cost-of-living or increase in cost of benefits there is a net increase over the three years of \$26. This percentage is not a gain of 25% as claimed by the Post but about 8% for the three year period.

So, the pressmen who the Post has claimed earned an average of \$22,500 per year in '74-'75, are left with the Post's offer at \$17,318.60 or \$5,181.40 behind where they say the "average" pressman is today.

The Post claims that its offer would make the pressmen the best paid members of their craft in the country. Their research obviously is faulty and one has only to go to the Government Printing Office to discover higher pressmen's rates.

The Washington Post's own budget figures show that production costs have been constantly shrinking since 1972:

	1972	1973	1974	1975*
"Budget production"	25.9%	25.4%	24.3%	23.3%

The Post's figures also show that the total number of hours for all production personnel divided into the total printed pages shows that the total production cost to the Post for 100,000 printed pages is 1.74 hours times the average journeyman rate of \$9.03 per hour which comes to \$15.75.

\$15.75 to produce each 100,000 pages of the Washington Post!!! Any industrial company in America will take that kind of labor cost any day.

One of the other "musts" which the Post had on its shopping list was the following provision: "No superintendent, foreman or assistant foreman, who is a member of the union, shall be subject to fine discipline or expulsion by the Union for any act in the performance of his duties as a supervisor or for carrying out the instructions of the office." National Labor Relations Law, backed up by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, has clearly delineated the rights of unions to fine and not the rights of unions to fine and not the supervisory members of the union. Opening up the language of the National Labor Relations Act by inserting "carrying out instructions of the office (employee)" is a clear infringement on the rights of employees guaranteed under that Act.

Management continues to ask for the removal of the "Status Quo" provision in grievances which means that in past the company could not change the terms of the contract without going to negotiations, grievance and arbitration. The company proposal would give them the right to change the contract and force the union to a costly procedure to regain the right spelled out by the contract. Early last year the Post refused to recognize a past practice on payment of overtime for Sunday work to five men and forced the union to an arbitration costing the union more than \$2,500 to recoup a total of \$130 due the men for the work.

In the language area, the final blow comes when the management says "Rights of management" which have not been limited expressly or by implication by the terms of the agreement shall continue unchanged." Then a little later in the same paragraph "Any and all written side agreements or verbal understandings or so-called

A. J. Liebling

shop practices shall be considered no longer in effect."

In other words all previously won arbitrations, previously recognized shop practices and all past practices between the parties were now being meat axed out of the contract.

Much has been made by the company about the refusal of Local 6 to propose in bargaining but nothing could be further from the truth. If the Post had a scintilla of evidence that the pressmen were bargaining in bad faith they would have filed such charges with the National Labor Relations Board immediately. Why should a responsible union leadership engage in anything other than give and take bargaining? If there is dissatisfaction with areas of the contract it is the obligation of the aggrieved party to point out those areas and make a case on the merits for their elimination. Elimination of contract protections for the sake of elimination only tends to make contracts more ambiguous and increases the difficulty of their maintenance. We believe this was the precise intent of Washington Post management all along.

It has been said that the Washington Post at best, wants no unions and at worst, house or housebroken unions. We believe the facts show that this was and is their aim. In order to increase the profit margins of their giant conglomerate and to maximize the economic pressure on Washington's other daily newspaper, the Post has involved itself in this conspiracy.

Whether it is an ego trip for its owner, Katharine Graham or a diabolical attempt at restraint of trade, the result of the Post's attempt to break one has only to go to the Government Printing Office to discover higher pressmen's rates.

The Washington Post's own budget figures show that production costs have been constantly shrinking since 1972:

In short, the Post management says THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED!

How else can you explain their adamant refusal to meet with elected leaders of this city or to send responsible top management personnel to the bargaining table in an effort to arrive at a just and equitable settlement?

HOW CAN YOU HELP?

What the Post has not counted on is that the public and the employees which made it wealthy can also return it to its meager status of a few years ago. The arrogant disregard for the public well being in the instant case should be more than enough reason to rise up in indignation and take the one step which the Post cannot survive.

Do not support the Post in its aim to become a non-union monopoly in the Nation's Capital.

Your sacrifice today will guarantee a free and competitive press in Washington, D.C. for generations to come. Your sacrifice will allow the workers who made the Post a great newspaper to return to that paper with dignity and a renewed sense of faith in our country and its institutions. Be confident that if the Washington Post had any "pains or reluctance" in taking steps to break its unions that pain and reluctance took place three years ago and today's actions are a hardened, calculated manifestation of that decision.

Noted press critic A. J. Liebling once said "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one." Let us all join together and prove that freedom of the press belongs to the people.

With grateful thanks for your consideration and your help

Shirley L. Shaw
Strike Coordinator

POST UNIONS UNITED

You can help Post Unions United carry on this fight to keep monopoly out of Washington, D.C. by sending a contribution to:
POST UNIONS UNITED, 1900 L Street, N.W., Room 708 — Won't you join the fight against monopoly and for a free press today?

Vandalized presses, Post strike not so inexplicable, Owens says

(Continued from Page 1)

members of a pressmen's union. All the Post's 72 printing units were said to have been sabotaged.

The pre-dawn vandalism and arson in the basement and subbasement of the Post's downtown building at 16th and L Streets, N.W., was followed this afternoon by an angry jostling and name-calling confrontation between picketing pressmen and members of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, the editorial and clerical union. Many Guild members said they were crossing the picket line to protest what had happened in the pressroom.

Franklin had made a pass at the union side of these events. He quoted James A. Dugan, the president of Newspaper Web Pressmen's Local 6 of Washington, as saying that the union had not authorized the sabotage. Then he quoted Dugan as saying:

"Anything that has happened the management must take full responsibility for. . . They have harassed and reprimanded the men. They want to change the manning tables and our hiring practices. They were stalling since December on a new contract. We had not even gotten to wages. The men were upset."

So far as I was aware, the damage in the Post pressroom was the worst labor-connected vandalism to be visited upon an American newspaper building since Oct. 1, 1910, when The Los Angeles Times building was dynamited, with the loss of 20 lives. Still, I had trouble understanding how serious it was. The Post said, in a statement, that the damage

"appears to have been executed by people who had pre-planned and synchronized their actions. . . It would be impossible for these kinds of damage to be done in that short a time without a plan, without assigned tasks and without people who knew precisely what they were doing."

NEWSPAPERS PRESSMEN have had a lot of trouble with a lot of newspaper publishers in recent years. So have the other newspaper craft workers and their unions. Yet none had destroyed the equipment on which they worked. This was a form of economic masochism, for there would be no jobs for pressmen while their presses were being repaired. Franklin did not make this obvious point. Why had the pressmen destroyed their means of livelihood?

The Washington Star did little to answer that question in its extensive coverage Oct. 2. It did quote the anonymous leader of another craft union as saying he had informed the pressmen he did not condone their action. "It doesn't make sense to destroy your own job," the Star reported him as saying. This struck me as another standard occurrence in natives-are-restless coverage. It was the Washington, 1975, equivalent of tracking down a Navajo chief in 1896 so that the chief could explain that not even he, a fellow savage, knew what in the world had got into the Apaches.

The Star also printed a long story Oct. 1. This did not resolve the mystery, but it did offer some clues to an old labor skate like myself. For one thing, Lawrence A. Wallace, the Post vice president for labor relations, had broken off contract talks with the pressmen at 9:30 p.m. the night before. The local's contract was to expire two-and-one-half hours later. Labor and management representatives traditionally go through at least the motions of bargaining right down to the contract expiration or strike deadline to preserve the impression that they care greatly about a settlement. In terms of labor etiquette, it had to be assumed that Wallace was saying the Post was ready for a rumble.

The Post was dark a single day. Then it began publishing at nonunion, offset dailies as far as 150 miles from Washington, using helicopters to ferry prepared page plates to the pressrooms it had contracted. Post management could hardly be expected to fold its tent in the wake of the press wrecking. But the paper was doing a good deal more than simply getting out.

Without much in the way of explanation that I could find, the Post was setting out to break the pressmen's strike. None of the newspaper reports appeared to find this particularly intriguing. In the next several days, the Post got a number of its presses back in action and was able to dispense with the friendly non-union presses of its allies in the exurbs and hinterland. This process, too, was reported without much curiosity about what, exactly was going on here.

After Mark J. Meagher held a news conference Oct. 11, however, the light began to dawn. As Franklin reported in the Times the next day:

Evidence of the Post's determination to exercise "the right to publish" emerged clearly for the first time yesterday when Mark J. Meagher, the 40-year-old accountant who is the newspaper's executive vice president and general manager, told newsmen in an hour-long conversation of the paper's secret two-year preparation of a "contingency plan" to shield itself from an expected production workers' strike. The preparation included the training of production and other workers—including some women—to substitute for pressmen, paperhandlers, photoengravers and typesetters. . . .

"These were propositions that we knew the unions—

the pressmen particularly—were going to find difficult to accept," Mr. Meagher said. . . . The Post made a conscious decision that, if we were going to have parity at the bargaining table, we were going to have to have the ability to publish [during a strike]."

Accordingly, he said, two years ago The Post began training non-union employees—"obviously secretly," he said, "because we wanted to protect our people"—to operate presses and other complex machinery.

Mr. Meagher said the training had been given first at the Newspaper Production Research Center in Oklahoma City, a fully equipped mechanical plant supported for this purpose by several hundred newspapers. The unions here are calling it a "scab school."

Starting last July, as the unions' contract deadline of Sept. 30 approached with only desultory bargaining, further "work experience" training was given The Post's non-union standbys "at various cooperating newspaper plants," he said.

"They are working very well," Mr. Meagher said of the standby workers.

The behavior of the pressmen could now at least be understood if not condoned. They had reacted in despair to a two-year-old plan to replace them when their contract expired with nonunion workers. Quite a few of them—perhaps, as I have subsequently learned, as many as a third—had been run out of other pressrooms in strike situations.

Local 6 was not a giant union with a full panoply of lawyers, publicists and strategists. It had no full-time officers. James Dugan, its president, still held down a position in the Post pressroom. Dugan's own hypothesis of the violence—that it was brought on by a fit of temporary insanity—did not do much to help his cause. (The actual perpetrators of the sabotage were, of course, suspects in potential felony prosecutions. They could hardly speak for themselves.)

Motivated by a shrinking profit margin (it had dropped below 10 per cent on revenues), the Post had resolved to take advantage of new technology to change fundamentally the power and status of its craft workers. Meagher said the ability to publish without the craftsmen would give the Post parity with their unions. But the ability to publish, which the Post had achieved, had destroyed the ability of the unions to exert much more than moral suasion.

In collective bargaining, the essential question is always how much each side can make the other suffer if it should come to that. When it does come to that, there is a strike. In a conventional strike, the employer loses its income because its employees have put it out of business. The employees lose their income, too, because they are off the job. Sooner or later, one side or both make concessions because they want to start making money again.

The Post was not making as much money as it had been. But it could look forward to large savings if it broke—or even housebroke—its craft unions. For two years, it had been preparing to do this.

In July, when the pressmen proved unwilling to surrender prerogatives they had won in previous negotiations, the Post short-shrifted the bargaining and intensified "cross-training" of people to replace the pressmen. It would be difficult to imagine a more cold-blooded approach to workers, or one more calculated to drive them into a rage.

BEHIND THE POST's decision lay a revolution in newspaper technology. Up through World War II, newspaper production was a job for skilled craftsmen. They operated and kept in repair complex equipment that could not, as a practical matter, be run by anyone else. A series of inventions have since made it possible for less skilled people to do work once monopolized by the craftsmen.

The printers, traditionally the most skilled and irreplaceable of newspaper craftsmen, have virtually been automated out of business. Typists operating new machinery can now do much of their work faster and for much lower wages than the printers can do it. A number of newspapers—not content with the savings involved in such a shift—are now installing computer-based electronic systems that convert the peckings of reporters on a machine that resembles an electric typewriter into "cold type," entirely bypassing typesetting by printers.

The pressmen have suffered less stupendous losses in value. They operate on machinery the same in its essentials as it was 50 years ago. But the new presses are more complex, on the one hand, and simpler to operate, on the other. Their innards are beyond the ken of the average pressman. Yet their actual operation requires donkey work rather easily learned.

And the erosion of the value of craft skills has been cumulative in its effect. It was one thing for a newspaper to think of replacing all its craft workers in, say, 1950. It is another to appreciate, in 1975, that only a few highly skilled people will be required to supervise semi-skilled grunts in the pressroom and in a newspaper's other mechanical departments.

You have to be romantic about capitalism not to expect the Post, or any other newspaper management,



POST 'INSIDERS' LOOKING OUT OVER HEAVY POLICE LINES IN STRIKE'S EARLY DAYS

From left: Larry H. Israel, Post Co. president, Alan Hounshell, labor relations assistant, and, at far right, Bill Richards, a metropolitan news reporter

to take advantage of the situation that has resulted.

And, in point of fact, publishers in what used to be called the "scab belt" have been taking this advantage for a very long time. From Los Angeles to Miami, and at a host of smaller cities in between, dozens of newspapers have over the past quarter-century weighed the high cost of union labor, plus the pain and aggravation involved in dealing with a dozen or so unions, against the transient pains of breaking a strike.

The Post was now embarked on an enterprise that looked, from the outside, like the same sort of thing. It had demonstrated that novices with a few weeks training could replace journeymen pressmen who had spent—and were being paid for—four years in apprenticeship.

In by far the best piece on the strike I've seen to date, Philip Nobile reports in New Times (Nov. 14) that the Post this year budgeted 2.5 million dollars in straight-time pay, 1.3 million dollars in overtime and another \$328,000 in penalty time for its 180 journeyman pressmen. A management freed of any constraints from the union could hope realistically to cut the total—\$4,128,000—in half. It could not do this without wrecking some lives and risking a lot of criticism, so it might be willing to save only a million or a million and a half, letting the pressmen return converted into something resembling a house union.

Like the other craft unions, the pressmen (who now called themselves the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, AFL-CIO) had responded to over a quarter-century of technological change by stiffening their bargaining positions and demanding what unions are supposed to demand—more.

At the Post, they were making \$14,500 a year as scale, and an average of \$22,000 with overtime. Their contract gave them control of work schedules, and this permitted them to earn premium pay for overtime work rather than sending more pressmen to the Post.

With all the craft unions respecting the pressmen's picket lines, attention concentrated on the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, the union representing editorial and clerical workers at the Post.

If the pressmen were to have a show of standing off the Post, they would have to have the Guild with them. The Guild, with about 800 members among the Post's 2,800 employees, did a multitude of jobs necessary to producing a newspaper—jobs that management would have to fill somehow in the absence of Guild members. And the Guild's editorial wing was necessary to a quality product. The Post news staff may be, for person, the strongest in the country.

It seemed to me that the Guild people were in a tight place. They could surely see that without their support the strike had almost no chance of success and that the Post's unions stood to be irretrievably weakened. On the other hand, success of the strike was by no means assured, even if the Guild too hit the bricks. If they honored the picket lines, the Post would have to replace them somehow. Both their jobs and the editorial quality of their paper—of which most of the Post's journalists were intensely and understandably proud—would be at risk.

There was a huge disagreement within the Guild. But none of the stories I read about the disagreement mentioned these basic concerns. They concentrated instead on the repugnance Guild members felt at the pressroom sabotage and at violence in the pressroom (where a pressroom foreman who was also a union member had been beaten and threatened) and on the picket line (where pressmen had engaged in many acts of violence against picket-line crossers). "The pressmen violated a cardinal rule of trade unionism: they destroyed the employer's property," Post labor

reporter Robert Kaiser wrote, in a characteristic summation of Guild attitudes.

This story illustrated an odd feature of the Post's coverage. It seems to me to have been at least as good as any other daily paper's, certainly a rarity for a struck sheet. It was distinguished, I thought, by efforts to offer balanced coverage. "Many Guild members," Kaiser wrote, "share a bitter enmity for the Post's chief labor negotiator, Lawrence A. Wallace, with other unions in the building. A complaint often heard from working Guild members last week was, 'I don't want to be Larry Wallace's patsy.'" There were many such touches in Kaiser's coverage. But the effect was strange, like reporting the end of World War II evenhandedly, except for failing to mention that atomic bombs had dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Guild local and the international union took the predictable position that the Post Guild members should back the strike. A majority of members at the Post crossed the picket lines and kept on working.

I have since talked with a number of Guild members. They stress the sabotage, the violence and featherbedding in the pressroom. They have to be pressed hard before they will acknowledge the swing role they are playing—that, for better or worse, they have emerged as Larry Wallace's patsies.

IN PART, THIS is a result of saturation public and employ relations activity by the Post. In the first few days of the strike, as reaction in the Guild and elsewhere hardened against the pressmen because of the sabotage, the Post made its position known to anyone who was interested. Press conferences and position papers were readily available. Reporters were taken through the wrecked pressroom. And so, as they showed up for work the next day, were a number of Guild members. Their reaction to the visible damage played a big role in the Post Guild's decision (since reinforced by repetition) to keep working.

By contrast, the scrawny little union local sat as if in stupefaction through the early days of the strike.

James A. Dugan, the local's parttime president, seems a competent shop leader but he has had neither the experience nor, I would guess, the inclination to play for public opinion against the corporate hierarchy of the Post. Dugan expresses himself forcefully and intelligently. But he is not long on hype. And he is a very busy man. When, many days after the strike had started, I arranged to see him I was channeled through the international headquarters of the union. I got the number of Dugan's headquarters only after telling an official of the international union that I had too many contacts not to get it elsewhere.

The experience reinforced an impression, reached many years ago, that the small unions which abound in newspaper publishing are a misfortune in many ways and to almost everyone. They had once pitted their strengths—their craftsmanship—against publishers and each other, and had prospered. But time and technology had rendered them archaic. Newspapers were no longer produced by congeries of craftsmen but by sophisticated machinery requiring some extraordinarily skilled people and numbers of semiskilled people.

In labor-management terms, newspaper production plants had moved in the direction of the telephone company. They were not yet so completely automated that a newspaper could be produced without human hands. But they were heading in that direction. And they had, in the process, rendered virtually obsolete the skills of the people who worked in them. The only union structure that made any sense in this new world was what is called industrial unionism, in which all employees in a single place of business are members of a single union. The unions involved had come

'For two years Post prepared to break, or house break, crafts'

belatedly to recognize this and were, through mergers, slowly moving in that direction. But they seemed to have started far too late. A single union made up of all Post workers would have brought more strength into contract bargaining, boasted better facilities for telling its side of any story, and presumably spoken to management with one voice.

Still, it was not certain that even a unified industrial union could prove a match for the new technology. Newsday, where I work, is approaching such an arrangement. Its editorial staff and its truck drivers are now represented by Local 406 of the pressmen's union. Each of the units involved must secure the endorsement of the entire union for their bargaining goals. Each can count on the entire union for support in a strike. Yet when the editorial unit took a strike vote in its first contract negotiations a few weeks ago, management issued a terse, matter-of-fact announcement to all concerned saying that it would continue to publish if there were a strike. In one form or another, what is happening at the Post seems a distinct prospect at virtually every unionized paper.

THE MAJOR IMPEDIMENT to union-busting (or castigation) remains competition from other newspapers. In Washington, where the Post had been billing 70 percent of daily newspaper advertising, while the afternoon Star struggles along with the other 30, Katharine Graham, the president and publisher of the Post, is acutely aware of this. In one of the more bizarre developments in the strike, she has put heavy pressure on Joe L. Allbritton, the Star's new proprietor, to join in her battle against the unions. This pressure had an odd by-product. On Oct. 3, James Reston, the current holder of the Arthur Krock chair on the opposite editorial page of the New York Times, huffed into the strike scene:

The pressmen of the Washington Post have finally succeeded in doing to their own newspaper what former President Nixon and his Attorney General John Mitchell tried and failed to do during the Watergate conflict: They have stopped the presses at the Post.

Not by legal action. Not by a legitimate strike, but by fire, smash and run. This was no complicated collective bargaining power-play but a simple, vicious and planned act of sabotage. Even in the revolutionary turmoil of Portugal, where the communists and the socialists have been fighting over control of the last independent newspaper, Republica, and over the operation of the Roman Catholic Church's radio station, nobody put the torch to the presses or pulled the electrical guts out of the transmitters. They occupied the joint but they didn't try to destroy it.

The pressmen at the Washington Post, which has been more liberal politically and more generous economically with its employees than almost any other newspaper in the country, showed no such restraint. Knowing the fantastic cost and fragility of modern presses, they set at least one of them on fire, cut the webs and ripped the wires out of others, and sawed off the adjusting press screws down to their stubs, before they went out and picketed for public support.

Re-reading this now, I find myself wondering if Reston has ever given any thought to the fragility of the modern pressman, or what opinion he may hold on a cold-blooded, long-term scheme to break a union and render its members impotent at the table.

There was a lot more of this sort of thing. Then Reston, fully lathered, got into his main pitch. He said newspapers all over were offering aid to the Post. He went on:

But the main burden has fallen on Joe Allbritton, the new owner of the Washington Star, who is now losing a million dollars a month. He has a problem. Should he come out against the sabotage by the Post's pressmen, and offer to print the Post, making a common front against this anarchy, or concentrate on his own immediate interests?

Reston was fair, in his fashion, to Allbritton. The Star, the columnist acknowledged, might not survive a shutdown, and the pressmen would surely strike there, too, if the Star started printing the Post. He said the Post had resources to survive and cheered it for meeting "the two main obligations of any newspaper: to stay alive financially and to print the news." Eventually, he concluded, in what seemed a refutation of his own argument:

"The tragedy is that the Post and the Star could not get together, even if they had to go down together." Since Allbritton was intent on doing precisely what Reston had praised the Post for doing—staying alive financially and printing the news—and since Reston acknowledged that the Star, if it shut down, might never print again, while the Post was sure to survive, I found this logic impotent.

The next day, the Star dutifully printed Reston's ramblings, which came to it on the Times wire, alongside a response by Jimmy Breslin, one of the Star's temporary writers in residence. Reston had remarked

that: "Washington needs two newspapers and can probably not have them unless they work together, while competing against one another, with a common printing company." But such an arrangement, Reston added, was "now more remote than ever. The Star needed the Post and the Post felt that the Star played the role of fearful bystander in the crisis. . . ."

I had found these words odd. Breslin found them sinister. It turned out that he knew more than I did. He disclosed that on Oct. 2, Allbritton (and, it was later disclosed, James Bellows, the Star's editor) had lunched with Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, publisher of the Times, and Clifton Daniel, the Times's Washington bureau chief. Presumably after a fill-in on the luncheon conversation, Breslin interpreted Reston's pawky ruminations as meaning: "Come along with us, you Allbritton, or we'll bury you."

In *The New Republic* of Oct. 25, Eliot Marshall offered a more extensive, less frenetic and ultimately damning account of the lunch and the column. Sulzberger, reached by Marshall, reportedly denied trying to persuade Allbritton to do anything. But he did outline his thinking. "The whole name of the game [would be] to black out the whole city and double the leverage on the union," Marshall quoted Sulzberger.

The pressure on the Star has provoked virtually the only public criticism of Graham and the Post. I find this fascinating for what it tells about public values and the way public opinion is made.

The attempted persuasion of the Star—ugly as it may have been—was at worst a threat and has remained one. Yet the Star has its own printing press, its own publicists and its own claim on the sympathies of opinion-makers.

The pressmen have not merely been threatened. They are being ruined. But their capacity to express their situation is limited and they enjoy, it would seem, no claim on the sympathies of anyone who does not work with his hands.

Whether it is Guild members, reacting to the skillfully developed exposition of pressroom violence; or working journalists, writing their natives-are-restless stories; or the ordinary newspaper reader, digesting accounts of events that, however well-intentioned their authors, have remained profoundly misleading, the same class prejudice manifests itself time after time.

Nobile's piece in *News Times* is an honorable and attractive exception to this generalization. It is not pro-pressman by a long shot. But it is balanced and extensive, and it is informed by a concern for the human condition generally. He quotes Bill McKaye, an editor of the Post's Sunday supplement as saying:

"I believe the paper should shut down and settle with the unions. What I find ominous is that a number of Guild people don't think they have common cause with craftsmen. They feel professionally superior to guys with dirt under their fingernails. The Guild is very lively on the verge of collapse because it can't act like a union."

JUST SO. LIKE all savages, the guys with the dirty fingernails become, in a crisis, mere humanoids. An act of atrophy by one of them—of restlessness among the natives—prompts outrage unmarred by curiosity, let alone compassion.

Post reporters and editors who have themselves dealt extensively with cases of racial and class injustice—with blacks wrongly accused of rape, or of rebel union leaders gunned down by their entrenched opponents, or of old people given unproved, damaging medicine—these same editors and reporters simply edit their fellow workers in blue collars and newsprint hats out of the human race when push comes to shove.

They complain of the sabotage and, less vehemently, of pressmen's wage scales and "featherbedding."

Some Guild members who appear to exist for their two- and three-hour Post financed lunches, and who are themselves ridiculously overpaid in comparison with their betters at the Post and elsewhere, rage and bellow because some of their co-workers make \$30,000 a year, including heroic amounts of overtime, for tending presses, and because these co-workers sometimes slip out for a beer on company time.

The central point here is not the simplistic (though valid) one that the Post's journalists are draft-dodging in the industrial war. It is that people of their class, including the people who read this journal, are usually stone-blind to the situations of the people with dirt beneath their fingernails. Class war is one possible consequence of this blindness. Another is the destruction of any and all mechanisms by which people who work for a living have anything to say, as a group, about their conditions of employment or anything else. We live in a world where people's social and economic class are mutable. The people who write this year's natives-are-restless stories may be restless themselves—and comparably uncomprehended in their restlessness—half a decade hence.

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Times' key minimums go to \$483

(Continued from Page 1)

their top minimum at \$483.96.

The Times contract, like that at the News, also provides for additional cost-of-living increases in the second and third years by any percentage increase of more than six percent in the consumer price index.

The \$87 increases go to those in the classification that includes desk heads, domestic correspondents, editorial writers, assistant cashiers, office managers and the chief librarian, taking their top minimum to \$532.34 a week in increments of \$35.09, \$26.66 and \$25.25.

The \$28.98 increases go to bus boys and girls in the Times's restaurant, taking their top to \$177.32.

Top minimum for office boys and girls is increased a total of \$30.22, to \$184.90; that for typists and file clerks is raised \$41.70, to \$255.14; that for secretaries and ad counter clerks is up by \$46.77, to \$286.17.

The top for classified telephone solicitors and morgue indexers is raised a total of \$57.41, to \$351.26; that for programmers and classified copy-desk persons is raised \$60.78, to \$371.86, and that for classified outside sales and teletype operators is increased \$68.50, to \$419.10.

The top for the head salad maker is increased \$42.72, to \$261.35; that for waiters and waitresses is up \$41.21, to \$252.14, and that for chef, head baker and first cook is increased by \$57.96, to \$354.63.

Diversions to the Guild-Times pension plan range from 47 cents to \$1.40 a week in the contract's second year and from 98 cents to \$2.82 a week in the third. The diversions average one dollar the second and two dollars the third years.

Other improvements in the Times and News settlements, as reported in the Nov. 14 and 28 Guild Reporters, include:

- Reduction to 10 years, from 20, in the length of service required for coverage under the contracts' guarantees against economy and automation dismissals.
- A full Guild shop for all new hires, except advertising solicitors and "sales development men" at the News. Employees transferring to those jobs now,

Awards deadline

Deadline for receipt at TNG headquarters of entries for the 1976 Guild Service Award and for the 1975 Heywood Broun Award Contest is Friday, Jan. 16, 1976.

Nominations for the Guild Service Award must be made by a local's membership meeting, executive committee or representative assembly.

Guild Bicentennial Labor History Calendar

Research & Information Dept.
The Newspaper Guild
1125 15th St. N.W., Suite 835
Washington, D.C. 20005

Please send me Bicentennial Labor History Calendars imprinted with the TNG seal and quotation from Heywood Broun's column launching the Guild, at \$1.50 each. Enclosed is a check for \$.....

(Name)

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Outlining the package

Don Barker, Times Guild Unit chairperson, explains the settlement bargained with the paper during ratification meeting. Looking on is Rose Edwards, New York Guild representative at the Times.

however, must retain their membership.

• Grievance and unit chairpersons may use half their work time to conduct Guild business.

Ratification of the Times settlement, reached five days ahead of that at the News, was delayed by a dispute between the Guild and Times over the computation base to be used in applying the \$25, \$20 and \$20 citywide pay pattern to the multiplicity of wage groups in the Guild's Times Unit. Mediator Theodore H. Kheel, who assisted in 11th-hour bargaining at both the Times and News, finally resolved the dispute.

Meanwhile, the stereotypers, engravers and mailers unions reached tentative agreements with both the Times and News, who bargain jointly with the printing trades unions. The engravers and stereotypers' memberships ratified the pacts Dec. 7, but the mailers on Dec. 2 rejected their proposed settlement. The mailers and the papers subsequently resumed bargaining. The Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union earlier had settled and ratified a new pact also providing the \$25-\$20-\$20 three-year package.

The New York Pressmen's Union, meanwhile, moved its bargaining with the two papers to state mediation. The move followed a warning by the Times and News that they would take "appropriate action" unless the union stopped what the papers said were work slowdowns and other actions to "disrupt production."

William Kennedy, pressmen's president, said the problems were caused by the companies' use of newsprint "so old that it cracks when put on the presses."

The News said it was unable to print 300,000 papers Dec. 3.

20 percent raises in Aufbau pact

New York City—Employees at the New York Guild's Aufbau unit get a 20 percent raise in under a three-year New York Guild settlement with the German language paper which also includes a cost of living increase and an added holiday.

Salaries go up ten percent retroactive to July 1, 1974, five percent July 1, 1975 and another five percent next July when wages will range from \$145.70 to \$223.27 a week.

In addition to direct salary increases, the contract provides for cost of living raises of up to three percent in the second and third years if the Consumer Price Index rises more than seven percent.

A personal day is added bringing to 14 the number of paid holidays.

Portland keys up \$47, to \$281

Portland, Me.—Minimums and salaries are increased by \$20.25 to \$49.25 in a new two-year Portland Guild contract with the Press Herald, Express and Sunday Telegram.

The settlement also tightens the contract's overtime provisions, reduces service time for five-weeks' vacation by three years, to 28, and improves its auto-expense reimbursement guarantees.

Top minimum for reporters, photographers, district managers and display salespersons is increased \$47, to \$281 a week. Twelve of the \$47 is retroactive to June 1, 1974, another \$12 to last Jan. 1 and \$9 to June 1, 1975, with the final \$14 due this month.

The top for classified outside salespersons is increased \$42, to \$250, in increments of \$11, \$11, \$7, and \$13; that for clerks is up \$26.50, to \$158, and that for messengers and copy runners is up \$21.50, to \$126 a week.

The top for classified and display telephone solicitors is raised \$38, to \$175.

A computer programmer classification is established, with its starting minimum going to \$169 a week and its top minimum to \$240.

The flat minimum for assistant city editors is increased \$49.25, to \$296, while that for editorial writers is raised \$47.25, to \$330 a week.

'Unity greatest gain,' Fisdell says

New York City—"Unity" was the New York Guild's "greatest gain" in its bargaining at the New York Times and Daily News, Harry Fisdell, the local's executive vice president, wrote in the latest issue of Frontpage, the local's newspaper.

There was "unity," he said, between the local and its units and among all ten unions that represent employees of the papers.

He called the "united support" from the other unions "indispensable" in the Guild's negotiations and pledged the local's continued active participation in the Unity Committee of New York's Allied Printing Trades Council.

And the New York Guild, Fisdell pledged, will continue to "work for even further unity among the unions who represent workers in our industry."

FOI Act needs amending censorship meeting told

New York City—The federal Freedom of Information Act must be amended so that "national security" can be invoked to deny requests for information only if material "seriously damaging" to that security is involved, participants in a National Ad Hoc Committee Against Censorship conference were told Dec. 9.

Morton H. Halperin, a former senior staff member of the National Security Council and currently director of the National Security and Civil Liberties Project, noted that under the law as it now stands, a minor national-security consideration can be invoked to withhold information of even great public importance.

He said the law should be amended so that the public's right to know is balanced against national-security considerations, with the courts as final arbiter of which should prevail.

Halperin debated government secrecy with Prof. Frank N. Trager, director of New York University's National Security Program and director of studies for the National Strategy Information Center.

Trager said the public's right to know was "not absolute" and

termed the concept a "simplistic proposition without basis in the Constitution."

But both Halperin and Trager condemned speech- and press-infringement provisions of S. 1, the Criminal Justice Reform Act, now pending in Congress.

"There are so many things that are wrong with that bill that it's hard to believe a satisfactory bill will emerge," Halperin said in urging its defeat.

Trager associated himself with that position even though he said that "if we had anything like the British Official Secrets Act, Daniel Ellsberg would be in jail—where he belongs."

The all-day conference was sponsored by the National Ad Hoc Committee to discuss threats to the First Amendment and how affiliated organizations can respond. Censorship of obscenity and textbooks also were discussed.

TNG, one of 22 affiliated organizations, was represented at the conference by Research and Information Director David J. Eisen. Other participants included Elias Holzman, president of the North Jersey Guild, and Dona Kaminsky, editor of the New York's Guild's Frontpage.

Time and a half for overtime begins after the regular 7½-hour day's work under the settlement. Formerly it had not kicked in until after eight hours a day or 40 a week.

A mileage-payment escalation formula is established starting at 13 cents a mile when the average gas price is 40 to 49.9 cents a gallon. The rate increases one cent for each five cent increase

in the price, to a maximum of 20 cents a mile if the price goes to 75 cents or more a gallon. The old contract provided for payment of 12 cents a mile.

The flat minimum for editorial-department summer interns is set at 75 percent of the reporting starting minimum, going to \$145.50 a week Dec. 1. The starting reporter minimum will go to \$194 the same date.

The U.S. price elevator

The following table shows the steep ascent of the United States' Consumer Price Index over a 34-month period following a 1.0-point rise, to 164.6 in October. The first column shows the index, with a 1967 base. The second shows the percentage increase over the same month of the preceding year; the third, the increase over December, 1972.

	Index*	Percentage over same month prior year	1972†
October, 1974	153.0	12.0	20.2
November	154.3	12.1	21.2
December	155.4	12.2	22.1
January, 1975	156.1	11.7	22.6
February	157.2	11.1	23.5
March	157.8	10.3	24.0
April	158.6	10.2	24.6
May	159.3	9.5	25.1
June	160.6	9.3	26.2
July	162.3	9.7	27.4
August	162.8	8.6	27.9
September	163.6	7.8	28.5
October	164.6	7.6	29.3

* 1967 = 100 † Index = 127.8

Post moves to permanently replace its pressmen

(Continued from Page 1)
previously used principally to fly preprint-section page negatives to other printing plants.

Mark J. Meagher, Post vice president and general manager, said they were from other newspapers and would work temporarily for the Post. It was reported later that they would help train the "permanent replacements."

They had just completed a course designed to familiarize them with the Post's equipment. It was conducted at the Southern Production Program, Inc., training center in Oklahoma City. They were housed in the Post plant.

The Rank & File Strike Support Committee of the Post Guild members honoring the lines reported that Meagher had denied on Dec. 3 that the paper planned to replace the pressmen as then reported on a TV news program.

Both Meagher and Graham denied repeatedly that they were seeking to break the pressmen's union and described the Post's "final" offer as one which would provide job security, a generous "buy out" of what Graham called "obsolete and discredited work practices" and would have made the Post pressmen the best-paid in the country.

The pressmen and Post Unions United, the coalition of 11 unions involved in the strike, said, however, that the offer was retrogressive in each of those areas. Post Unions United took a page in the Dec. 16 Washington Star (reprinted in the center of this issue of the Guild Reporter for members' information) in which it set forth the history of the current round of pressmen-Post bargaining.

The Post had used a page in both the Star and the Post a week earlier giving its version.

Meagher, in an interview with New York Times reporter Ben A. Franklin published Dec. 14 said he saw the strike "coming to a good, healthy conclusion." The Post's ridding itself of demands by a "maverick, intransigent" craft union "has got to have major implications in other big city newspaper negotiations as time goes on," Meagher said.

He also said he thought the pressmen's ouster would be instructive to the other unions at the Post, Franklin reported.

Both Meagher and Graham have repeatedly stated that the



ESTIMATED 2,000 SUPPORTERS OF POST STRIKERS MARCH AROUND PAPER'S PLANT

Washington Central Labor Council and Council of Churches Social Justice Task Force sponsored Dec. 13 rally

company's main objective in bargaining with the pressmen was to change work rules they said resulted in the average pressman last year earning \$22,000—some over \$30,000—with a base rate that would produce about \$17,000.

Meagher was quoted in the Dec. 15 Wall Street Journal as saying that the replacements the Post is hiring will have the opportunity "to make a lot of money—a huge amount of it in overtime."

"They could easily make double the scale," he said. The Post is offering experienced replacements \$9.52 an hour for a 35 hour week—about \$17,300 a year at straight time.

The Post said that more than 700 applicants showed up the first day it advertised for replacement pressmen and trainees. The pressmen said the company made the applicants line up outside the Post alongside the picket lines, and allowed them into the building one at a time escorted by guards.

The pressmen also said they will file unfair labor practice charges against the Post accusing it of attempting to coerce strikers to return to work. Five working

foremen, the pressmen said, have been calling strikers and threatening that they will never work as pressmen again if they do not abandon the strike.

Some 2,000 strike supporters gathered in a public square a block from the Post Dec. 13 for a rally sponsored by the Central Labor Council and the Council of Churches' Social Justice Task Force.

Speakers included William Lucy, secretary treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Brian L. Flores, administrative officer of the Washington-Baltimore Guild and head of the Post Unions United effort.

Cesar E. Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, in a telegram read to the rally, said Post management's actions in the strike "parallel agribusiness's 19th Century antilabor mentality."

The Hawaii Guild shipped 500 orchids for distribution among rally participants "to let your membership know that even though there are miles of land and ocean between us, we are

solidly behind your efforts to achieve justice."

The motion at the Dec. 15 Post Guild Unit meeting that called for all to stay outside the picket lines was offered by Austin Scott, a reporter who came outside when the Post began flying in the nonunion pressmen.

Co-sponsored by 18 other editorial department employees, including 11 who have been honoring the picket lines, the motion said that the Post's announcement that it is hiring "permanent strikebreakers" is "incompatible with the whole concept" of bargaining and sets "a dangerous precedent" for all Post unions, "including our own."

"Unions must survive at the Post in order to assure fair and just working conditions," it said.

Opponents advanced many arguments against it including a fear that if members voted to go out they might never get back. Several again denounced the pressmen for vandalism to the Post's presses at the start of the strike.

The divisions in the Post Unit also boiled over into the local's membership meeting for nominations to local office Dec. 10. It drew more than 300 members, more than had attended a nominating meeting within memory, local activists said.

Nominations produced contests for each of the nine local-wide offices, with four who have been crossing picket lines among the 11 persons nominated for five at-large seats on the executive committee.

Tom Grubisich, a member of the Rank & File Support Committee who has observed the picket lines from the first day, is running against Warren E. How-

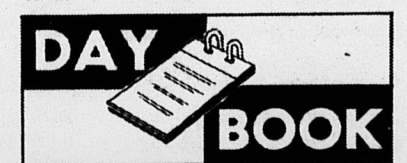
ard who is seeking his third term as local president.

The local said it is awaiting the close of the period for nominations by petition, Dec. 30, before setting the election date.

Meanwhile, the Washington-Baltimore Guild reported the following among contributions to its Post Strike Unit Lockout Fund:

Memphis Guild	\$150.00
Wilkes-Barre Guild	50.00
Cincinnati Guild	150.00
Chicago Guild	200.00
Harrisburg Guild	50.00
San Jose Guild	200.00
Stockton Guild	25.00
San Francisco-Oakland Guild	500.00
St. Louis Guild	250.00
Denver Guild	250.00
Pacific Northwest Guild	100.00
Providence Guild	500.00
Puerto Rico Guild	100.00
Gary Guild	25.00
Scranton Guild	25.00
Detroit Guild	50.00
Erie Guild	200.00
Cleveland Guild	50.00
Pawtucket Guild	100.00
Twin Cities Guild	50.00
San Diego Guild	500.00
New York Guild	200.00
Hawaii Guild	50.00
Terre Haute Guild	90.90
IEB	100.00
Middle Atlantic District Council	33.00
CWA Local 2336	307.12
Sunpapers' Guild Unit	306.00
Star Guild Unit	

Contributions received through Dec. 14 totalled \$5,034, the local said.



Guild Service and Heywood Brown Awards entries deadline, Jan. 16.
International Executive Board, winter meeting, Jan. 26-29, TNG headquarters, Washington.
Western District Council, winter meeting, Jan. 31-Feb. 1, Sacramento.
Middle-Atlantic District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 7-8, Philadelphia.
Great Lakes District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 21-22, Lansing.
International Executive Board, spring meeting, April 26-30, TNG headquarters, Washington.
TNG-GAIU 1976 Legislative-Political Conference, May 3-7, Washington.
43rd Annual TNG Convention, June 28-July 2, Shoreham Americana Hotel, Washington.

Press-damage figures are reduced

The Washington Post's estimate of the dollar cost of the physical damage of its presses at the start of the pressmen's strike was reduced Dec. 1 from earlier claims ranging between one and several million dollars to "several hundred thousand dollars."

The reduction came after a bulletin issued by a "Rank & File Strike Support Committee" of Post Guild Unit members reported that "the best available evidence indicates" the damage "comes to under \$30,000."

The report, by committee member Lewis H. Diuguid, a picket-line honoring assistant foreign editor, was based on interviews with the repair-parts manager at the Goss printing press company's headquarters and with a machinist foreman working in the Post's press room.

News accounts early in the strike quoted anonymous Post officials saying the damage was in the millions of dollars. Stories

in the Post itself said it would total a million. The Post is seeking ten million for damages early in the strike, including loss of advertising and indirect expenses, in a civil suit filed Oct. 28 against seven pressmen and their local union.

Diuguid reported Dec. 1 that Ray Hilladd at Goss headquarters in Cicero, Ill., estimated total orders from the Post since Oct. 1 at \$20,000.

All nine Post presses are Goss machines, Diuguid said, adding that all but two of their 72 units were then operable.

Hilladd also said that during the first several weeks of the Post strike, Goss was shut down by a strike, forcing the Post to borrow parts from other Goss-equipped plants, Diuguid reported. The difficulty in obtaining parts caused delays in the repairs, he said.

Diuguid said that Ray Evans, a machinist day foreman, "confirmed the primary role of Goss

in repairing the damage" and "accepted Hilladd's estimate of the damage as the best available."

Evans, Diuguid reported, was only then preparing the Post's insurance claims for the damages to the presses.

Robert G. Kaiser, who is covering the strike for the Post from behind the picket lines, reported on Dec. 2 that Mark J. Meagher, the Post's general manager, when told of Diuguid's \$30,000 figure, said the physical damage will total "at least several hundred thousand dollars."

James A. Dugan, Washington printing pressmen's president, said he doubts the truth of Meagher's statement to the Wall Street Journal that the Post obtained press parts from other companies.

"I've never seen them put replacement parts from a Hoe (another brand of press), for example, on a Goss machine," Dugan said.

Pottstown strike ended in 2 1/2 days

Pottstown, Pa.—The 55 members of the Philadelphia Guild's unit at the Pottstown Mercury began returning to their jobs Thanksgiving Day to end a two-and-a-half day strike against the paper.

Local leaders said the strike was based on the publisher's refusal to remove from bulletin boards an ethics code and office rules found in November to have been unlawfully instituted by the company without first bargaining

with the Guild.

Willard Hatch, Philadelphia Guild administrative officer, said unit members took down their picket lines Nov. 26 after publisher Ellis Rietzel was reported on a local radio news broadcast as pledging to remove the documents if the paper loses its appeal to the full National Labor Relations Board.

The paper's pressmen and day-shift printers honored the lines, Hatch reported.

Chester unions rally to Guild strike

Chester, Pa.—Union leaders representing tens of thousands of workers in this industrial area have assured Guild members striking the Ingersoll chain's Delaware County Times here that no employer has ever broken a county union in the past and won't now.

Rallying Dec. 13 with the Philadelphia Guild's 80-member Chester Unit, which struck the Times on Nov. 24, were leaders of the county's central labor council, Auto Workers, unaffiliated Electrical Workers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Paperworkers and other unions.

The paper's Typographical Union, Printing & Graphic Communications Union and Teamsters Union employees are honoring the picket lines.

The paper, however, employing about 30 supervisors imported from other Ingersoll-chain dailies in Fall River, Pawtucket, Kingston, Trenton, Pottstown and North Tonawanda plus 23 "new hires," has been publishing abbreviated editions since the strike was launched.

More than 40 strikers have been notified that they have been permanently replaced, the Guild reported.

An advertising and circulation boycott mounted by the Guild and supported by the Delaware County AFL-CIO Council and the unaffiliated Auto Workers, Teamsters and United Electrical Workers has been "90 percent successful," a local leader said.

No retail advertiser in the city has continued to buy space and only a few from the suburban area have, he said.

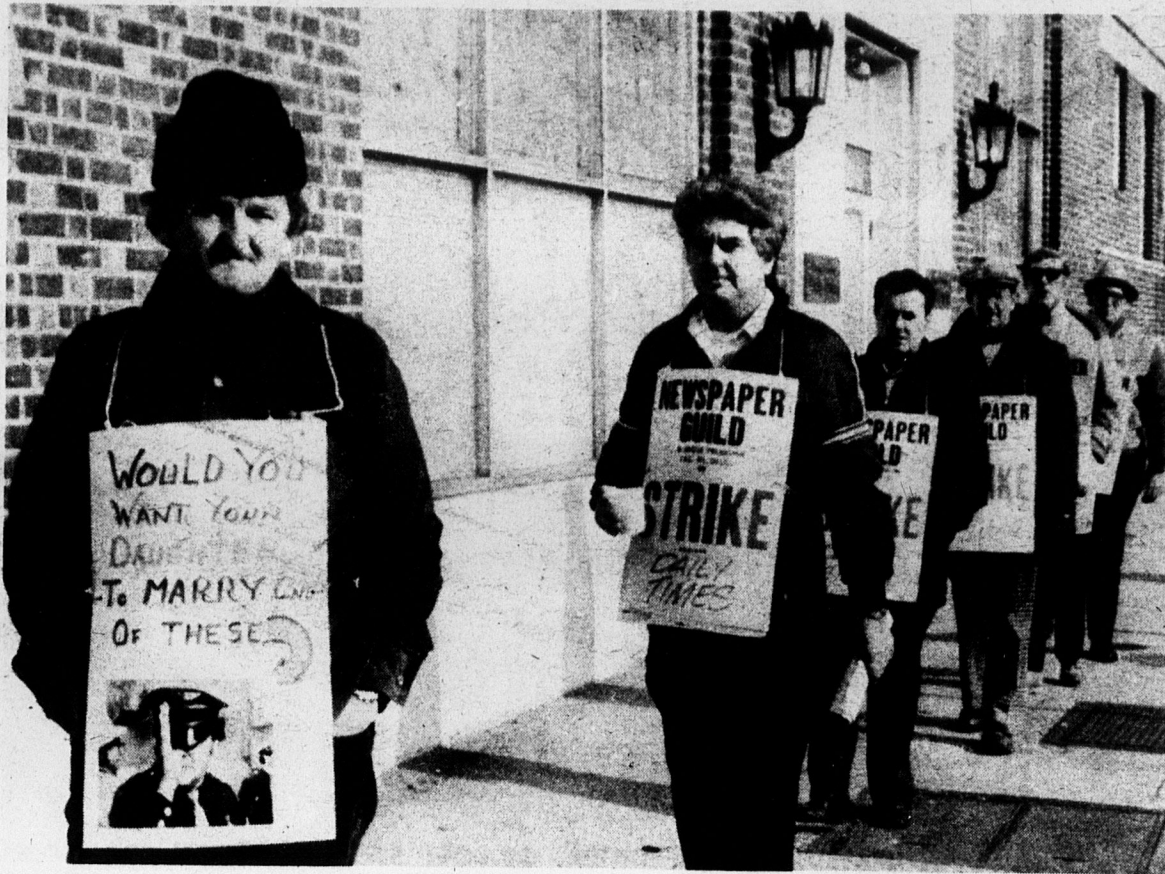
And while publisher Cove Hoover is claiming circulation is off only about 8,000 in the face of the strike, he "actually is getting out only about 7,000," the Guild reported. Normal circulation is about 50,000.

The Guild on Dec. 10 filed unfair labor practices charges against the publisher, alleging that strikers, including unit chairperson Frank DiGiacomo, have been offered promotions, more desirable work shifts and better assignments as inducements to return to work.

The same day, the local said, the publisher charged that it violated labor law by threatening persons who have crossed the picket line.

Previously the Guild filed a libel suit charging the publisher with carrying false stories accusing the Guild of threatening carriers and others. The suit seeks a million dollars' punitive damages.

"Since one of the threats we were supposed to have made involved kidnapping, one wonders at the absence of criminal charges," said Willard Hatch, the Guild's administrative officer.



BERT HODGE WITH PERSONALLY DESIGNED SIGN PICKETS AT CHESTER TIMES
TNG International Representative William Brown leads other strikers on the line

Hatch said the unit struck after bargaining nearly three months past expiration of the Guild's old contract with the paper for money and job security.

The publisher through the two bargaining sessions held in the strike's first four weeks still refuses to offer the Guild the \$25-a-year package agreed to earlier by the Typographical Union, Hatch said.

And the company is attempting to weaken the former contract's security against indiscriminate economic dismissals in return for establishing a rehiring list for those affected by them, as sought by the Guild, Hatch said.

And on Dec. 10, he said, the company said it wants to increase the 14 jobs formerly excluded from the contract so that there would be 53 exempt employees and only 47 covered.

One Guild member, Sid Rose, spent two days in the hospital after being hit by a truck driven through the line, Hatch said, and, in an unrelated incident, two persons, Rufus Walker, the paper's classified director, and Hugh Alcorn, circulation manager from the Fall River Herald-News, were charged with endangering life and limb after driving through the picket line.

The membership of the Philadelphia Guild has voted to assess itself full regular TNG dues for two months to provide benefits to any member of one of the unions observing the picket lines who needs them, Hatch said.

Sain elected to CLUW's board

Detroit, Mich.—Vice President Dorothy M. Sain of Cleveland was elected to a Guild seat on the Coalition of Labor Union Women's new National Executive Board during CLUW's first constitutional convention Dec. 5-7.

TNG Human Rights Co-ordinator Hannah Jo Rayl was elected as her alternate.

Anna Padia of the Pacific Northwest Guild was elected to a regional board seat from the Northwest.

Sain and Padia, along with Betsy Wade of the New York Guild, since October also one of TNG's 13 vice presidents, and Yetta Riesel, TNG Research & Information Associate, had served on CLUW's National Co-ordinating Committee since its founding conference in Chicago in March, 1974.

The four, along with Rayl and 14 other Guild members from nine locals were among more than 1,000 participants in the CLUW convention that decisively rejected efforts to open CLUW membership to non-union workers and reaffirmed as CLUW's main goal the development of action programs within the framework of the labor movement in four key areas:

- To strengthen women's role and participation within their unions and the whole union movement.
- To seek affirmative action in the work place.
- To organize the millions of unorganized working women.
- To encourage union women to a more active role in the legislative and political processes of their unions and the nation.

The convention also received a telegram from AFL-CIO President George Meany noting CLUW's "consistent progress" and stating that "as the AFL-CIO convention made clear, we are ready to co-operate with CLUW on programs of common interest, particularly passage of the Equal Rights Amendment—a priority matter to the entire trade union movement."

Sain, Padia and Rayl were elected to their national execu-

tive board posts under CLUW's first constitution, adopted by the convention, which provides for proportional representation from unions, regions and chapters. The Guild, with 94 members in CLUW, needs seven more for a second seat on the board. Annual national dues of \$10 also were established.

Olga Madar, a retired Auto Workers vice president, was returned to office as national president. Also re-elected were Addie Wyatt of the Meat Cutters, vice president, and Gloria Johnson of the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, treasurer.

The regional vice presidency

filled by Padia, a former Pacific Northwest Guild secretary and a former temporary TNG international representative, covers Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Alaska.

Other Guild members at the convention were: Jeanne Walker and Evelyn Alexander, Toledo; Barbara Booth and Faye McCracken, Memphis; Joan Cook, Rose Edwards, Rose Mary Mechem, Connie Kopelov and Anna DeCormis, New York; Joan Kelly, Lansing; Virginia O'Shea, Cleveland; Muriel Tobin, San Jose; Patricia Strandt, Chicago, and Pam Schnierle, Washington-Baltimore.

The Guild Reporter

JAMES M. CESNIK
Editor

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December 1

The Newspaper Guild

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January publication dates shifted

The Guild Reporter will be published the third and fifth Fridays of January (the 16th and 30th) rather than the customary second and fourth Fridays.

This issue is the only one that will be published in December and is being issued on the third rather than the second Friday in order to reduce the interval before the first January issue.

This issue also is the first since October that will be mailed to Guild members in Canada the same day it is printed. In the face of the Canadian postal workers' six-week strike, the Oct. 24 and Nov. 14 issues were air expressed to TNG's Canadian Region office and shipped from there to locals for in-plant distribution to members. The Nov. 28 issue was mailed to Canadian members a week after it was printed, following the strike's settlement.