

Dollar dues increase is proposed

Washington — Declaring that TNG's existing income-producing machinery can no longer fund a "full-service" Guild and that deep cost-cutting would be "a form of slow suicide," the International Executive Board has decided to seek an across-the-board dues increase of \$1 a month, or its equivalent.

Acting at its April 24-28 spring meeting, the board voted unanimously to propose to this summer's TNG Convention a

series of constitutional changes that would put the increase into effect Sept. 1.

Seventy-five cents would go to TNG, increasing income to the international's General Fund by an estimated \$275,000 a year. The other quarter would remain with the locals.

The dues increase would help assure that the locals can pay the added per capita, meet their own inflation-increased financial needs and answer their memberships'

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demands for increased services without curtailing current necessary functions, the board said.

The additional income to TNG would enable it both to balance its income and expenses

and to add an estimated three new, permanent international representatives to its staff.

The field staff would be expanded "as new funds become available," under a recommendation to the convention in the IEB's Organizing Report.

The annual per capita would end "an almost unbroken pattern of underfinancing" that has kept TNG's General Fund

in deficit for nine of the past 10 years, the IEB said.

"Deficit piled upon deficit has brought an accumulation of red ink that no longer can be overlooked," the board said, pointing to a cumulative General-Fund shortfall of \$484,000 at the end of fiscal 1977-78 [See story, Page 2].

If new financing isn't provided, the IEB said, next year's General Fund deficit would be \$93,639 for a "full-service" union, bringing the cumulative deficit close to \$600,000.

On the other hand, approval would bring \$136,000 more to the General Fund in the last half (Continued on Page 2)

Last push: TNG launches labor law reform petitions

Washington — With the full Senate scheduled to take up the Labor Law Reform Bill May 15 and the debate and filibuster on the measure expected to run four to six weeks, TNG has launched an urgent drive among all U.S. members for petitions to their Senators to seek to assure the bill's passage.

Each local should "make the same sort of extraordinary effort" to circulate and return signed petitions that brought more than 5,000 signatures in a week two years ago on behalf of Daniel Schorr in a privilege case, TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., urged in opening the drive May 10.

Meanwhile:

✓ Opponents of the bill, such as the National Right-to-Work Committee, while expressing confidence that they have more than enough votes to sustain a filibuster, were calling on their constit-

uents to increase their pressure on Senators to kill it.

✓ Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.), co-sponsor of the bill with Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), said supporters have the 60 votes needed to eventually invoke cloture and stop a filibuster.

✓ President Carter, renewed his support for the measure, S. 2467, saying it was drafted "substantially by me," and charged that U.S. business interests have "grossly distorted" its provisions and effects in their campaign against it.

"It's not right that unfair procedural delays be used against American workers in labor disputes, and that's what's happening," Carter said.

"This bill is neither pro-union nor anti-union. What it will do is make the labor law work in practice as it does in theory," he told supporters of the measure during a White House breakfast May 9.

The bill eliminates delaying tactics as an anti-union "weapon," he said, and "lets the law on the books be enforced for a change."

✓ AFL-CIO President George Meany, who termed the campaign against the bill "deliberate lies," called upon leaders of the federation's affiliates to put the full force of their organizations into the campaign for Senate passage.

"Nothing is more important to the labor movement at this point. . . . Nothing," he said.

✓ The AFL-CIO Task Force on Labor Law Reform launched a "Vigil of Victims" of the present law's application in organizing and first-contract bargaining situations.

Starting the first week in May, the vigil campaign is to have persons from across the nation come to Washington for week-long stays to provide senators with first-hand accounts of the methods used to (Continued on Page 6)

Last victims? Steubenville Three join 'Vigil of Victims' at Senate

By HANNAH JO RAYL

TNG Human Rights Co-ordinator

Washington—It was raining, but that couldn't dampen the spirits of the three from Ohio who had come to their Nation's Capital bent on a mission. They settled back in silence after giving the taxi driver their destination.

"Do you know how much money I made last year?" one said suddenly.

"How much?" asked another.

"A whopping \$127! . . . I worked 35 hours, seven days a week and I made \$127 for the whole year!" said the first.

"Well, at least you made something; I went in the hole \$11. It would have been more if I used the long [income tax] form," said the second.

Three rank-and-file leaders in the three-year-old Guild organizing effort at the Steubenville Herald-Star were brought to Washington by TNG May 8 to participate in a 'Vigil of Victims' for Labor Law Reform—workers who have suffered for trying to organize under U.S. labor law as it now stands. The 'Vigil' is a project of the AFL-CIO Task Force for Labor Law Reform.

"I didn't even have a job," the third said quietly.

The story was recounted during the week as the three women from Steubenville went from office-to-office on Capitol Hill to tell U.S. Senators and Representatives about their experiences in trying to "go union."

The union in their case was The Newspaper Guild and for Dorothy Humes, Mary Hall and Carol Reed it all started back in March, 1975.

Humes and Hall were drivers, delivering Lord Thomson's Steubenville Herald-Star. Reed had just been promoted to "straw boss" in the mailroom with a raise to 10 cents above the federal minimum wage. She had worked there eight years.

The newspaper a few months earlier had expanded to a seven-day operation, but the drivers, who own and maintain their vehicles, were given no increase in (Continued on Page 6)

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Frank Alexander, Washington-Baltimore Guild

STEUBENVILLE ACTIVISTS HEAD FOR SENATORS' OFFICES
Carol Reed, Dorothy Humes, Mary Hall back Labor Law Reform as part of 'Vigil of Victims' of present law's delays

How Printers strike their bargain

By DAVID J. EISEN

Director, Research & Information

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, when local printers' societies coalesced into the ITU 125 years ago, was intriguingly simple.

Union members—who included master-printer employers—worked out wage scales and a list of minimum working conditions, submitted them to employers and bound themselves not to work in any shop that failed to meet the standard.

That is so far a cry from the involved bargaining procedure of today

NOW, ABOUT THE ITU . . . (8)

Special committees of TNG and the International Typographical Union are meeting to put together a proposal for one new union from the two.

What about the ITU, its operations, its financial and physical structure and resources, its roots? What kind of union is it?

This is the last of eight articles exploring these and other questions.

as to be almost inaudible. But the roots of that procedure and of the ITU's approach to bargaining and contracts go back to the union's earliest days, and to trace them to those beginnings

is to discover much about the tree.

Simple, back in the mid-19th Century, did not mean easy.

Bargaining as such was virtually

nonexistent: When employers rejected the union's scale, in the words of a contemporary publisher, "they suggested no modification, proposed no substitute; they gave the journeymen no ultimatum, no chance to understand what portions or provisions of their scale were deemed inadmissible and what modification would render it acceptable."

The union's only alternative was to submit a new proposal, accept existing conditions—which might mean the absence of any standard at all—or strike. Employers often beat the union (Continued on Page 4)

\$1 dues hike asked to keep 'full service' Guild

(Continued from Page 1)

of the 1978-79 fiscal year and—at present staff levels—could mean a surplus of more than \$40,000 by the end of the fiscal period next March 31, the board said.

The full increase of \$275,000 would be realized in the following fiscal year.

"By no means all of this money—in fact, relatively little—would be used merely to stop General Fund losses and improve our bookkeeping position," the board said.

"Most of it would be used to strengthen organizing efforts," it said.

In its Organizing Report, the IEB noted that interest among unorganized employees in Guild jurisdiction remains high, as evidenced by what it called "the constant flow of pleas for assistance . . . pleas so numerous that even with an expanded staff [under the discontinued, assessment-financed special organizing program] some have had to be put off to another day."

And, the IEB noted, "that 'another day' could be significantly sooner should the National La-

bor Relations Act be reformed to guarantee much speedier representation elections," as is now pending in Congress.

If the bill doesn't pass, the additional staff will be needed to help fend off the increased challenges to Guild bargaining rights that can be expected to follow, TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., told a joint meeting of the Great Lakes, Midwest and Southern District Councils May 6.

The special organizing programs—"a temporary response to an urgent need"—served the Guild well, the board said, "but a step toward a permanent solution would serve the Guild better."

"An organizing program which has continuity of both financing and personnel," the board said in its Organizing Report, "better suits the realities."

"Twice in the past four years, conventions have ordered the collection of special assessments on the membership to pay for stepped-up organizing work," the board pointed out.

Each series of two assessments produced upwards of \$400,000. In March and April, 1977, the

total was more than \$450,000.

"A comparison of those figures with the new proposal shows a fairly close parallel," the board's report to the convention said.

"The plan to raise per capita 75 cents a month per member would raise approximately \$275,000 a year, which is not a great deal more than the equivalent of one annual assessment," it added. "This new money would make stable and permanent an organizing effort which for four years has been strong but temporary and project-oriented," the IEB said.

Thus, Perlik told the board, the twin problems of underfinancing and organizing costs could be met with one fiscal action.

Even with the recent increase in "regular" per capita payments produced by the constitutional formula linking them to the average reporter top minimum, "there was no way the IEB could reasonably predict a balanced budget."

The sole alternative available to balance the budget, the board said, would be to take "some drastic and damaging steps—lay-

ing off staff members, for one, and cutting back severely the production schedule of the Guild Reporter, for another."

"Money-saving steps, indeed, but really a form of slow suicide for the union," the IEB commented.

Existing membership services can no longer be curtailed, nor can the Guild put off any longer adding new ones "demanded by the times," the board said.

Only adequate financing will enable TNG to properly "serve its members, and those who should be and want to be members," the board said.

"There's no way to bring that about" except by relying on "the only important source we have, the source which already produces over 95 percent of TNG's revenue."

"In a word: ourselves."

Under the IEB's proposal, \$1 would be added to each Guild member's monthly dues beginning in September, as well as to the minimum dues structures in TNG's Constitution. No member would pay more than a \$1 increase.

Or a local could increase its graduated or percentage-formula dues "by means of a formula that yields an equivalent total amount" of new income as would be produced by the \$1-across-the-board proposal.

(A more detailed explanation of the mechanics of the IEB's recommendation will appear in the May 26 Guild Reporter.)

In a related action, the IEB recommended that the convention adopt a fiscal 1978-79 General Fund income estimate of \$1,930,796 and budget of \$1,888,070. The amounts assume approval of the new 75-cent per capita.

It also approved a first quarter 1978-79 budget of \$483,930 and estimated income for the period at \$435,800.

The board said deficits from the first and second quarters would be eliminated in the third and fourth periods if its dues increase proposal is approved.

The IEB also is recommending that effective Oct. 1, 1979, the upper range of the minimum dues schedule be extended to a new top of \$36 per month for members who earn \$695 a week or more.

It also is asking the convention to authorize use of Defense Fund money to pay half the costs of the Washington-Baltimore Guild's defense of its jurisdiction in unit clarification litigation initiated by the Washington Post.

In other action, the board:

- ✓ Agreed to pay \$5,000 of the New York Guild's \$12,200 costs from its arbitration and consultations in the New York Times video display terminal-catastrophe case.

- ✓ Contributed \$250 to the National Coalition Against Censorship, \$125 each to the National Urban League and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and \$2,500 to the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press.

- ✓ Authorized granting \$1,250 per month from the General Fund to the Buffalo Guild to assist with the heavy legal costs of defending the local against labor board charges arising from complaints by William L. Ball and others. The IEB had pledged such support in October, 1976.

- ✓ Recommended to the convention that the price of the Constitution booklet be raised to half the production cost but by no more than 25 cents a year. The booklet now sells for 20 cents and cost \$1.05 to produce in 1977.

- ✓ Deferred action pending details on a Wilkes-Barre Guild request for funds to assist in litigation in a disciplinary case.

- ✓ Deferred to its preconvention meeting in June a proposal by Vice President Richard V. Sabatini of Philadelphia to change TNG's strike benefits policy.

Sabatini suggested three ways to lift the limit on strikers' earned income.

The board also approved a report from its Organizing Committee recommending that TNG officers, in conjunction with the Winnipeg, Vancouver-New Westminster and Victoria locals review the 1972 Convention's mandate that an international representative be stationed in Western Canada and assigned primarily to organize in the Central and Western provinces.

Economies fail to halt growth of deficit

Washington — Economies in TNG operations through the final quarter of the fiscal year ended March 31 slowed—but did not halt—the growth of TNG's General Fund deficit, the International Executive Board's Finance Committee reported during the IEB's spring meeting.

Despite expenditures being "curtailed as much as possible without serious inroads on organizing and servicing," TNG's operating costs exceeded income by \$4,111 for the period.

"That was less than in the previous quarters of the fiscal year," the committee pointed out, "but it was a deficit, nonetheless." General Fund deficit for the fiscal year totalled \$116,389, second greatest of nine experienced in the last ten years, and brought TNG's cumulative deficit to \$484,017.

At the same time, however, the committee reported, TNG's Defense Fund ended the quarter and the fiscal year with assets of two million dollars, up \$85,439 from the assets' total at the previous year's end. And more of those assets were in "cash or negotiable paper than in the past," the committee noted.

Defense Fund income and expenses for the quarter were each \$163,030, with \$48,703 of the expenses, however, being the amount of reduction in the Los Angeles Guild's indebtedness for loans during the Herald-Exam-

iner strike. The 1975 Convention directed that the loans be reduced whenever the Defense Fund's assets exceed two million dollars. Those loans stood at \$107,583 when the fiscal year ended, down from \$345,580 less than three years ago.

Defense Fund loans to locals, including Los Angeles, were reduced a total of \$86,304 during the quarter, to \$274,858.

General Fund income for the quarter was \$434,319, just \$881 short of the amount anticipated. Expenses, however, were \$4,385 over the amount budgeted. While expenses for six line items were "considerably less" than budgeted, the IEB's committee reported, five others were more than \$1,000 over.

International representatives' salaries were \$5,292 under budget, miscellaneous organizing and servicing was \$3,047 under, employee health and welfare was \$2,757 under, directly-billed transportation costs were \$1,582 under, legal fees, \$1,334 under and severance-pay provisions, \$1,087 under.

Largest overrun was for delegates and committees (\$7,933 over), "most if not all" for merger committee meetings, the committee reported. International representatives' expenses (\$6,539 over), organizing and other literature (\$1,223 over), employee pension costs (\$1,136 over), payroll and property taxes (\$1,294

over) and officers' expenses (\$1,016 over) also cost more than anticipated, the committee noted.

On the year, General Fund income totaled \$1,698,817, up \$115,930 or 7.3 percent from fiscal '77. Expenses totaled \$1,815,206, up \$215,171 or 13.4 percent. More than half the increase occurred in four areas, three of which were "impossible to predict with any accuracy," the IEB noted, pointing to meetings of the International Election & Referendum Committee which had to conduct a special rerun election, meetings of the special merger committee, TNG's 50 percent share of legal fees in the Washington Post unit clarification proceedings and, while "somewhat less than anticipated," the cost of a temporary lobbyist for labor-law reform.

The IEB also pointed out that while the year's deficit was large, it "was not quite as extreme as it might seem since the convention last year budgeted a deficit of \$41,940."

And despite the General Fund's deficit, TNG's net worth declined by only two percent during the fiscal year, the IEB noted, going from \$1,546,933 to \$1,515,983. (Net worth is the difference between the Defense Fund's assets and the General Fund's cumulative deficit.)

The IEB voted to ask TNG's 1978 Convention to approve a General Fund budget of \$1,888,-

070 for fiscal 1978-79 and an income estimate of \$1,930,796, based on approval of the dues-increase proposal that would produce a surplus for the year of \$42,726.

In a separate action, a motion to require coach-class air travel on all flights by IEB members, except when there is no alternative to first-class, was defeated in a 6-to-10 rollcall vote, leaving intact an IEB policy allowing first-class on Guild-business flights for three hours or more. An IEB practice that members travel coach-class whenever possible is maintained.

A vote on the policy-change proposal, introduced by Vice President Roger L. Stonebanks of Victoria, had been deferred from the board's October and January meetings.

Stonebanks said that changing the policy would save money and that he considered the existing policy inappropriate.

TNG Secretary-Treasurer Robert M. Crocker said that more than 60 flights were taken coach-class by IEB members and TNG staffers from October through March that could have qualified for first class under the policy. While noting that some undoubtedly would have been taken by coach in any case, Crocker said the trips showed that the coach practice was effective since TNG's "savings" was \$8,360 from what the trips would have cost had they all been taken at first-class fares.

Voting in favor of a policy change were Vice Presidents Carla Beck of Great Falls, Louis M. Calvert of San Jose, Stonebanks, Floyd Tucker of San Francisco-Oakland, Betsy Wade of New York and Diane M. Woodstock of Madison.

Opposed were Vice Presidents Elwood B. Bigelow of Portland, Robert C. Holt, Jr. of St. Louis, John M. Lowe of Toronto, Faye McCracken of Memphis, Mulcahy, Richard V. Sabatini of Philadelphia and Dorothy M. Sain of Cleveland, International Chairperson Harry S. Culver, Crocker and TNG President Perlik.

1978 organizing was 3rd best in 20 years

Washington—TNG's fiscal year ended March 31 was "a good year" for organizing, the International Executive Board notes in its Organizing Report to the 1978 Convention.

Recognition was obtained for 17 employee groups containing a total of 985 persons, the third highest in the last 20 years, the board pointed out.

The 985 eligibles were more than double the 453 in the previous fiscal year and nearly 80 percent more than the average over the last 20 years. The only

two years of the 20 in which more were organized were fiscal 1973 and 1974, when the totals were 1,074 and 1,369.

And, the board noted, Guild membership climbed to all-time highs in six of the last seven months of fiscal 1978, standing at 33,495 on March 1, 951 more than March 1, 1977, and 468 more than the former record, on Feb. 1, 1978.

The board's Organizing Report endorses the Finance recommendation for a \$1-across-the-board dues increase to enable expansion of TNG's field staff "to pro-

vide additional assistance in organizing in response to the continuing demand for such help."

It also calls upon the convention to encourage "exploration and development of joint, co-ordinated and simultaneous organizing" with other unions.

And it asks that locals be reminded of the need to form local organizing committees, clear organizing campaigns with TNG, advise TNG immediately of any other union's organizing activity in Guild jurisdiction and furnish TNG with all documents relating to organizing efforts.



Stan Collins, Brockton Guild

Takes one to know two

Donald Waterman, right, president of the Brockton Guild and co-winner of TNG's 1978 Guild Service Award, presents plaques to co-winners of the Brockton Guild's own service

award: Patrick Crowley, left, and David Meade, Jr., center. Meade is a past local president; Crowley served on two bargaining committees. It's the local's third such award.

Package to 'streamline' goals for bargaining recommended

Washington — A package of proposals to "streamline" TNG's Collective Bargaining Program and its Convention Recommendations on Collective Bargaining will be before TNG's 1978 Convention this summer.

At its spring meeting here, the International Executive Board in a full day of spirited discussion approved changes affecting most of the program's 45 sections and the recommendations' 41 sections, though several involve no more than changes of title or grammar and syntax.

Others, however, would move some provisions, or portions of them, from the recommendations to the program and vice versa.

Still others would segregate within the program and recommendations those portions of each which deal with bargaining procedures from those setting forth the specific bargaining goals contained in each.

Bargaining recommendations that would be moved to the program under the IEB's actions include one to prohibit any restriction on Guild use of wage data, one for retroactivity of benefits in settlements, another for common contract expiration with other unions and still another for full contract coverage for part-time employees.

Bargaining program provisions that would be shifted to the recommendations include those calling for employees to share in the savings from automation, for time off for voting, for guarantees that members promoted to exempt jobs may return to the bargaining unit, for health and welfare coverage for retirees and some pension goals.

The IEB's actions were in response to a directive by the 1977 Convention that the board "undertake a careful examination" of both documents "with a view to streamlining the mandatory proposals and clarifying and updating the recommendations."

Under TNG's Constitution, provisions of the bargaining program must be included in all contract proposals. The recommendations are discretionary, with locals

"strongly urged" to include as many as may be applicable.

The board's actions flowed from a set of recommendations by its Collective Bargaining Committee that had been held over from the IEB's January meeting. Not all of the committee's proposals were accepted by the full board and some of them provoked heated discussion.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., hailed the board's day-long consideration of the proposals as the first time in many years that the IEB has subjected the Guild's basic bargaining concepts and stance to so searching an analysis and examination.

The IEB's Collective Bargaining report to the 1978 Convention notes that debate at the 1977 Convention on its "streamlining" directive "takes up seven pages of the . . . proceedings, without arriving at a consensus of what was intended by 'streamlining'."

In moving adoption of the IEB committee's report, Vice President Roger L. Stonebanks of Victoria, committee chairperson, said the committee interpreted the word as meaning "to lighten the load—to try to make the program more reflective of the realities" and improve chances of its achievement at local bargaining tables.

A committee proposal that a call for the four-day, 28-hour week be changed from the program to the recommendations brought about a prolonged debate by the full board before it was rejected. The committee would have substituted the five-day, 35-hour week in the program.

"We have to learn to be a little bit realistic," Stonebanks said in defense of the proposal. Mandating too many ambitious items makes locals, publishers and members laugh at the program, he said.

Vice President Richard V. Sabatini of Philadelphia disagreed, however, saying that repeated pressing of mandatory issues signals management that the Guild is serious.

Vice President Carla Beck of Great Falls compared the four-day week to maternity leave, bereavement leave and jury pay.

Management laughs at first, but eventually the Guild achieves them, she said.

Another committee proposal rejected by the full board, on a 6-to-10 hand vote, would have recommended shifting wage-goal dollar amounts from the program to the recommendations while keeping in the program other wage-goal and minimum salary language.

Stonebanks called the key top-minimum goal of \$700 a week "pie in the sky." International Chairperson Harry S. Culver of Wire Service noted that \$200 a week once was considered pie in the sky.

(In a separate action, the board recommended advancing the key-minimum goal to \$750 a week.)

Other committee program-to-recommendations proposals rejected by the full board included Sunday differentials, protection against speed and accuracy standards for work on new, automated equipment, voice-in-the-product (on a 6-to-9 hand vote), political leave (by the same vote), bereavement and family-emergency leaves, educational benefits, child care, protection against noise (7 to 9) and fragmentation of jobs.

Mtimkulu acquitted of charges

Johannesburg, South Africa—Phillip Mtimkulu and Juby Mayet, former officials of the banned Union of Black Journalists, have been acquitted on a technicality of theft and fraud charges.

Acquittal came April 25 in Johannesburg Magisterial Court, the Rand Daily Mail reported.

Mtimkulu was UJB national secretary before the government banned it and other black organizations last October. He addressed TNG's 1977 Convention and the TNG raised a \$1,900 defense fund for him since February.

Mtimkulu and Mayet were arrested in December after they withdrew 2,460 rand from the UJB's bank account, leaving 711 rand on deposit.

Pair share award for local service

Washington — Donald Waterman, president of the Brockton Guild, and Mary Esslinger, secretary of the Washington-Baltimore Guild, have been selected co-winners of this year's Guild Service Award.

The award—up to \$1,500 for a union-education course — is given annually for outstanding service to a Guild local.

In announcing the selections to the International Executive Board's spring meeting here, the judges said that Waterman and Esslinger are "outstanding examples of two distinct kinds of service to their locals."

(Judges were TNG Vice Presidents Betsy Wade of New York and Diane M. Woodstock of Madison and Ellis T. Baker, TNG's director of administrative operations.)

"In one case, a president has rebuilt a local from a post-strike slump and has led it forward into new areas of bargaining and inter-union co-operation.

"In the other case, an organizer of a small unit in a big local has, through both work and example, forged the unit into one with a notably high level of Guild involvement in a time of crisis for the local," the judges said.

Waterman joined the Guild in 1969 and in the 1970 strike in Brockton, through his activity on the picket line, was instrumental in keeping the paper from publishing.

He is in his sixth year as president of the Brockton local, having taken the post in 1973 when the local was at a low ebb in membership, morale and militancy. The local then had 67 members of 115 eligibles. By 1977, despite the absence of a Guild shop, the number had risen to 106 of 110.

Starting in 1973, Waterman began efforts to reconcile the Guild and the International Typographical Union local. There was first co-ordinated, then joint, bargaining in 1975-76, and Waterman, after a misfire in those efforts, played a key role in re-assembling the pieces.

In 1977, under Waterman's leadership, the Brockton Guild achieved a joint Guild-management eye-testing program and brought about the development of affirmative action that is now bearing fruit in the hiring of black employees.

Esslinger was one of the organizers and original card-signers



MARY ESSLINGER

who brought the National Catholic News Service into the Guild six years ago. She has been a unit officer ever since—secretary, vice-chairperson and now chairperson. She has been influential in the unit's bargaining, where percentage increases have been notable among those in the local and where a pace-setting, paid four-month maternity leave has been achieved.

Esslinger has missed only one Guild meeting in six years, including ballot-countings and serving as delegate of the local to the Greater Washington Central Labor Council. Earlier this year, she was presented the local's top service award, Guild Member of the Year.

"Almost every local can cite an example of this kind of day-to-day activism and dedication, but in Esslinger's case it has led to 100 percent turnouts for elections and strong showings by the unit at local meetings and on local committees," the judges said.

"And although members of small units rarely achieve local-wide office in large locals, Esslinger, from a 16-member unit, last winter was elected, without opposition, to her second consecutive term as secretary of the 2,200-member Washington-Baltimore local," the judges added.

Nineteen Guild members were nominated by 10 locals.

Waterman is the first winner from Brockton in the 24 years the award has been given.

Previous Washington-Baltimore winners were Ray Henry from the old Washington Guild in 1956, the award's second year; Richard P. Davis of the old Baltimore Guild in 1958; Jerry Borstel of the merged local in 1966 (sharing with Joe Eisenberg of New York), and Joe Holt Anderson, Jr. in 1967.

Her testimony was contradicted by another clerk who said he had given the first clerk the text of the proclamation at 8:30 a.m.

The defense also found that not all the calls had been logged, as the first clerk had testified.

Police said they had told Mayet of the proclamation while they were searching her home between 3 a.m. and 4 a.m. that day.

But Steyn said that made no difference because the proclamation wasn't legal until it had become public knowledge.

Their case, along with others', aroused concern and Gene Bryant, administrative officer of the San Jose Guild, was an observer at some trial sessions [Guild Reporter, March 10].

G. Steyn, the magistrate, found Mtimkulu and Mayet not guilty on grounds they had withdrawn the money before the banning proclamation was known to the public.

Earlier, the charge against the two had been described as interfering with the dissolution of a banned organization without permission of those who banned it.

Steyn found that the money had been withdrawn between 9 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. on Oct. 19, but that the proclamation wasn't public until 10:05 a.m.

He refused to credit testimony of a government clerk who said she called newspapers about the proclamation starting at 7:45 a.m. and ending an hour later.

How Printers strike their bargain

(Continued from Page 1)

to the draw, locking out their printers and announcing they would no longer employ union members, or "combinationists," in an epithet of the times.

But the procedure of presenting wage scales (or "scales of prices," as they were called) and lists of conditions gradually led to a bartering process and the introduction of written agreements—the first ITU contracts. Daily newspapers, dependent on uninterrupted operation, were particularly disposed to bargain agreements that would assure it.

The initial agreements were scanty documents compared to today's comprehensive contracts. Wages—and sometimes hours—were almost invariably the principal item negotiated, and ITU bargaining committees to this day are known as scale committees.

Under the circumstances, negotiation of the agreements was almost entirely a local affair. The international generally entered the picture only if there was a strike, to co-ordinate strike assistance from other locals and help against the importation of strike-breakers.

But changes in the industry soon forced bargaining, and the very shape of the union, into a different mold.

EMPLOYER RESISTANCE to the union grew as the printing industry expanded and competition among print shops and newspapers became more intense. At the same time, introduction of the Linotype machine produced widespread unemployment that seemed to require an industry-wide solution. Locals increasingly found themselves with problems they could not resolve locally either because of the nature of the problem or because they lacked the strength to do so unaided.

By the 1880s the international was already exercising limited supervision over local bargaining. Its role was



ARBITER & GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE, c. 1888
From a modern ITU grievance handbook

NOW, ABOUT THE ITU . . . (8)

strengthened as the century drew to a close, and many of the provisions of ITU law that still govern bargaining and strikes were fashioned at that time.

"Local unions were obligated to consult with officers of the international in making agreements, and standardized contracts were worked out for their guidance," recounts "Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry," a history published by the National Labor Relations Board in the 1930s. "The sanction of the international was required before strikes could be called. This provision was strengthened by the creation of an international strike fund which made locals dependent upon the central body for financial support in disputes."

ITU laws still require that contract terms be submitted to the international president before ratification or signature; contract proposals must go there, as well, for assurance that they comply with ITU laws. Locals must obtain Executive Council sanction for a strike; benefits are paid only in the case of sanctioned strikes and lock-outs (although special assistance often goes to members observing other unions' picket lines). And the ITU still distributes sample contracts to aid its locals' bargaining (including samples for Guild departments it has been attempting to organize for the past few years).

With the union geared for centralized action, it was ready to take on print-shop owners in one of its most epochal struggles—the strike for an eight-hour day.

MOST NEWSPAPER composing rooms were already working eight hours, but print-shop owners, many looking for a pretext to go to an open shop, resisted the demand when the ITU put it forward at the turn of the century. The ITU set Jan. 1, 1906, as the date on which the shorter day must go into effect in print shops everywhere, but when employers in three cities began putting nonunion printers to work in August 1905, local printers walked out and the ITU launched a nationwide general strike for the eight-hour day.

It was a critical test of the union's newly forged capability of centralized action and of the membership's willingness to sacrifice. Employers tried to wield court injunctions against the strike, and the union spent a million and a half dollars, then a titanic sum, prosecuting the struggle. The membership voted to assess itself at the rate of 10 percent of earnings to help raise the money.

The strike raged for almost two years. Initial employer resistance was fierce, but one by one, print shops deserted the United Typothetae and agreed to the eight-hour day. The union had won a victory on a scale of which its founders could not have dreamed when, at the union's initial convention a half-century earlier, they first called for a reduction in the work week through an end to Sunday work.

WHILE INDUSTRIAL warfare was being waged around the print shops, permanent peace was being proclaimed in newspaper plants under a national arbitration agreement negotiated between the ITU and the American Newspaper Publishers Assn.

The publishers, anxious to end work stoppages over grievances, had proposed the pact, and the ITU

agreed in 1901. The initial agreement provided for local arbitration machinery under which a representative of the union and a representative of the publisher jointly elected a third member to constitute an arbitration board—a procedure that is still the pattern—for contracts. A national arbitration board was provided for cases in which the local machinery broke down.

This agreement put the ITU squarely into the local contract picture, making it legally responsible for enforcing the contract. And since the ITU was going to be responsible for the contract, it was agreed that it shouldn't have to be responsible for anything it didn't approve of. Thus was international contract approval born.

While the initial agreement covered only grievances, the arbitration pact was extended in 1902 to cover disputes over wages and hours in contract renewals.

The national agreement lasted for two decades and spread to 344 newspapers; if a publisher was willing to accept it, ITU policy required the local to do so. The publishers had little to complain about; in all that time, there were only three strikes of any importance outside the traces of the agreement, and all were ended quickly.

The conservative Administration Party, under whose auspices the agreement had been negotiated, lost its monopoly on the union's top offices in 1920. But it was the publishers, whose appetite grew as they fed, who were responsible for its abrupt collapse.

The publishers, while delighted over the strike-free production the arbitration agreement had brought them, had grumbled increasingly about the union's General Laws, a part of every contract that the union insisted be "exempt from arbitration. The ITU's position, as stated by the arbitration committee at the union's 1903 Convention, left little room for argument:

"The International Typographical Union Constitution and By-laws, like those of the United States government, represent what the members of this union believe to be principles that cannot be arbitrated. . . . They are necessary to the life of the organization and must be maintained."

The ANPA, nevertheless insisted in 1921 that all matters be subject to arbitration. The ITU, confronted with the alternative of giving up either the arbitration agreement or the inviolability of its laws, made the predictable choice. It ended the arbitration agreement.

TO THIS DAY, ITU statutes forbid the arbitration of any ITU laws and require the inclusion of the union's General Laws in all contracts, although a flexible clause has been added in recent years allowing the Executive Council to approve contracts with "comparable language" or without sections that "may not be applicable."

ITU history gives more than one example of the reverence with which the union regards its laws. And not without reason. They have been the heart and soul of a system of industrial government under which union members regard themselves as citizens with rights that no one can abridge.

As in so many other areas, habits of language reflect attitudes. When ITU members talk about "the law," it's highly unlikely they're referring to state or federal codes; they're talking about the union's.

The laws have emerged in a strange but sturdy patchwork over the years in response to the pulls and stresses of opposing forces in the industry and the union itself. Their durability as a unit has never conferred sanctity on their individual components; ITU conventions have been known to turn a provision almost about-face.

In 48 sections covering apprentices, foremen, departments, struck work, priority, overtime and control of work, the General Laws set forth the rules under which, despite departures, industrial life is still largely lived in ITU composing rooms.

An example is priority, the system governing hiring. ITU contracts generally provide for a specific number of situations, and the priority list—the order in which printers sign up for work in a shop—determines the order in which those without regular situations work in temporary jobs or move into vacancies. But it was not always thus.

Foremen originally had a free hand to hire whom they wished. But foremen were—and in many places still are—union members, and in the late 1800s they were widely recruited by secret societies in the ITU to insure society members against discrimination. The result, other members complained, was discrimination against them.

The first attempt to curtail that discrimination was the outlawing of substitute lists. When that failed to do the trick, it was proposed to take hiring discretion completely out of the foreman's hands by instituting priority.

The pros and cons of that solution were debated heatedly for years. A priority law was finally adopted in 1893 by convention and referendum, only to be repealed over the same course a year later. Finally, in 1896, the year operations of the leading secret society, the Brotherhood, were unmasked, priority was re-enacted to stay.

THE SITUATION of foremen in the ITU picture has been a point of controversy itself. It was the requirement that foremen be members of the union that principally nettled the ANPA and brought down the arbitration agreement.

The union took the position that it was vital for the foreman to be a union member so that the union could prevent discrimination; union laws, on the other hand, protected foremen from being subject to charges for carrying out the employer's instructions.

For many foremen, continued membership in the union was—and is—natural. Many of those in small print shops, in particular, work in jobs in which the extra monetary reward is small, the additional stress great and their tenure, as a result, sometimes short; today's foreman may very well be tomorrow's journeyman again.

As for the ITU, there has been little problem in having foremen in a union membership that even includes proprietors. The latter are far from a rarity; at last count, the ITU had more than 500. Their membership is not as unnatural as it may seem, since

the path to print-shop proprietorship often passes through the journeyman printer's trade and longtime membership in the union.

At the other end of the craft cycle, apprenticeship, the General Laws provide elaborate regulations governing the manner in which fledgling printers become full-fledged journeymen.

It was an area over which the ITU came to exercise control only after it found the stewardship of employers badly wanting. The qualifications of many of those being admitted to apprenticeship a century ago were so shaky that the union's 1890 Convention felt compelled to adopt a resolution urging locals to "try to restrict employment of apprentices who fail to pass an examination in reading, writing and spelling."

But that was only the beginning of the problem. Apprentices, once employed, were often restricted to elementary tasks and given inadequate training. The ITU first tried to meet the problem by offering a correspondence course in printing, but that, as might have been anticipated, was less than satisfactory.

The next step was a plan to take over apprentice training directly and operate it from union headquarters, but this proved unworkable. Finally, in 1924, the apprenticeship program took essentially its present form, in which apprentices must pass through a four-year course of training under the supervision of a joint union-employer apprenticeship committee, based on lessons prepared by the union's Bureau of Education.

ITU MEMBERS LIVE their union's laws, which they regard as the ramparts protecting them from the perils of an industrial jungle. An example of the devotion the laws inspire was furnished when one of their provisions, the closed shop, was overridden in 1947 by a provision of U.S. law, the Taft-Hartley Act. (The closed shop requires that only union members be employed; the union shop, which was not outlawed, requires all who are employed to become union members.)

Most unions that had closed shops bowed to the inevitable and trimmed their sails. But the ITU found it difficult. As Lipset, Trow and Coleman explained in "Union Democracy," their 1956 study of the ITU's internal politics:

"Whatever the closed shop means in other occupations . . . for union printers . . . any other arrangement would be intolerable. Since their union is not something imposed from above, but is completely identified with their trade, they can hardly conceive of a non-union printer in the composing room."

The ITU's attempted solution was

U.S.: Printers there first, often

U.S. printers achieved their most notable first in founding the first national union still in existence today.

And along the way they chalked up these other landmark achievements in the bargaining area, according to a Labor Department booklet, "Labor Firsts in America":

- ✓ 1768—First strike by journeymen, by 20 New York City printers whose wage demand was "three shillings and six pence per day with diet."
- ✓ 1786—First strike in which the participants had the benefit of a strike fund, in Philadelphia during a printers' strike for wages of a dollar a day. It was won.
- ✓ 1795—First collective-bargaining agreement, won, again, by Philadelphia printers.
- ✓ 1799—First complete wage scale, presented by the Franklin Typographical Society of New York City.

Sir,

Philadelphia, February 22, 1802.

THE "Philadelphia Typographical Society," take the liberty to furnish you with their *List of Prices*. We hope that we shall be indulged with at least a candid examination of our demands....we presume you are not unacquainted with many of them. We would wish to be placed on a footing, at least, with mechanics....our wages have, in no instance, kept pace with them. We have the merit of not being the most dissatisfied, and in no one instance of demanding any thing unjust. We have, in the following statement, confined ourselves to what a majority of the employers in this city give. Our object is, to have one uniform price established. In doing this, we shall act as men towards men....no person will leave his employ until he has given a reasonable notice....in return, we expect that your conduct towards us will be equally candid. Indeed, we cherish a hope, that the time is not far distant, when the employer and the employed will vie with each other, the one, in allowing a competent salary, the other, in deserving it. Under these impressions we submit the following prices to your decision.

COMPOSITION.		PRESS WORK.	
	Per Week, not less than		Per week, not less than
Every 1000 m's. from Brevier to English, inclusive	8 00	All paper below medium, per token	8 00
Common Rule or Figure work	25	Ditto above medium	30
	50	Broadsides, per token	37 1/2
		Cards, per pack	12 1/2
		A single pack of cards	30
		All small jobs	30

GEORGE WHITE, President.
JOHN CHILDS, Vice-President.
WILLIAM LITTLE, Secretary.

W. W. Wands, E. Conrad, B. Greaves, J. M'Ilvaine, Standing Committee. J. W. Scott, A. Scott, P. Denham,

PHILADELPHIA TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY'S 1802 'LIST OF PRICES' PROPOSAL
Mailed to a publisher; rejection brought a new proposal, acceptance of the status quo . . . or a strike

an end run around the law—the U.S. law. Since a contract providing for a closed shop would have been illegal, the union limited its contracts to wages and hours and sought to require employers to continue to recognize ITU law—including the closed shop—through letters or posted shop rules.

Many employers refused, and after a costly series of strikes the ITU reluctantly retreated from its exposed position. U.S. employers are no longer required to recognize the closed shop. But the nonunion printer continued to be such a rarity in an ITU composing room until recently that only in the last few years has the international found it necessary to advise locals to bargain a union shop.

ANOTHER PROVISION of the laws abandoned somewhat more willingly in recent years is reproduction, a provision that forbids an employer to use type from another shop unless it is subsequently reset.

The clause, originally introduced at the behest of small publishers fearful of unequal competition from larger publishers exchanging type or mats between their shops, later became a job safeguard. But under authorization now in the laws, an increasing number of locals have been permitting employers to buy out reproduction for such contract gains as a shorter week, additional pension contributions, an automation fund and severance pay.

More reluctant has been the acquiescence to buying out jobs through sugared retirement benefits and resignation bonuses, the carrot extended by publishers in order to tailor the size of their composing-room crews to the reduced demands of automated equipment. With them have come "lifetime" job guarantees that publishers have generally claimed three years later were as good as gold—for the lifetime of the contract.

The ITU over the years incorporated some fringe-benefit goals into its laws and thus made them mandatory for its locals to propose, and it embraced some others in convention resolutions. But it has never set international wage goals.

The fringe objectives set in convention resolutions have been incorporated into printed material sent to locals to prepare and guide their bargaining, and the results of that bargaining are reviewed by the ITU's Bureau of Contracts. But the extent to which those goals have been achieved has not been a yardstick for approval of contracts by the international, in contrast to the extent of the contracts' adherence to the General Laws.

Only with the approval of last year's Joint ITU-ING Task Force report embracing the concept of wide-ranging mandatory bargaining goals has the ITU moved strongly toward this approach. With the approval of that report by conventions of both, the two unions now have, in effect, a common bargaining program.

The international generally steps into the local bargaining picture only when strike sanction is sought. It cannot send a representative to participate in bargaining unless the local requests one. When a representative is sent in, it is without charge to the local—one of the benefits purchased by the average \$14-a-month per capita the ITU receives from each member.

ALTHOUGH ITU CHAPELS—the shop unit—are usually the setting for most of the printer's union activity, ITU laws call for contracts to be ratified and strikes voted and settled on the local level.

The reason is not hard to find; many ITU contracts are city- or area-wide. However, voting is not limited

to those covered by the contract; others can—and in many cases do—vote on them, as well. But in most cases, members not directly affected tend to follow the lead of those who are, either by voting in the footprints of an earlier unofficial chapel vote or by abstaining altogether.

All members of the local, including retirees, are entitled under ITU law to vote on strikes and settlements in every chapel large or small. The only exceptions are proprietors and those not working at the trade.

The right of retirees to vote on strikes and contracts—and in international elections and referendums—has been a growing point of contention in the ITU, an example of a problem that became harder to overcome as its proportions grew.

Today there are more than 26,000 retired members, almost half as many as the 57,000 working in the industry—and the ratio is growing. But 75 years ago, the problem was almost nonexistent. The average printer's age at death was 41; there were so few retired printers that their weight in the union was negligible.

Last year ITU convention delegates took the first step toward limiting retirees' voting, adopting a proposition that allows locals to eliminate the right of retirees to vote on contracts, strikes and any local dues or assessments that do not directly affect them.

That limitation has already been voted by several locals, including New York. New York retirees acknowledged the force of arguments against their voting on such matters by endorsing the proposal through the Big Six Pensioners' Club.

Like other decisions the ITU has had to make in recent years in the pressure chamber created by a rapidly changing industry, it represents a departure from long tradition. The ITU's third vice president, Allan J. Heritage, addressing a joint meeting of three Guild district councils a year ago, set forth the trauma and the triumph contained in such decisions.

The ITU is a craft union "steeped in traditions and laws that we have built up over 125 years," Heritage said, and breaking with them is "agonizing" for many. "But," he declared, "we are going to make new history and new traditions for the future."

Guild's Steubenville 3 join 'Victims' Vigil'

(Continued from Page 1)

"allowances" to offset the extra gasoline and wear and tear on the vehicles.

At the same time, the paper shifted its production operation from hot type to modified cold type and the presses were running late.

"We didn't get paid by the hour. Sometimes we had to wait at the dock three or four hours and then be out on those strip-mine roads long after dark," Humes said.

"A set of tires and brake shoes only last about nine weeks. The price of gasoline and everything else was going sky-high. At that time I was driving 125 miles a day. Those hours of waiting and that seventh day were coming right out of my pocket," she added, continuing:

"Boy, were we fed up! One day we decided we weren't going to deliver the papers and a bunch of us met in a parking lot near the plant. But that day the presses started in decent time, so we did deliver them. Word of our 'walk-out' got around and the next week a clerk from the mailroom passed me a note asking if the drivers would be interested in meeting a union rep. We sure were!

"We learned at that first meeting—there were two of us—that the Guild had been working with employees in the other departments but none of them knew who to contact among the drivers. We arranged for the rep to meet with more of the drivers; Hall was at that second meeting.

"In April, we started signing membership cards and by the middle of July we had about 80

percent of everybody signed up."

(The Guild, on July 21, 1975, demanded recognition from the paper as the bargaining representative for 110 employees in the editorial, advertising, business, circulation and maintenance departments, plus the mail room and proofreaders. The Typographical and Pressmen's unions represented the mechanical-department employees. The employer refused voluntary recognition. TNG filed a representation petition with the NLRB on July 24, 1975.)

"We filed our petition in July and the hearings were in August. The employer said the drivers were 'independent contractors' and couldn't belong to the union even though the company controlled everything we did," Humes continued.

"In September, the company asked [the NLRB] to reopen the hearings on the professionalism issue concerning the editorial department. The board did and those hearings were held in October and November.

"We waited and waited, but no decision came. Our people were leaving because they just couldn't hold out anymore. There were a number of us who would have quit but the hope of getting a union in there kept us on the job despite the increasing changes designed to harass us.

"We saw some of our people fired for reasons they never would have been if we hadn't been talking union. At least we didn't have to sit through those meetings [the general manager held] in the other departments. Since they said we weren't employees, the company didn't even send us their letters.

To this day they say we're not employees."

Reed picked up on conditions in the mailroom:

"About the time we started working for a union the minimum wage went up. They cut our hours. So now we were working a seventh shift and making less money than we were before we got the raise.

"The company said I was a supervisor and couldn't belong to the union, but that didn't bother me. I remember when [the general manager] had the meeting in the mailroom; it was after we finished the press run but before we clocked out. He said he wasn't allowed to say anything bad about the union, but he told us all kinds of things that would happen if the union got in—dues, strikes, rigid hours, that sort of thing. We had been told by the union reps what he would say, so it didn't matter to us.

"He told us we really weren't so bad off; we had pretty good hours and we were only working for enough money for hair-do's at the beauty shop. That made us mad. We were working because we had to work. I have a family to support. Some of the other women were widows on fixed income and needed the extra money to live on.

"We didn't have any benefits; no hospitalization, no pension, no overtime, no night differential, and no money, just the minimum wage. I was there eight years before I got a 10-cent raise.

"When I first started there I said to one of the workers one day 'What this place needs is a union.' He told me I'd better shut

my mouth, we weren't allowed to talk about unions."

The weeks turned into months, the three women said, and still no word from the board about the appropriate unit.

On Nov. 1, 1976, the ITU went on strike and most Guild supporters honored the picket line. On Nov. 10, certified letters were sent by the employer to 30 employees notifying them of their dismissals. TNG filed an unfair practice charge on Nov. 19, 1976.

Humes, Hall and Reed were among those dismissed.

Finally, on Dec. 22, 1976—18 months after the petition was filed with the NLRB—the long-awaited decision arrived on the appropriate unit: the drivers were employees and Reed was not a supervisor.

The professionalism issue, which added 14 months to the waiting, was dismissed in a five-line footnote.

But election day was still in the distant future because now the unfair practice charge served as a bar.

In February, 1977, the NLRB regional director issued a complaint and ordered the employer to reinstate 19 employees, including Humes and Hall. Reed, and 10 others remained jobless when the employer claimed they had been "permanently replaced." Reed found a job pumping gas while she waited to be called back to work.

When the fired drivers returned to their jobs the employer so changed their routes, they said, that Humes's income was cut by \$55 per week; Hall's was cut \$63 a week.

"We had to go back," said

Hall. "We knew they did this believing we wouldn't come back; but we wanted a union and the only way to get it was to go back to work, even if it meant less money at the time. We knew the union would help us later."

Election Day finally came to Steubenville, Ohio, on May 27, 1977—22 months and four days after the petition was filed.

The results: 29 "Yes;" 38 "No;" 17 challenges.

The waiting was not over.

The board ordered hearings on the challenges: 16 by the employer; one by the Guild. That took another six months, concluding last September.

This Jan. 5, the regional director upheld the Guild's challenged ballot and eight that had been challenged by the company. Eight other company challenges were overruled.

The bottom line was a sad one to the remaining few who had waited so long: "Inasmuch as the above-mentioned ballots are no longer determinative of the outcome of the election, I recommend that the parties be served a Certification of Results showing the Petitioner has not received a majority of valid votes cast," said the regional director.

The waiting was not over. TNG appealed the ruling to the full board in Washington, D.C.

And the story still does not end.

Hall was fired again this March 6, after being followed on her route for several days by the circulation manager and threatened with dismissal by him a few days earlier for "talking to other employees about the bad working conditions." She had been delivering the Herald-Star for ten years.

On advice of TNG, she filed a charge with the NLRB, and on May 2 the regional director issued a complaint against the employer. Hearing has been scheduled for Oct. 5.

Then on April 29 Humes resigned the job she had held for 13 years. "I couldn't take it anymore; \$127 a year, after expenses, is not my idea of a job. If I want to be a volunteer, I'll go to the hospital where my work will help somebody who needs it."

"Some of my friends still are working there; I'll still help them however I can," she said.

Reed, mending from recent surgery, said that the person who "permanently replaced" her in the mailroom has been fired. She has not received a letter of recall, however, as the law says she must before the employer can hire someone else to do that job.

Instead, she said, the circulation manager is doing her work "to keep me from coming back because he knows if the job is filled, it has to be me."

At the time the three union activists were on Capitol Hill, there still had been no decision by the NLRB on the Guild's appeal on the regional challenged-ballots ruling.

It had been more than three years since the first card was signed in Steubenville. It had been two years, 10 months and 14 days since the petition was filed. It had been 11 months, 11 days since the ballots were cast.

"The legislation may come too late to help us," the Guild women said. "But we have to do everything we can to try to keep others from suffering the delays and injustices as we have."

TNG launches labor law reform petition drive

(Continued from Page 1)

thwart their efforts to organize and bargain.

Three leaders of Guild organizing in Steubenville, Ohio were among the vigilers the second week [See story, Page 1].

The vigil is to continue until the Senate passes the bill.

✓ Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), promised he will launch the filibuster on the bill and that if that fails there will be "at least 500 amendments" proposed to further delay it.

✓ Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), majority whip, said that the bill will be kept on the Senate floor until the filibuster is broken and it can come to a vote on its merits.

TNG's petitions call upon senators to vote:

✓ To end any filibuster "so as not to permit its opponents to accomplish by words what they cannot accomplish by votes."

✓ Against all weakening amendments, "particularly those that would deny unions equal access to employees [if employers hold captive audience meetings] or further extend the time limit for elections, enabling employers to deny unorganized employees their rights by delay."

✓ Vote for passage of the bill. Each U.S. local received enough petition forms for a signature from every one of its members.

TNG will photocopy the petitions and send them to both senators from each Guild local's state.

Perlik also called upon locals' labor law reform leaders, after the petitions are signed and returned, to make a final effort to

have members call their senators' district offices on behalf of the bill during the debate.

And, he noted, visits to the senators also may be possible in their home states during the Memorial Day recess, scheduled to start May 26 and last a week.

Perlik also noted that there are rallies planned in several "critical" states by local and state central bodies and called for locals and members to "participate fully" in them.

"I know the labor-law-reform campaign has been a long and,

for our union, unusually time-consuming effort. . . . But we are in the final sprint, and to let up now would make the entire race in vain," Perlik told the locals, urging:

"Please give it all the necessary, essential effort."



Retiree tells frustration, asks constitution change

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Editor:

On April, 13th (an unlucky day for me) I dropped in at the San Francisco Newspaper Guild to inquire about maintaining my Guild membership (having joined in 1938) since I've retired to California. I served for several years on the Detroit executive board, ending my stint there as delegate to the representative assembly.

Fred Fletcher, SFONG executive secretary, informed me that a retired Guild member has no status. He told me to seek a withdrawal from the Detroit Guild because there are no provisions for transfers for retired members.

I suggest the Constitution Committee at the Detroit Convention make some provision for retired members as do other unions. This will prevent a retired member from being told he is no longer a part of the labor movement in which he or she served most of their working lives.

The Detroit Guild had a more brotherly approach to retirees, allowing them to be active, in my case delegate to the Detroit Metro Council Seniors Committee.

The Guild needs retirees and retirees need the Guild to win a National Health Insurance Act, better Social Security benefits, and pensions. Retirees want to help on these issues, not be turned out to pasture.

WILLIAM ALLAN
Retired
Detroit Guild

Editor's note: SFONG's Fletcher told the Guild Reporter that he explained to Allan that under TNG's Constitution retired members may maintain their Guild

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

membership only in the local to which they last belonged as working members, that they have the right to attend and speak at Guild "sessions," but do not have the right to make or second motions, to vote or hold office, except in units of retirees that locals may establish.

Issue interesting, but note misleading, member says

WARREN, OHIO

Editor:

I found the March 10 fancy Guild Reporter interesting and was happy to have received it but would be concerned about long-run costs.

I think the editor's note below Ms. Hengstenberg's letter 4/14, however, was very misleading.

You said "TNG spent about \$1,100 less . . . than usual" but how much more did it cost to produce than usual? The balance was a ITU subsidy that probably would not continue indefinitely.

DICK ELLERS
Plain Dealer Unit
Cleveland Guild

20 locals pledge \$351,000 to N.Y.

Washington—Twenty Guild locals by May 10 had pledged to lend a total of \$351,000 from their defense funds to TNG if there is a lockout or strike in New York.

TNG has been seeking locals' loan commitments since early April to bolster TNG's own Defense Fund in the event of a lockout or strike.

New York bargaining continues

New York—New York Guild bargaining with the News, Post and Times was continuing here after the Post's publisher directed his representatives to end sessions in Washington, under the auspices of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, on grounds no progress was being made.

No progress was reported in the talks with any of the papers here either, however, despite

their continuation on a concentrated basis with the Post and an increase in the frequency of meetings with the News.

Meanwhile, the National Labor Relations Board began hearings on petitions by the three papers to "clarify" a total of nearly 800 Guild-covered employees out of the union's bargaining units at the papers. The hearings were being held on a five-days-a-week schedule.

And Post publisher Rupert Murdoch was growing increasingly unhappy with the rate at which the remainder of 145 Guild-covered Post employees he wants to resign their jobs were responding to his latest offer to induce them to do so.

During the mediated sessions in Washington, which ended April 27, the Post agreed to pay full wages through June to any who resign before May 22, in addition to previously tendered severance pay, notice pay and up to six months' hospitalization and medical insurance. The 25 to 30 reported to have resigned before the pay-through-June offer were to receive the benefits of the new offer as well.

A May 5 Post bulletin to its Guild employees warned there

would be no further additional inducements for resignations.

Bargaining meetings with the News were being held on an almost daily basis since the first week of May.

The News and the Times on May 9 set a July-4-weekend deadline for new contracts with the pressmen, but did not state any possible action if the deadline is missed.

The Guild had set aside an April 18 strike deadline at the News in the face of a similar April 14 deadline by the Post. It passed without incident.

A March 30 strike deadline by the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers at the News was set aside when an "agreement in principle" on a three-year contract was reached. The agreement had not been finalized, however, by May 11.

The Post's Murdoch told the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Assn. on April 20 that he is seeking the resignations of about a third of the Post's 450 Guild represented employees because he feels the paper is over-staffed and he wants to hire "good news people to replace some of the older ones who refuse or are unable to work."

Post Guild Chairperson Barbara Yuncker called the latter and other Murdoch accusations "a gesture of contempt . . . all the worse when we are presumably trying" to bargain in good faith.

The Times on April 28 reported that the Post had begun to "redeploy" to night shifts and jobs away from the main office some of its staffers who had refused inducements to resign.

The Post, meanwhile, continued conversion of its production processes to cold type and said it expects to complete the job by the end of May.

Its printers are being given "hands on" training by supervisors from Murdoch's San Antonio Express and News and by the equipment manufacturer's representatives.

The New York Typographical Union said the conversion is expected to result in a large number of excess composing room situations, but reminded its members that none can be forced to retire under its contracts.

Similar conversion to cold type by the Times, July 4, is expected to result in 200 or more too many composing room situations there.

Request turned down for special convention

Washington — TNG's International Executive Board has turned down a request from Warren H. Howard of Washington-Baltimore that it call a special TNG Convention to hear a challenge to the certified outcome of the special, rerun election of Jan. 2-7 for TNG vice president from Region 2, the U.S. South.

The IEB acted on recommendation of its Constitution Committee, which said it had "carefully reviewed all pertinent information" and "could not find compelling reasons to justify the extraordinary action of convening a special convention."

Faye McCracken of Memphis was certified by the International Election & Referendum Committee as victor over Howard by a vote of 1,259 to 956. In doing so, the IERC rejected Howard's challenges to the conduct of the election [Guild Reporter, Jan. 27 and March 10].

Noting that the regular convention is scheduled for June 26-30, the IEB pointed out that "if all constitutional requirements were met, the earliest possible date" for a special convention would be three weeks earlier.

The IEB committee noted that Howard did not appear before it when it took up his request, despite a telephoned invitation to do so from the committee chairperson, Vice President Louis M. Calvert of San Jose.

In other actions the IEB also gave clearance to the Ottawa Guild to file disciplinary charges against ten of its members whose objections to a dues increase voted by a membership meeting to support local members locked out at the Ottawa Journal resulted in a lengthy delay in the local's being able to collect and use the funds raised thereby.

The members had threatened their employer, the Ottawa Citizen, with legal action if the dues increase was paid to the Guild, whereupon the Citizen checked the increase off but withheld it from the local. During the year it took to secure a unanimous verdict for the Guild from an arbitration panel, the impounded dues built up to \$60,000 and legal fees added up to about \$1,500.

The local said it will charge the ten, whose identities it could not learn until last fall during the arbitration hearings, with violating that portion of TNG's Constitution forbidding "any willful action tending to defeat the constitutional purposes of TNG." Earlier the local laid the same charge against an 11th member who had sent it a copy of his objection to the company and who had taken the company's side during the hearings, the local reported.

IEB clearance to charge the ten was necessary under a consti-

tutional provision that charges may be filed more than six months after, but within two years of, a violation only with the IEB's permission.

The IEB also voted to recommend to the convention that it accede to the Mountaineer (Morgantown) Guild's request to transfer from Region 3 (the Midwest) to Region 2 (the U.S. South) after the Constitution Committee reported that it had had no negative response from any affected local.

IEB proposals outlined to three councils

Madison, Wis.—TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and five members of TNG's International Executive Board discussed the IEB's proposals for action by TNG's 1978 Convention, particularly its finance recommendations,

with a joint meeting of the Great Lakes, Midwest and Southern District Councils here May 6-7.

Perlik also outlined prospects for passage of the bill to reform U.S. labor law due for debate in the Senate beginning May 15 and

distributed petition forms urging its passage for delegates to take back to their locals.

Nearly half the 50-plus in attendance at the first day's session spent their lunch time on the picket line at the struck Madison

Newspapers, Inc., publisher of the Lee chain's Wisconsin State Journal and the locally owned Capital Times.

Great Lakes Council delegates, meeting separately, said, with the exception of those from Cleveland, in an informal poll that they favored the IEB's finance recommendations to the convention [Story, Page One]. Cleveland's delegates said they wanted to examine the proposal and TNG's budget more closely before making up their minds.

The delegates also endorsed making the joint meetings of the three councils an annual event and invited the Southern and Midwest groups to meet with them next spring in a Great Lakes city. The next Great Lakes meeting will be Nov. 18-19, in Buffalo.

In its separate meeting, the Southern District Council voted a three-cent increase in locals' affiliation dues, to ten cents per member per month, and raised the monthly maximum by \$50, to \$150.

Southern President Porter Binks of Chattanooga said the council undoubtedly will accept an invitation to hold its next meeting in Memphis, probably in October.

The Midwest Council, at its separate session, voted to recommend to the IEB that it retroactively sanction the one-week strike last September by the Chicago Guild's 18-member unit at the Slovene National Benefit Society, a fraternal benefit organization, to entitle unit members to strike benefits for the week.

The Midwest Council's next meeting was set for Nov. 4-5 in Kenosha. TNG's human rights co-ordinator will present an institute on equal employment opportunity and practices.

TNG vice presidents in attendance at the councils' joint meeting were Diane M. Woodstock of Madison, Betsy Wade and David M. Mulcahy of New York, Faye McCracken of Memphis, and Robert C. Holt, Jr., of St. Louis.



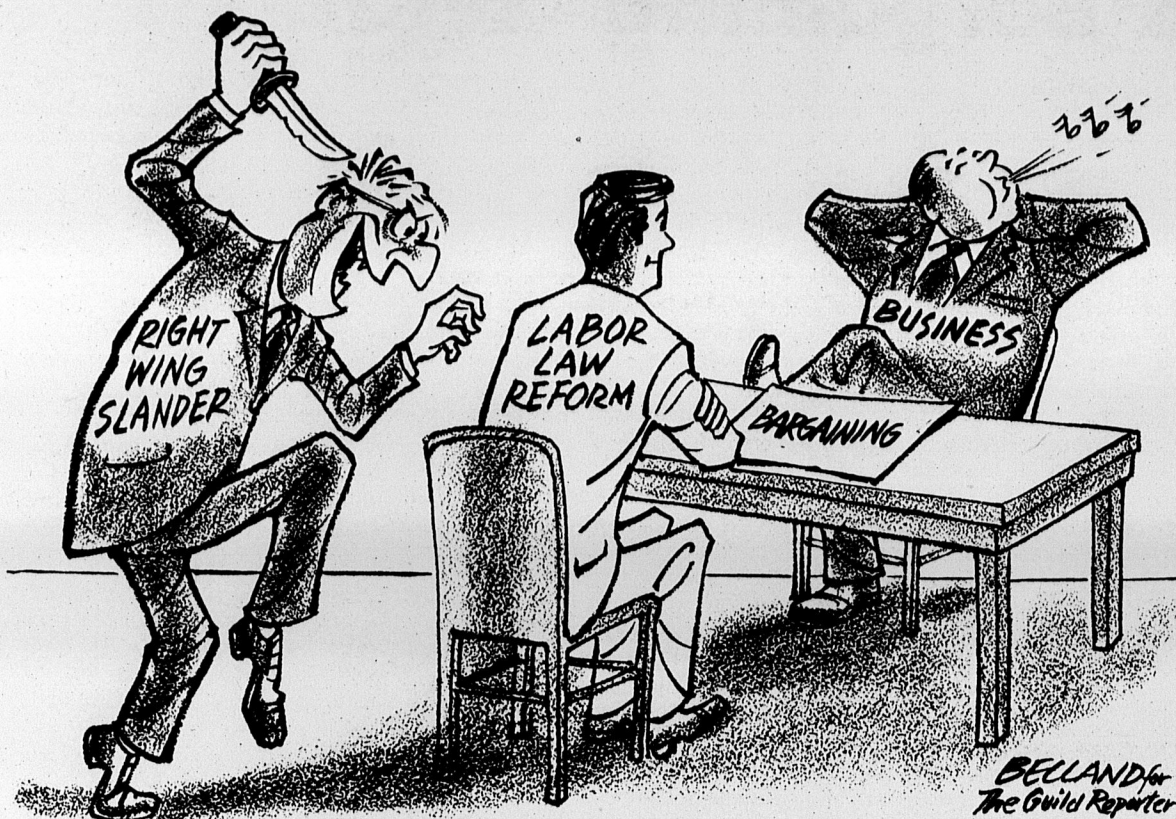
James A. McGill, Gary Guild

Support for Madison

Great Lakes, Midwest and Southern District Council delegates take a turn on the Madison newspaper unions' picket lines during a lunch break in councils' joint meeting May 6. Wearing sign at left is Jack O'Connell, vice chairperson of the Detroit Guild's Pontiac Unit, which has been striking the Oakland (Mich.) Press since Dec. 29. Beside him is Diane M.

Woodstock, Madison Guild president. Also visible, J. Stephen Hatch of Cleveland, Orville Hancock of Memphis and Dorothy Struzinski of Washington-Baltimore. In photo at right is Tom Dorney of the Puerto Rico Guild's San Juan Star Unit. The word "apoya" on his picket sign means "support"; "palante," loosely translated, means "Right On!"

Aiding and abetting?



IEB urges accelerating efforts to eliminate job discrimination

Washington — Pointing to "measurable progress" toward realizing the Guild's human rights goals, TNG's International Executive Board has warned, however, that the "distance yet to go" necessitates "accelerating our efforts" during the next year.

In its Human Rights Report to TNG's 1978 Convention, adopted at its spring meeting, the IEB also points to the American Society of Newspaper Editors' pledge in April to increase the number of minority journalists to equal minorities' proportion of the general population before the year 2000.

Noting that proportional employment has been a long-time Guild goal for all areas of Guild jurisdiction, the IEB called upon locals to "not pass up" the opportunity presented by the ASNE pledge to demand that "employers 'put their money where their mouth is,' or at least where it was in April."

TNG will continue to support and utilize the Journalism Council's Job/Scholarship Referral Service, the IEB said and recommended that locals also subscribe and urge their members' employers to do the same.

During its 1978 fiscal year TNG forwarded to locals the names and addresses of 326 minority persons seeking employment in Guild jurisdiction, more than twice the number of the year before.

The IEB called for special local efforts to transmit the infor-

mation to employers and to follow up on the referrals.

It also called for greater local efforts to achieve and enforce fair employment practices contract provisions that prohibit discrimination in hiring and job placement.

"Locals must enforce with new fervor existing contract provisions such as job posting and promotion clauses," the IEB said, calling them "the key to upward mobility for women and minorities already in Guild ranks and for those who will be in the future." Where such clauses are lacking, they must be won, the IEB declared.

Increased efforts must also be made to achieve parity for all employees in key classifications in inside and outside advertising, business, circulation and editorial departments.

The same must be done for better wage settlements for persons in other jobs in clerical, business, maintenance, mechanical and delivery departments, the IEB said.

It called for the convention to reaffirm the policy that TNG's Contracts Committee refuse permission to sign any proposed settlement containing any discriminatory provision unless the local tries again to eliminate it

and, if still unsuccessful, informs the employer in writing that it will initiate legal proceeding to compel termination of the discriminatory provision.

The board noted that a new federal human rights law in Canada, which applies to some 600 Guild members, contains a precedent-setting provision requiring equal pay for men and women for work of "equal value," rather than just for "equal work," as in the United States.

Locals should also seek elimination of disparity in pension benefits between men and women, the IEB said. It pointed to sex-based tables which presume that women live longer and therefore will have their benefit stretched over a longer period. Some plans thereby provide a smaller monthly benefit to women even though all other factors, such as pay and length of service, are equal, the board noted.

The board also urged the convention to once again call for locals to obtain and forward to TNG full and accurate payroll information by age, race, sex and date of birth. The information, the IEB said, is "necessary to determine the extent and pattern of any discrimination."

Western Council supports Vallejo unions' bargaining

Long Beach, Calif.—Support for all unions at the Vallejo Times-Herald was expressed by the Guild's Western District Council at its spring meeting here. The unions, including the San Francisco-Oakland Guild, are locked in a struggle to gain new contracts with the Donrey paper. The unions' last contracts in Vallejo expired Dec. 31, 1976.

Vallejo is the only SFONG unit without a new contract.

WDC delegates said they were supporting the unions against Donrey's "media monarchy."

In other business, the council: ✓ Urged that South Africa free jailed journalists, remove other press restrictions and lift the ban on the black-oriented

World newspaper.

✓ Said criminal code reform legislation before the House endangers basic liberties and should be defeated if threats to labor, press and civil freedoms aren't removed.

✓ Expressed support for the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in its upcoming coastwide bargaining, noting that the ILWU historically has helped the Guild during its strikes.

The council's next meeting will be Oct. 21-22 at the Eugene Hotel in Eugene, Ore.

Added to the meeting rotation was the new Phoenix Guild, which will be host to the February, 1979, meeting.

As George put it . . .

A symbol of good faith

The following is taken from "an open letter to American business leaders" by AFL-CIO President George Meany that appeared as an advertisement in the May 4 Wall Street Journal:

Opponents of President Carter's bill to reform the nation's labor law, claiming to speak for American business, have launched bitter and often slanderous attacks on the American union movement and its elected leaders.

The Business Roundtable, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Assn. of Manufacturers, the so-called National Right-to-Work Committee and others including extreme right-wing organizations have publicly committed themselves to defeat the labor law reform bill. They seem to feel the only way to achieve this is to defame the union movement and misrepresent the bill, S. 2467.

On behalf of the labor movement, I ask the nation's businessmen: Why? What is your motivation? What do you expect to gain? Where is the moral basis for your attacks? Is not the real intent of this attack the destruction of the uniquely American system of collective bargaining, which business leaders have hailed for four decades?

We in the AFL-CIO don't believe the majority of American businessmen want to give aid and comfort to law-breakers. We don't believe the majority of American businessmen are afraid of the democratic process in labor-management relations.

But, until now, on this important issue of fairness and respect for law, virtually the only message from American business is being delivered by the shrill voice of professional anti-labor lobbying organizations and their often disreputable allies among the propaganda and even "hate" groups of the extreme right. We ask American business leaders:

Do you support the law breakers and law evaders in the business community? Do you want to destroy American trade unionism? Do you believe that labor-management co-operation in the workplace is improved through such attacks on the labor movement and its leaders? Do you secretly seek a death sentence for the collective bargaining system you so often hail in public forums?

And, if the answer is "no"—then, our question is: why do you let the hate mongers and law violators falsely claim to speak in the name of America's business leaders?

There is a better way. It is to establish a system in which a fair law is fairly enforced, and to recognize that "law and order" in labor-management relations will benefit not only business and labor but the entire nation.

Passage of the labor law reform bill will not, of course, guarantee the continuance of a fair and sane approach to labor-management relations in industry and commerce. Defeat of the labor law reform bill, which we would deeply resent, will not of itself send us back to the Dark Ages.

But the labor law reform bill is a symbol of good faith. What happens to that symbol, in the Senate of the United States, will have a profound impact on the kind of labor-management relations that America will have in the years ahead.

The wise and intelligent leaders of the American business world should quickly address themselves to this question and to their role in this campaign.

The Guild Reporter

JAMES M. CESNIK
Editor

ROBERT DUDNICK, Associate Editor

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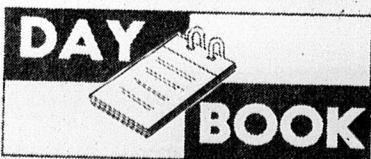
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Middle-Atlantic District Council, spring meeting, May 20-21, Albany.

International Executive Board, pre-convention meeting, June 23-24, Detroit Plaza Hotel, Detroit.

45th Annual TNG Convention, June 26-30, Detroit Plaza Hotel, Detroit.

International Executive Board, fall meeting, Oct. 16-19, TNG headquarters, Washington.

Western District Council, fall meeting, Oct. 21-22, Eugene Hotel, Eugene, Ore.

Midwest District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 4-5, Kenosha, Wis.

Great Lakes District Council, fall meeting (tentative), Nov. 18-19, Buffalo.

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