

Shutdown is ending in St. Louis; back-to-work talks in Montreal

St. Louis—Some 2,000 employees of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat, including about 1,000 members of the St. Louis Guild, began returning to their jobs late Jan. 12 as the papers prepared to publish for the first time since Nov. 20, when the Post-Dispatch was struck by the Pressmen's Union.

Meanwhile, in Montreal the Star, closed since it was struck on June 15 by the Pressmen's Union, had reached tentative

agreements with the Pressmen and its employees' three other unions, including the Montreal Guild, and bargaining shifted to back-to-work agreements.

When two other unions subsequently struck the Post-Dispatch here it announced that it would not try to publish until it had new contracts with all ten of its employees' unions. All the contracts had expired Aug. 31. The Globe-Democrat also was closed by the actions since it is

printed by the Post-Dispatch under a joint operating arrangement.

The way was cleared for both papers to publish again when Teamsters who had struck the firm that contracts to haul both papers from the Post-Dispatch's plant ratified a new contract about mid-day Jan. 12.

Teamster dock hands, the last Post-Dispatch employees with an open contract, had ratified a settlement two days before.

The Paper Handlers, the other

union of Post-Dispatch employees to have struck, had ratified a new contract Jan. 7. The Pressmen had ratified on Dec. 24.

The St. Louis Guild's 700 members at the Post-Dispatch and 300 at the Globe-Democrat had ratified new contracts Dec. 12.

In Montreal, bargainers for the Star, the Pressmen, Typographical Union, Mailers and Guild began meeting on an agreement for a return to work after the Guild on Jan. 11 reached a tentative

agreement on its contract with the paper. The last of the printing trades reached tentative settlements after Christmas.

While details of the settlements were not available, they were understood to be patterned on a settlement by the Pressmen with the Montreal Gazette in November. That provides a four-day week and \$125 in wage increases over three years. The increases will take Gazette Pressmen to \$473 a week in 1981.

The

GUILD REPORTER



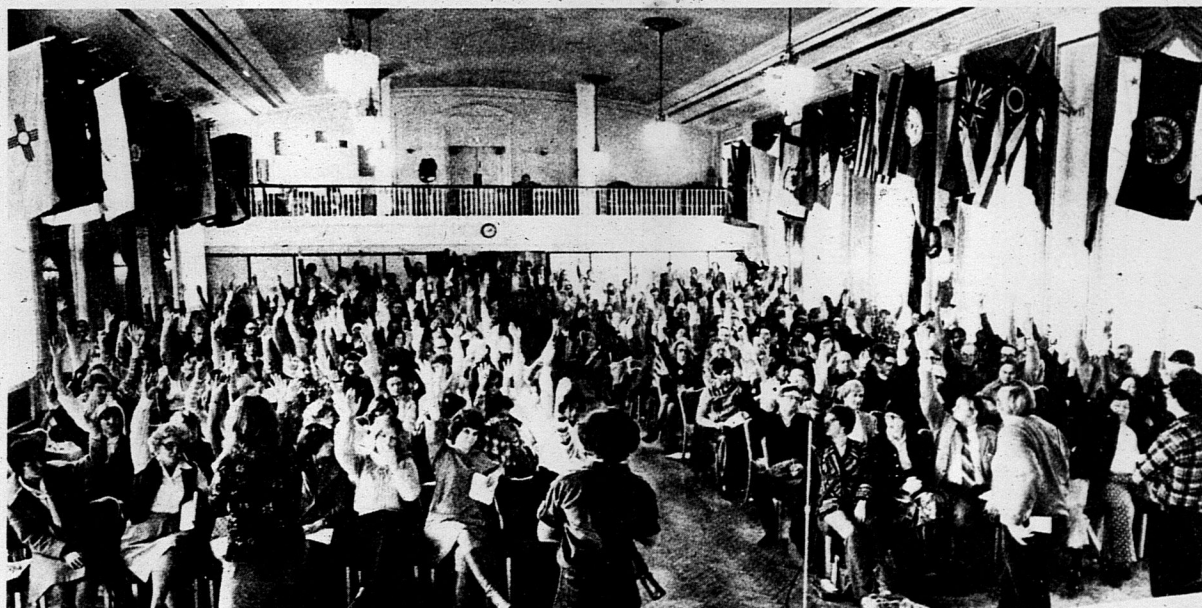
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14 new contracts keep Star publishing



GUILD MEMBERS AT WASHINGTON STAR VOTE 262 TO 10 TO RATIFY NEW FIVE-YEAR CONTRACT
Membership acted during meeting in National Press Club auditorium two days before management's Jan. 1 deadline

Time Inc. gets 'flexibility' in 5-year pacts

Washington—After missing one day, the Washington Star resumed publication Jan. 2 with the promise that it is "here to stay" since it had obtained the last of 14 new, five-year contracts from its employees' unions late on New Year's Day.

Officials of the Star and Time Inc., the paper's owner since February, had for the previous 5½ weeks repeatedly warned that unless all 11 unions agreed to new, long-term contracts by Jan.

Two-year pact takes key top to \$497 at Sun-Times ... Page 3

1 the Star would be permanently closed. About 1,300 persons, including about 470 Washington-Baltimore Guild members, would have been made jobless. The unions' old contracts had nearly a year or more to run.

The new agreements, management said, released to the Star from Time Inc. \$60 million to underwrite a five-year plan to improve the paper, its production and advertising and circulation performance.

In those new contracts, however, Time Inc. sought and extracted a high price.

For while scale, general and minimums increases over the contracts' first three years are as much as \$119 a week (\$92 under the Guild contract) and management says the wage and fringe

(Continued on Page 2)

New Congress seen tilting to right

Washington — With the 96th Congress preparing to open Jan. 15, there were strong indications that the coalition of business, conservative and right-wing interests stands to wield even more influence than in the 95th Congress, where they blocked most labor-backed legislation, including la-

bor law reform.

The victories of candidates sympathetic to the coalition in last November's elections were such, in fact, that some feel that this Congress offers the coalition the chance to actively seek legislative gains at labor's expense, rather than concentrate solely on

thwarting labor's initiatives, the coalition's more traditional role.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, for example, soon after the elections was preparing a legislative package that included proposals for deferring scheduled minimum wage increases, changes in the Occupational Safety and Health Act and changes in the Davis-Bacon Act.

And there were more recent indications that proposals for changes in the latter, which requires federal construction contractors to pay prevailing union wages, were getting a sympathetic ear inside the Carter Administration.

A representative of the U.S. Chamber, however, told the New York Times that business probably would not seek changes of its own in the federal labor law unless unions again push for a measure like the labor law reform bill.

Assessments of the results of the Nov. 7 congressional elections

from different sides of the political spectrum agreed that the ideological shift toward conservatism is greater than the shift in seats from the Democratic to the Republican Party.

AFL-CIO President George Meany said that while the federation will push for national health insurance and maintain labor law reform as a priority, the prospects for the latter were dimmed

(Continued on Page 6)

AP members voting on new pact

New York—A referendum by Associated Press members of the Wire Service Guild on a proposed new, two-year contract with the wire service was being completed as the Guild Reporter went to press.

The tentative settlement, recommended by the local's bargainers, was reached 5½ hours before a 6 a.m. Jan. 1 strike deadline. Among its provisions are minimum and general increases of up to \$20.50 a week this Jan. 1 and another \$19.50 on Jan. 1, 1980, taking the top minimum for newsmen to \$450 a week.

The Jan. 26 Guild Reporter will carry a more complete report.



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on the
information
conglomerates

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14 contracts keep Washington Star publishing

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improvements will cost it a total of \$12 million (\$6 million under the new Guild contract), the settlements also:

- ✓ Eliminate 80 of 183 full-time printers' positions by June 16, 40 of them by Jan. 10, and permit later "buy-outs" to eliminate all but 50 printers' positions.
- ✓ Create a separate, lower schedule of minimums for new hires in Guild jurisdiction and substitute "merit" and "incentive" pool systems for top minimum increases for key news and outside advertising sales employees.
- ✓ Add no-strike/no-lockout and management rights provisions.
- ✓ Provide for nonunion, part-time "route builders" to work with Teamster circulation route men in operation of the paper's home delivery system.
- ✓ Permit subcontracting of some work in the data-processing and accounting departments and the mail room and relax restrictions on the use of stringers and free lances.

Modify provisions under which the paper's 86 full-time Pressmen staff the presses.

Require binding arbitration for resolution of disagreements that may block settlements of wage and fringe-benefit reopeners for the fourth and fifth years of all but one of the contracts, the printers', the last to settle.

Management said the agreements give it the "flexibility" it needs to restore the Star's financial health. The paper lost \$10 million in the ten months of 1978 after Time Inc. bought it from Texas financier Joe L. Allbritton and stood to lose another \$16 million in 1979, management said.

In a front page notice "to our readers" Jan. 2, James R. Shepley, president of Time Inc. and chairman of the Star, "congratulated" the paper's employees and their union leaders "for their willingness to . . . consider new approaches" and said that "the positions of the newspaper unions in Washington have been strengthened greatly by the outcome" of the Star bargaining.

Two days later, responding to a Washington Post editorial wishing the Star well, a Star editorial pointed to the Post's 1975 Pressmen's strike and its present moves to "erode the jurisdiction" of the Guild and pointed out that despite its own "hard bargaining" the Star "remains fully a union paper . . . [an] example . . . worthy of emulation" by the Post.

Leaders of the 11 unions said

El Diario settlement averts strike, raises some by \$77

New York — Minimums are raised by from \$26.57 to \$77.87 while general increases are five, six and seven percent in a three-year New York Guild contract with El Diario-La Prensa, reached ten hours before a proposed strike deadline.

The settlement, ratified by 55 to 0 on Nov. 9, also forbids requiring employees to work outside their department except in cases of emergency and when the employee is able to perform the outside work that has to be done.

Top minimum for reporters, rewrite, deskpersons, data processing supervisor and classified ad manager is raised a total of \$59.72 to \$372.52 a week.

Other top-minimum increases,

all partially retroactive to Jan. 1, 1978, include:

✓ Outside ad salespersons—Up a total of \$53.94, to \$336.49 a week.

✓ Payroll clerks, proofreaders and circulation inspectors—Up a total of \$50.25, to \$313.44 a week.

Differential for those reporting at or after 3 p.m. is raised \$2, to \$5 a shift, and an additional dollar per shift is added for employees reporting at or after midnight.

Weekly auto allowances are raised \$5, to \$50 for circulation inspectors and \$35 for photographers, while the mileage rate goes up two cents, to 20.

that while they and the unions' memberships were not happy with the contracts, they had ratified them to again try to save the paper and their jobs.

During the four years Allbritton controlled the paper Guild members and others had worked short weeks and accepted wage and hiring freezes to preserve jobs and cut losses. Shortly before he sold the paper Allbritton said it was at the point of making a small profit.

Under the Guild's settlement, minimum increases for employees on the payroll Dec. 31, 1978, range from a total of \$43.28 to \$92 during the contract's first three years, while minimums for persons hired after Dec. 31 are those of Jan. 1, 1978.

General increases also range from a total of \$43.28 to \$92 over the three years, with the requirement that persons must have been on the payroll since the previous Oct. 1 to be eligible on Jan. 1, 1980 and 1981.

Highest minimum increase for "old" employees goes to the top for computer programmers and senior data-processing machine operators, \$31 Jan. 1, 1979 and 1981 and \$30 Jan. 1, 1980, to a new top minimum of \$470.24 a week.

Lowest minimum increase goes to experienced reporters and out-

side ad salespersons—\$28.88 this Jan. 1 and \$14.40 Jan. 1, 1980, taking their top minimum to \$514.40. Additional raises for these persons will come from "merit" and "incentive" pools established under the settlement.

Other top minimum increases for employees there on Dec. 31, 1978, include:

✓ Telephone ad solicitors—Up \$27, \$26 and \$31 each Jan. 1, for a total of \$84, taking their top minimum to \$370.07.

✓ Stenographers, general circulation and counter clerks—Up \$27, \$26 and \$27, for a total of \$80, taking their top to \$324.80.

✓ Office aides—Up \$22, \$21 and \$27, for a total of \$70, taking their top to \$262.22.

Library clerks are upgraded, with a total increase of \$90.74 in their top minimum, to \$336.84 a week. The local said there are a total of 19 upgradings.

In addition, the publisher's payment to the local's fund for health and life insurance is increased an extra \$19.88, to \$124.38 a month and additional payments of \$4, \$4 and \$6 a week are to be made for pensions or health and welfare.

The local's Guild Forum said a "major gain" was an agreement to share equally with the Electrical Workers the jurisdiction of the paper's systems maintenance department, settling a pending arbitration. The Typographical Union might also share the jurisdiction, the Forum reported.

Minimum and general increases due Jan. 1 under the Guild's old contract ranged from \$12.50 to \$19.25 a week.

Star Unit members ratified the settlement Dec. 29 after the local's bargaining leaders—Administrative Officer Dorothy Struzinski, Representative Raymond Dick and Unit Chairperson Carlos Sutton—went over it point by point and said that Guild bargainers felt it was the best they could bring back for a vote, the Guild Forum reported.

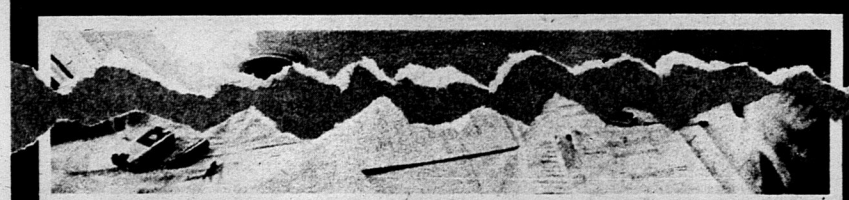
The Guild Forum characterized bargaining as "hellish" after Nov. 22 when the unions were given Time Inc.'s settle-or-close ultimatum.

Charles B. Seib, Post ombudsman and a former Star managing editor, characterized Time Inc.'s bargaining tactics as "brutal."

Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild
Local 35 TNG, AFL-CIO, CLC

Vol. 3, No. 1 January 1, 1979

MAN OF THE YEAR:



THE STAR EMPLOYEE

PAGE ONE OF WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE 'GUILD FORUM' OF JANUARY 1, 1979

Using Time magazine's traditional format, it proclaims employees of Time Inc.'s Washington Star 'Man of the Year'; Time cited Teng Hsiao-p'ing, China's vice premier and army chief of staff

asked the court to order the Star to arbitrate and to keep publishing pending the outcome.

U.S. District Court Judge Charles R. Richey declined to rule on the printers' petition initially, instead ordering the parties to bargain and offering his own services in mediation.

Finally, at about 10 a.m. Dec. 31, without addressing himself to the merits of the printers' contention, he ordered the Star to keep publishing pending a hearing on Jan. 3. The union would "suffer more irreparable harm than the employer" if the Star were closed, he said.

Management countered by announcing that it was preparing to file for bankruptcy, which both the judge and lawyers in the case said could permit the Star to shut down despite any court injunction against the action, the Washington Post reported.

Star publisher George W. Hoyt said in a sworn statement that the paper had "insufficient funds to meet payroll costs and it cannot honor any checks that it might issue commencing Jan. 2, 1979."

After a meeting between union and Star attorneys, Richey withdrew his injunction until 3 p.m. the next day.

In issuing it he said that "the court recognizes the important public interest in having diverse viewpoints expressed in the media," and "it is everyone's responsibility to do everything possible, within the limits of the law, to keep this paper alive" and keep Washington from becoming a one paper town.

Typographical Union President William J. Boorman later said that union wasn't convinced that the Star wasn't bluffing about closing permanently until it threatened bankruptcy.

At that point, said ITU Counsel Ron Rosenberg, "the ante was too high" and it was "too high a hand to call."

"We were concerned about human beings . . . and did what we had to do to keep the Star publishing," Rosenberg told a Washington Post reporter.

In the ensuing bargaining leading to the printers' settlement, the Star doubled, to 50, the minimum number of printers it guarantees to keep through the end of the contract and boosted by about 20 percent, to \$40,000, the lump-sum "buy out" to be given each of the 80 printers that are to leave by June 16. The Star also accepted the union's pledge that the requisite number will leave voluntarily, with the union legally responsible for any shortfall.

Printers' scale will be raised a total of \$119 over four years, to \$523.10 a week.

The Star reported that the cut-back in its composing room staff will save it "at least \$10 million over the next five years."

Post eyes Star's settlement terms

Washington—The Washington Post will have a new contract proposal for the Guild after it reviews the settlement at the Washington Star, its chief negotiator told Guild bargainers Jan. 8.

Larry Wallace, Post vice president for labor relations, called the Star settlement "a new factor impinging on our negotiations," according to the Guild's Post Unit News.

"I assume then," Guild bargaining spokesperson J. William Matz of TNG responded, "that if this proposal parallels the Star settlement, you'll give us a [newspaper] closing date if we don't agree." The Post has been recording record profits.

Holiday season marked by strikers . . .



. . . in Vancouver . . .

Lois Kapp of the Vancouver-New Westminster Guild and Doug Evans of the International Woodworkers' Union wrap gifts for Christmas party for children of members of five news-

paper unions striking and locked out at Vancouver Sun and Province and their joint production agency, Pacific Press. Woodworkers contributed gifts that went to 250 children.



Edward Petre/Dowriver Reporter/Detroit Guild

. . . and suburban Detroit

Detroit Guild members striking Mellus suburban weeklies acknowledge tribute of more than 450 area residents plus local and state union and governmental officials during bene-

fit party at area Steelworkers' hall. Proceeds were divided among the strikers for their Christmas-time holiday observances — about \$75 for each of the 40 strikers.

Madison co-op's staff forgoes pay

Madison, Wis. — With the Madison Press Connection, the paper started by strikers from the Capital Times and Wisconsin State Journal, facing a new financial crisis, its staff has voted overwhelmingly to again work without pay, at least through January.

The advisory vote resulted in the board of directors of the co-operatively owned Press Connection postponing until Jan. 13 a meeting to decide the paper's future. It set a special stockholders' meeting for the same date.

The Press Connection's 70-member staff acted Jan. 4 in the face of the paper having outstanding debts of about \$85,000 as of Dec. 31. Pay for all full-time jobs on the paper has been \$150 a week plus health insurance since it became a permanent publication in July after being started as an interim paper soon after the city's established dailies were struck Oct. 1, 1977.

Pay to staffers had resumed Dec. 8 after two payless weeks when a community fund raising effort was launched on the paper's behalf. The fund drive [Guild Reporter, Dec. 20] helped reduce the paper's \$106,000 debt

by nearly \$71,000, but "disappointing advertising sales during the Christmas season left it hurting again," according to its editor, Ron McCrea.

McCrea noted that "on the credit side" as of Dec. 31 was \$53,000 in accounts receivable. Some \$19,000, plus "several thousands more pledged," was in an escrow fund and unavailable for operating expenses since it is dedicated to capital improvements. If the paper is closed it will be returned, McCrea added.

The Press Connection's board has estimated that continued publication with new revenue-producing activities could bring the paper to the break-even point "within a few months—but only if the staff works without pay," McCrea said.

Other efforts aimed at the paper's survival include enlarging its advertising staff and regular mass-distribution of samples of the paper to area homes in an effort to increase its circulation to 17,500, from about 12,000. The paper needs to build advertising to 60 percent and average 32 pages per issue.

Meanwhile, the National Labor Relations Board began hear-

ings Jan. 10 on its complaint against the Capital Times, State Journal and their joint operating agency, Madison Newspapers Inc., that they instigated and prolonged the five-union strike through a series of unfair labor practices charges.

The NLRB is seeking back-pay and reinstatement for the strikers, including Madison Guild members, many of whom are staffing the Press Connection. The hearings are expected to be long and complex.

Merger talks reset

Washington—The joint meeting of TNG's and the ITU's merger committees scheduled for Jan. 8-12 has been postponed until the first full week in February and two other previously scheduled meetings are being rescheduled accordingly.

The postponement and rescheduling will result in two joint meetings of the committees in February—Feb. 5-9 and Feb. 26-March 2, both in Washington. A March meeting has been set for the 26th through 30th, in

Key tops will hit \$497 under Sun-Times pact

Chicago—A two-year contract with the Chicago Sun-Times raising the top minimum for reporters, photographers and artists by \$59.63, to \$497.03 a week, has been ratified by the Chicago Guild's unit at the paper.

The tally in the Dec. 20 vote was 76 to 64. Guild bargainers, who had been voted authority to call a strike, had reached a tentative agreement 17 days before.

The settlement, the Guild's first with Field Enterprises, Inc., since it closed the Chicago Daily News, also contains new seniority protections against reductions in force and provides for extra severance pay for senior employees in economy dismissals.

About 150 Guild-covered employees lost their jobs when Field closed the Daily News last March 4.

The reporter-photographer-artists top minimum is raised in increments of \$31.50, retroactive to June 1, and \$28.13 on this June 1.

Top minimum for copy readers and rewrite and makeup persons is raised an additional \$1.96, to \$513.93.

Reference librarians' top goes up \$45.34, to \$381.34 a week, in increments of \$23.75 and \$21.59.

Flat minimum for assistant department heads, telegraph editor, columnists and critics is raised \$65.88, to \$549.99, with real estate, food and fashion editors added to the group.

General increases the contract's first year-range from \$12 to \$36

a week and are six percent the second.

A cost-of-living provision will be activated if the wage-earners' price index goes up by more than 6 percent between August 1978 and August 1979.

A provision is added to make seniority the determining factor when there is no substantial difference between employees' abilities or qualifications in force reductions.

Another new provision makes employees with at least 10 years' service eligible for up to 50 weeks' severance pay (two for each year's service) in economy dismissals in addition to up to 62 weeks' severance provided for other no-fault dismissals, under the same accrual formula.

Employees' with more than 15 years' service get a ninth, personal-choice holiday each year. The vacation bonus for employees with 25 or more years' service is increased \$25, to \$250.

The publishers' payment toward hospitalization insurance is increased a total of \$3.50, to \$22.50 a week for family coverage—to \$7 a week for individuals.

Up to \$2.25 a month is provided for new vision-care insurance.

The maximum insurance allowance for regular automobile users is increased \$50, to \$350 a year.

A guarantee that the publisher will continue to provide legal representation in demands for disclosure of newsgatherers' information also is added.

New pact at B.C. weekly raises all by \$54 a week

Richmond, B.C.—All minimums and step increases are raised a total of \$54.60 a week in a two-year Vancouver-New Westminster Guild contract with the Richmond Review, a suburban weekly.

The increases come in two increments: \$30.10 last Nov. 1 and \$24.50 the same date this year. Top minimum for reporters, photographers, outside ad sales persons and circulation district managers goes to \$384.49 with the second raise.

Top minimum for clerks will go to \$286.26 at the same time. That for runner will go to \$233.75.

New hires are required to join the Guild immediately upon employment, rather than within 30 days of hiring.

The publisher is pledged to set up training programs emphasizing equal opportunity for transfer and promotion for women and minority groups. The training is to be on-the-job, supplemented by formal classes. Promotion standards are not to exceed those re-

quired by the job.

Overtime pay is increased to doubletime, from time-and-a-half, and triple time is provided for holiday work. An 11th holiday, the employee's birthday, is added.

Dismissals to reduce the force are banned for four weeks after their necessity is established, up from two weeks, and required notice of cessation of publication is raised to a month, from two weeks.

A ban on operation of new equipment until after agreement on its use has been reached is added.

Service time for four weeks' vacation is cut a year, to six, and for five weeks is cut four years, to 11. Two weeks "supplementary vacation" are provided after 15 years' service, three weeks after 20 and 25 years, four weeks after 30 and 35 years and five weeks after 40 years.

A prohibition against noise levels that would cause "aural or other injury" is added.

Mileage is increased three cents, to 28, the weekly minimum is increased \$12 for reporters and \$8 for photographers, taking both to \$30 a week, while a formula for mileage to increase with the cost of gasoline is added.

Guild, ITU locals talk in Toronto

Toronto — Leaders of the Southern Ontario Guild and the Toronto Typographical Union have begun talks to explore merger of the locals in the event there is a merger of their respective international unions.

Conglomeration, Concentration and the flow of Information

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

LET ME GIVE my background briefly as some explanation of the source of my information and opinions.

For 19 years I worked for daily newspapers as a reporter, foreign correspondent, Washington correspondent and an editor. I have been a magazine editor and have written for most national magazines of general circulation. Throughout this period I have done media research and criticism. I was a Guggenheim Fellow researching ownership patterns of the press. For 2½ years I did research at Rand on the impact of modern technology on the future of American informational media and for the last three years on factors that lead to success or failure of newspapers. For the last two years I have been on the faculty of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley.

This symposium is looking at the phenomenon of increasing control of information organizations in the United States by a relatively small number of national and transnational corporations. I understand that some important executives in publishing have expressed concern that people outside the corporate end of their business—journalists, researchers, academics, civic activists and others—will approach the problem with a prejudice against their motives. Let me confirm their worst fears by beginning with a quotation on that subject:

"I rather think that the influence of the American press . . . is declining. This, I believe, is because so many newspapers are owned or influenced by reactionary interests and predatory corporations, and are used selfishly to promote the welfare of these reactionary interests, rather than the welfare of the public."

I would not express my own concern in that language and there are portions of that quotation that seem to me to be exaggerated. But I should point out that the quotation is not from a journalist or academic but from one of the trade's pioneers in chains and conglomerates, the original William Randolph Hearst. He uttered those words in 1924, at which time he was among the first to show the power of owning newspapers, magazines, movie companies and other assorted properties that affect the public mind.

TODAY WE ARE looking at a phenomenon that might have surprised even Mr. Hearst. In 1924 he and other chain operators controlled 31 corporations that owned 153 papers, or eight percent of all dailies. Today there are 167 chains that control 1,082 papers, or 61 percent of all papers. It took the first 60 years of this century for chains to control 27 percent of all our papers. It has taken only the last 16 years for chains to reach control of 61 percent of all papers and 75 percent of all daily circulation.

Newspapers are only one medium that influences our culture and our politics. The phenomenon of fewer and fewer people controlling more and more of our public intelligence affects every mass medium in our country. The concentration of control of our newspapers, magazines, broadcasting, books and movies has reached alarming levels. Fewer than 100 corporate executives have ultimate control of the majority of each medium in the United States.

According to the Census of Manufacturers, 20 corporations, each with a chief executive officer, control 52 percent of all daily newspaper sales; 20 corporations control 50 percent of all periodical sales; 20 corporations control 52 percent of all book sales; 20 corporations control 76 percent of all record and tape sales. If one counts the three networks and the ten corporations whose sponsorship dominates prime time, 13 corporations control two-thirds of the audience in television and radio. Seven corporations control 75 percent of movie distribution.

These 100 men and women constitute a private Ministry of Information and Culture for the United States.

In fact, there are fewer than 100 corporations because some of them are among the top 20 controllers of more than one medium. For example:

✓ Twenty-seven percent of all television stations are controlled by newspaper companies.

✓ A magazine company, Time Inc., owns magazines, a daily in the nation's capital, 17 weekly newspapers, five book publishing houses, a film company, and has interests in cable [TV] and records.

✓ RCA owns the National Broadcasting Company, a record company, and the book publishing houses of Random House, Ballantine Books, Alfred Knopf, Pantheon, Vintage and Modern Library.

✓ The biggest newspaper conglomerate, Times-Mirror, owns the Los Angeles Times, the Dallas Times-Herald, Long Island's Newsday and other papers, four magazines, TV stations, cable systems, 50 percent of a news service and New American Library.

✓ CBS, one of three companies with two-thirds of the prime-time audience, owns 20 magazines, three record companies, and the book publishing houses of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Popular Library and W. B. Saunders Co.

This really means that when it comes to the mass media that create a major ingredient of our social and political environment, the men and women who control most of it would fit in this room. If that were the case of a government bureaucracy there would be justified alarm

... greater potential to use journalism as by-product ...

among the public and especially among the entrepreneurs who now control our media environment. And I would share their alarm for two reasons: Government has police powers to enforce self-serving propagandistic use of our mass media. Even under the best of conditions it is not safe to repose in a small group of human beings, governmental or not, such closely controlled power over the ideas, information and values that are propagated by our mass media.

The small number of private corporations that are increasingly gaining control over our mass media do not have governmental powers. But they are too small a group of fallible human beings to have such unified control. Even if they should be philosopher-saints in their wisdom, this country was founded on the theory that no small group, even philosopher-saints, should have so much power over public information and discourse.

THIS PATTERN of control is compounded by two new developments in media ownership. One is the inclusion of journalism and other media companies in large conglomerate corporations that are also in other industries, industries that regularly are reported—or not reported—by the same corporation's media properties.

A company like ITT, deeply involved with foreign governments and domestic policy, that also controls publishing companies is in a position of direct conflict of interest that we would not condone with government officials or agencies. We know that for many years William Randolph Hearst used his newspapers, magazines, wire services and movie production companies to urge the United States to declare war on Mexico not out of a pure instinct for news but because he feared expropriation of his mining properties in Mexico. Today there is greater potential than ever for using journalism as a by-product by large conglomerates who have an explicit desire to influence public opinion and government policy in their favor.

The other new development is a pat-

tern of several traditionally competing media coming under ownership by the same parent corporation.

It has always been assumed that a newspaper article might be expanded to a magazine article, which could become the basis for a hardcover book which, in turn, could be a paperback, and then, perhaps, a TV series and finally, a movie. At each step of change an author and other enterprises could compete for entry into this array of channels for reaching the public mind and pocketbook. But today several of our media giants own these arrays, not only closing off entry points for competition in different media, but influencing the choice of entry at the start on the basis of how a later treatment by the same company will profit.

Book publishing, for example, used to be satisfied by a conventional profit in the sale of hardcover books. But now that most book sales are controlled by 20 companies, many of which also own other media, increasingly hardcover books, those basic repositories of information and reflection, are selected not because the public will buy them for themselves, at a profit for the book company, but because they will do well in the same company's magazines, in its mass paperback sales or in its television and movie treatment. Not only does this constrict the basis on which book manuscripts are selected, but it has begun to destroy the special quality of presentation that is unique to each medium and that represents a necessary richness of subject matter and approach.

We now see book manuscripts assigned and selected so that a television movie can be made from which a mass paperback based on the television movie can be sold, all by a company that had this media incest orchestrated by its marketing computers.

The question inevitably arises whether the media really have any influence. The answer is not always simple.

During the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the majority of newspapers, then the major medium, were hostile to the New Deal in their news columns and in their editorials. But they were dealing with a population whose desperation at finding food and shelter was more persuasive than the slanted news and angry editorials against Roosevelt's programs. But we do not always deal with desperate overwhelming, personal problems. Instead, between crises we accumulate unspectacular information and ideas that shape our values and those values in turn influence how we meet crises when they arise.

In this everyday, unspectacular laying down of the national consciousness I think the evidence is clear that our media do have a subtle but profound effect.

In explicit things like the impact of television on violent behavior, the report of the U.S. Surgeon General, when read in the original, shows beyond doubt that the persistent portrayal of violence on television affects every American's attitude toward violence, regardless of social class.

Perception of our whole society, and of particular groups in our society, is learned mostly from our mass media. We are increasingly a society of polarized, homogeneous communities, leading to separate by race, by economics and by

social class. We no longer live in small communities where there is personal contact across class lines. We are seeing the disappearance of the community, all-class school. Millions of Americans are growing up without personal knowledge of other Americans who are of a different skin color, or ethnic background, or economic class—except for what they see, read and hear in the mass media.

MEDIA OPERATORS, when confronted with this, tend to disclaim all influence on human behavior. When they do so, they fly in the face of the overwhelming weight of evidence of the most careful studies and of common experience. They are also ignoring their own appeals to advertisers. When media operators compete for their share of the \$27 billion dollars in annual advertising expenditures, they insist to the advertisers that their medium can influence human behavior.

If our media cannot influence human behavior then they are selling false goods to the commercial entrepreneurs, the politicians and the special interest groups who buy space and time to advertise their wares and to influence public opinion.

It would mean that some of our most powerful corporations—IBM, Xerox, Procter & Gamble, General Motors, General Mills, Mobil Oil—are fools because they spend billions of dollars every year advertising to sell their goods and to influence public opinion. They would be fools if they continued to spend this money without some evidence that it does in fact change the way people think and behave. I do not believe that they are fools and I don't think that media operators treat them as fools.

I see no alternative but to assume that our media have a profound effect on our national culture and values and that we should be concerned about control of our media.

My concern over the nature of control over our media is not so much my disagreement with the personal values and politics of many media owners. I do not want homogeneous newspapers, broadcasts, magazines and movies, even if all

... sooner or later those with power will use it ...

of them were compatible with my personal beliefs.

History forces us to be concerned. History tells us that the only safe source of information is pluralistic. History also tells us that potential power must be regarded as real power. Government laws that permit severe regulation do not make the media operators less worried simply because the government says it doesn't really intend to use these powers. I don't believe government when it says that and media operators are wise not to believe it. Licenses to exercise power will be used.

But neither can I look with equanimity upon the small number of people who control our media say they are benevolent, and that they do not really intend to use their ultimate power of control over information. We are being careless with history unless we assume that who-

ever has power, sooner or later, will use it to the fullest.

The developing patterns in daily newspapers illustrate what I mean.

In most developed countries there are a number of papers published in the principal city and distributed in every part of the country the same day. All the serious national and international news is in these papers. Local papers are of relatively small importance because the central functions that affect people's lives are exercised at the national level and presumably will be reported by the national papers. The large number of national papers in these other countries means there is commercial competition. But, more important, it means that there can be differences in basic political or social content, from which people may make a choice, each paper concentrating on a slightly different point of view and reporting a different spectrum of information. If a radical paper buries a story embarrassing to its adherents, a conservative rival will happily report it and the information will enter the public arena.

In this country we have only one truly national paper, the Wall Street Journal, transmitted overnight by satellite to printing plants all over the country and delivered by newsstand or mail the same day in every part of the country. But it is a specialized financial paper. We have a few papers of unusual influence, like the New York Times, the Los Angeles

... 7,000 urban places, but only 1,760 dailies ...

Times and the Washington Post, but they are not available in every part of the country the same day of publication.

There are a number of subsidiary reasons for the lack of a national press in this country but the major reason is that no national newspaper can tell the people of a particular city or region what they need to know in order to govern themselves. The New York Times is of little help to Des Moines when Des Moines elects members of its school board.

This pattern of localism, and the degree to which the health of urban society depends on it, makes disturbing two contemporary developments in the press:

✓ First, is the now almost-standard pattern of local monopoly for daily papers throughout our country.

✓ Second, is the consolidation of these monopolies into dominating metropolitan publications that pre-empt the economic base for new papers in each community but do not provide each community with the news it needs.

Monopoly is an established fact in American daily newspapers. There are 1,760 daily papers in the country in about 1,600 communities, and in 97½ percent of these communities there is only one local newspaper company. Those of you who live in the 34 cities of the country that still have newspapers in face-to-face competition should realize that you are in a 2½ percent minority.

The other disturbing development is that most of our cities do not have daily papers. We have 7,000 urban places in the country but only 1,760 newspapers, leaving about 75 percent of our urban

communities without their own paper. It was not always this way. In 1890 there were 1,348 urban places and 1,600 daily papers, an excess of 19 percent of papers over urban communities. The 75 percent of our urban communities without their own paper often have access to a metropolitan or other paper from another community. And many papers would insist that they try to cover all of the cities where they sell papers. But the fact is that they do not and cannot.

It is not unusual for a metropolitan paper to have significant distribution over 40 counties. The Atlanta Constitution and Journal, for example, circulates significantly in 55 counties, only 16 of which have their own daily paper. The average county in the United States has 26 local governments, 22 of them with taxing power. A paper that covers 40 counties, in order to do minimal civic reporting, would have to cover over 1,000 governmental bodies. This is just a start of adequate community reporting and no paper comes even close.

THESE DEVELOPMENTS put a different light, I think, on the development of chains, conglomerates and other extreme concentrations of control over our mass media. It means that in many media, particularly newspapers and in the uniformity of network programming, large numbers do not mean competition, but the opposite.

The most clear example of what I mean is in the case of daily newspapers. There are in the United States 1,759 daily newspapers of general circulation, a figure that has remained almost constant for a generation. These daily papers are owned by 834 companies.

If the ownership were distributed evenly this would mean about two papers per company. But of course ownership is not distributed evenly because 167 of these companies, the chains or groups that own more than one paper in more than one community, own 62 percent of all daily papers.

If ownership of chain papers were distributed evenly among chains it would mean between five and six papers per chain. But that is not the case. The 25 largest chains own 31 percent of all dailies and a majority of all chain papers. But chain-owned papers are bigger than the average American daily, so in terms of circulation, the 25 largest newspaper corporations control 52 percent, or a majority, of all papers sold daily in the United States.

But as we look at the accumulation of media power by the largest companies we see an even tighter concentration. The ten biggest chains control 36 percent of all circulation and 20 percent of all newspaper companies.

Put another way, this shows that one percent of all newspaper companies control 36 percent of all papers sold daily and own 20 percent of all newspaper companies.

At the start of 1977 there were 1,759 dailies in the country, and 677 remained independently owned. About 250 of these 677 have less than 5,000 circulation and therefore have too small a cash flow to interest a chain. The larger chains are bidding furiously for the remaining 400 and predictably most will be absorbed.

THE RATE AT WHICH the big chains are swallowing small chains and accumulating control of our daily printed news is seen in just the last ten years. Ten years ago the ten biggest chains controlled 11 percent of all daily newspaper companies. Today the ten biggest chains control 20 percent of all daily papers. So not only is the independently owned daily paper predictably going to disappear, but control of all papers is rapidly accumulating disproportionately among the biggest corporations in the news business.

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(To be concluded)



U.S. 'naive' on Cincinnati, unions charge

Washington — The recommendation by the Justice Dept.'s Antitrust Division that the Cincinnati Post be permitted to merge all but its editorial department with the Enquirer demonstrates either "incredible naivete" or "complete surrender . . . to corporate manipulation," TNG and the ITU have charged.

The accusation comes in a joint brief by the unions to the Justice Dept. hearing officer considering whether to recommend

that the papers be granted the antitrust exemptions provided joint publishing operations under the Newspaper Preservation Act.

The two unions said that while they could agree with most of the "findings of fact" cited by the Antitrust Division in its recommendation [Guild Reporter, Dec. 20], the division's conclusions "are plainly incorrect."

The division's "findings" they cannot agree with, the unions said, are really conclusions that Scripps "acted reasonably" in its

actions or inactions at the Post or are based on a Scripps executive's "less than disinterested, unsupported conclusions."

"The sum of Scripps' conduct in its operation of the Post" cannot be viewed as reasonable "by anyone who perceives the world with some sense of reality," the unions said.

Of all the steps that might have been taken to reduce costs or increase profits in recent years "Scripps has without exception chosen the course . . . least likely

to achieve a favorable result," they said.

Scripps maintains that without entering a joint operation with the Combined Communications' Enquirer the Post cannot be profitably published. It says the Post lost more than \$10.6 million from 1972 through 1977. More than 500 Post employees, including about 260 Guild members, would lose their jobs if the merger occurs.

If "a correct incremental benefit analysis" is applied to the Post's results during the period, the unions' brief said, Scripps "in fact lost only small amounts of cash" from the Post's operations and only for "a few recent years." And those losses would be "even lower" if one-time costs were removed from their calculation, the unions said.

Among the costs that should not be assigned to the Post's operations are those for the five-month operation of a Sunday "shopper." It was "so poorly conceived and so poorly executed and so without basis in reason" that it cannot be viewed as "the kind of project that daily newspapers normally undertake in attempting to increase revenues," the unions said.

The Antitrust Division also errs in its calculation of potential revenue gain from a circulation price

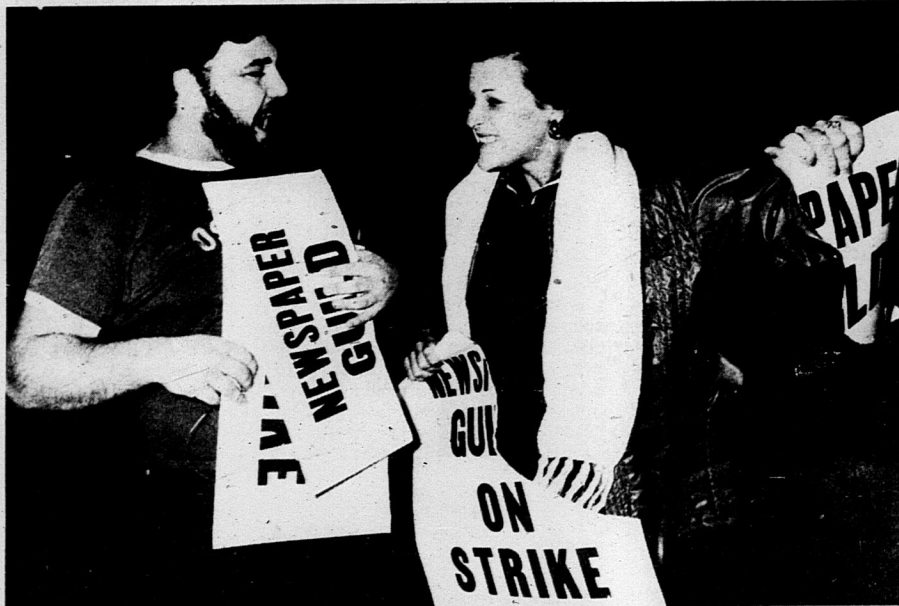
increase to coincide or closely follow one by the Enquirer, the unions said. Rather than an annual increase of \$571,476, the increase from 1977 to 1978 would have been nearly \$1.1 million, they said.

The division also erred in concluding that it would be impossible for someone else to operate the Post separately at a profit, the unions said. In light of Scripps' "adamant refusal to discuss in any meaningful way the possibility of selling the Post," it is impossible to say there are no purchasers available.

The unions also said Scripps should have seriously examined antitrust actions against the Enquirer, should not have invested so heavily so early in converting to offset printing since it knew that "more sophisticated equipment" would soon be on the market and that the paper should have launched reduced-price circulation promotions when the Enquirer was closing on the Post with such methods.

"The Post could easily have been—and can easily still be—turned into a net economic benefit to Scripps," the unions' brief concludes, calling the Antitrust Division's contrary conclusion "little more than a fairy tale."

Oral argument has been scheduled for Jan. 30, in Cincinnati.



'Ripping good' strike in Oshawa

Brian Cleeve, editorial writer, left, and Shelley Thomas, family-page editor, at the Thomson chain's Oshawa Times tear up their picket signs following ratification of new Guild contract with the paper Dec. 6, ending strike that

lasted less than a day. Settlement raised minimums by nine percent and cut work week to 37½ hours, from 40 [Guild Reporter, Dec. 20]. Pressmen and Typographical Union members honored picket lines. Paper did not publish.

Vallejo unions propose arbitration

Vallejo, Calif.—The five unions striking the Vallejo Times-Herald since June 20 have offered to submit all contract differences with the DonRey-chain paper to final and binding arbitration.

In a letter hand delivered to the paper's management Jan. 4 the unions—the Guild, Typographical Union printers and mailers, Pressmen and Graphic

Arts—said they and their members are prepared to "cease all strike activity" upon the company's acceptance of the proposal.

There was no formal response through Jan. 9, but general manager David E. Caffoe was quoted by a local radio station as saying the company had permanently replaced the strikers and was not interested.

The unions proposed that the company select one of four methods for choosing an arbitrator, including allowing the Times-Herald itself to select any arbiter who has ever handled a case involving any newspaper and any of the striking unions.

Times-Herald employees struck the paper after more than a year and a half of bargaining. Previous contracts expired Dec. 31, 1976.

"The five unions and approxi-

mately 80 employees involved . . . wish to do everything possible to conclude this long and costly strike," the unions' proposal said.

The strikers, meanwhile, continue publication of their interim paper, the Vallejo Independent Press (V.I.P.), a biweekly delivered to about 30,000 area homes.

On Jan. 5 the paper, heretofore circulated without charge, asked readers for voluntary payment of \$2 per month. Fifty recipients brought the sum to the paper's offices within hours of delivery of the paper, union leaders said.

At the same time, the Times-Herald continued daily publication, as it has since the strike began, while also continuing to offer cut-rate subscription prices and free and drastically reduced ad rates, the unions said.

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International Executive Board, winter meeting, Jan. 22-25, TNG headquarters, Washington.

Middle-Atlantic District Council, winter meeting and TNG regional institute, Feb. 3-4, Stadium Hilton Hotel, Philadelphia.

Western District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 3-4, Phoenix.

TNG Special Merger Committee and ITU Merger Negotiating Committee, 6th joint meeting, Feb. 5-9, Washington.

Midwest District Council, winter meeting and TNG regional institute, Feb. 10-11, Quality Inn, Denver.

New England District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 10-11, Hilton Inn, Wakefield, Mass.

Great Lakes District Council, winter meeting and TNG regional institute, Columbus, Feb. 17-18.

Southern District Council, winter meeting and TNG regional institute, Memphis, Feb. 24-25.

TNG Special Merger Committee and ITU Merger Negotiating Committee, 7th joint meeting, Feb. 26-March 2, Washington.

TNG Special Merger Committee and ITU Merger Negotiating Committee, 8th meeting, March 26-30, Colorado Springs.

International Executive Board, spring meeting, April 23-27, TNG headquarters, Washington.

46th Annual TNG Convention July 2-6, 1979, Biltmore Plaza Hotel, Providence.

The Guild Reporter

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