



BRUCE D. SMALLWOOD/Sunpapers unit/Washington-Baltimore Guild

Abell strikers Two newscasters striking the A. S. Abell Co.'s Baltimore television station pause April 14 at the Baltimore Sunpapers' plant, also an A. S. Abell Co. property, as their picket line is extended to the papers' plant to protest its serving as a drop point for film and other materials destined for the struck station. Members of the Guild and most other unions at the papers honored the picket lines for about 16 hours—until Sunpapers' management ordered an end to the drop-point practice. Pictured above are Andy Barth and Susan White-Bowden. (Story, Page 3.)

THE GUILD REPORTER



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2-year Victoria pact boosts tops by \$154

Victoria, B.C.—Key top minimums are raised by \$154.62, to \$634.66 a week, under a new two-year agreement between the Victoria Guild and Thomson's Times-Colonist.

The \$154.62 increase for reporters, photographers, outside advertising salespersons and circulation district managers comes in two increments, with \$81.61, to \$561.65, retroactive to Dec. 1, and \$73.01 due Dec. 1, 1982.

The settlement is the first with the paper since Thomson on Aug. 31, 1980, merged the Victoria Times and Colonist into a single, all-day Times-Colonist, one of a series of moves by the Thomson and Southam chains that touched off extensive government hearings into the concentration of ownership of Canada's newspapers.

The agreement, reached in joint bargaining with the Typographical, Mailers' and Pressmen's unions, calls for increases of 17 percent the first year and 13 percent the second—the same percentages as in recent agreements between Vancouver's newspaper unions and Southam's Sun and Province [Guild Reporter, April 19].

Notice of economic dismissals is doubled, to 60 days, and provision is added to guarantee that rehires for both permanent and temporary vacancies will be strictly by seniority. Time for recalled employees to report for work is extended by seven days, to 21.

A provision guaranteeing the right to refuse to handle work coming from or destined for a struck department or plant is extended to the Guild itself, in addition to its members.

Group life insurance coverage is doubled, to \$20,000, with the company to pay half the premium. Formerly employees paid the full premium.

The minimum weekly guarantee for district managers using their own vehicles is raised by \$10, to \$60 for those dealing with the evening edition and to \$60.50 for those handling the morning edition. A weekly guarantee for outside advertising salespersons is raised by \$6.50, to \$39 a week.

The mileage rate for all employees is increased by 6 cents, to 33 cents a mile, with an escalator provision calling for an

increase of one cent in the rate for each 10-cent increase in the average price of a gallon, or 2.2 cents per liter, determined by surveying costs at three companies' stations.

A sixth week of vacation for employees with 22 years or more service is added, and the service required for a fifth week is reduced by four years, to 10, while that for a fourth week is lowered by one year, to five.

The new agreement calls for all overtime to be compensated at the double time rate; the old had provided double time for overtime work in excess of two hours.

Night differential is raised by two percent, to 8½ percent.

The company also agreed there will be no reduction in the number of district managers, utility supervisors or circulation country roadpersons currently employed.

It also agreed to recommend an improvement in pension benefits to trustees of the plan.

The agreement was reached in marathon bargaining, with the final session going 22 hours non-stop, after the unions' membership had voted to strike if necessary. At a meeting drawing 85 percent of the unit, Guild members had voted overwhelmingly to give their bargainers authority to call a strike.

Other increases and resulting new top or flat minimums include:

Deskpersons—Up by \$161.64, to \$663.47 a week, in increments of \$85.31 and \$76.33.

Wholesale drivers—Up by (Continued on Page 6)

Allbritton quits N.Y. News talks; future??

New York—Speculation was rife here over the future of the New York Daily News after Texas talker Joe L. Allbritton broke off talks with the city's 11 newspaper unions just 3½ days before his self-imposed deadline for reaching agreements with them and 8½ days before his option on the paper runs out.

Edward Silver, chief negotiator for would-be-News-owner Allbritton, walked out of talks with leaders of the unions, including the New York Guild, in mid-afternoon April 22 after apparently affirming to them that Allbritton considered his demands for wage cuts and freezes non-negotiable.

The unions' leaders, through the Allied Printing Trades Council, had said they wanted to propose alternatives that could save the News as much money as Allbritton's wage demands.

They also said they wanted their accountants to have a chance to examine the financial projections upon which Allbritton bases his demands for \$70 million in cost cuts to get the News out of the financial red-ink. Allbritton initially demanded \$85 million in cuts but had revised that figure after closer calculations about a week earlier.

In addition to the wage cuts and freeze, Allbritton is demanding elimination of the equivalent

of 1,600 full-time jobs, including 298 within the Guild's jurisdiction of 1,000-plus; 197 of the job cuts would be in the news room.

At the same time, the Post reported that it had "learned" that the News "probably will

continue to publish even if no buyer is found" because "a more detailed examination of the costs of closing" shows they "could be much closer to \$300 million" than the \$80 million estimated earlier.

(Continued on Page 2)

Poles' valor brings new fund plea

Washington—With reports continuing of resistance to decrees of Poland's martial-law government by members and leaders of that nation's independent journalists' union, the call is being renewed to Guild members and locals for contributions to TNG's fund to help assure them life's necessities.

Creation of the fund was announced to all Guild locals by TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., on March 25 after Poland's government said it had dissolved the Polish Journalists' Assn. and then unveiled an officially sponsored union in its place [Guild Reporter, March 26].

Perlik pointed to reports of an eight-minute broadcast in Warsaw on April 12 by a clandestine radio station—which identified itself as "Radio Solidarity."

When those words were heard at one Easter Monday party "everyone in the room jumped" (Continued on Page 3)

New push for news-staff 'voice' urged

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

IT IS ABOUT time that American journalists in every medium take responsibility for what the courts and their employers call their intellectual product. Reporters, editors and news directors ought to begin working now toward contracts with their owning corporations to obtain a significant voice in the news that they alone produce for their employers.

It is not only a wise and productive way to strengthen and enrich the public store of information, it is important to the legitimate need of informed consent by voters. It also requires us to throw overboard some existing conventions and mythologies about jour-

nalistic organizations and recognize the need for change.

I propose that staffs elect their editors; that staff representatives be present at decisions on news policy and allocation of money for news operations; and that journalists elected by professional newsmen share seats with present members of the boards of directors of corporations that own journalism companies.

I think we must work toward this for a number of reasons.

✓ First, control of journalism in the United States today, for the first time in our history, is an integral part of the highest levels of corporate and banking institutions.

✓ Second, the investment in newspapers, magazines, broadcasting and book houses and movies is being done to an increasing degree for purposes of exploitation, beyond anything in the past:

Economic exploitation, which is forcing news organizations to produce not just a reasonable profit but a profit that will compete with the latest global speculative investments in which the owning corporations indulge, and;

Political exploitation, which is neither new nor bad and has always existed. What has not existed, however, is the vastness and domination of a relatively few mass media orga-

nizations that can now be taken over with national and global impact.

✓ It is feasible. We have reached a level of general competence and seriousness in the main body of American journalism so that collegial decisions on professional matters is not only beneficial but cannot possibly do worse than those now made in remote corporate headquarters by executives who are mainly interested in nonjournalistic investments. We are experiencing already instances of subversion of large systems of public information by half-hidden operators.

✓ Lastly, this is not a new and wild-eyed idea. Almost every distin-

(Continued on Page 4)

Allbritton quits N.Y. News talks; future in doubt

(Continued from Page 1)

"The new figure includes all possible legal claims which might arise from lifetime contracts, guaranteed positions and tenure" in addition to severance-pay and pension funding obligations under the contracts that cover most of the News' 3,800 full-time employees.

"The conditions that presently exist do not permit us to pursue these negotiations," Silver told reporters as he left the talks April 22 after returning to them briefly following a two-hour lunch break.

Silver had met with the union

leaders for about three hours that morning at his own request to "clarify" the unions' position on Allbritton's wage demands. Accountants for the firm of Peat, Marwick, retained by the unions, waited throughout the session outside the meeting room at Automation House for a chance to examine Allbritton's figures.

Later the same afternoon, the New York Post reported that its owner, Rupert Murdoch, said he will make a formal offer to buy the News—at terms "equal to or better than" those offered by Allbritton—if the Texan's 30-day

option for the paper lapses. It is scheduled to run out at the end of April.

Under that option—a letter of intent from the Tribune Co. of Chicago, the News' current owner, to Allbritton Communications, Inc.—the Tribune Co. agreed it will "not negotiate the sale . . . with any other person or entity as long as this letter of intent is in force."

Allbritton's April 22 action was the second time he had broken off talks with the unions. The first was April 8 when the unions invited Murdoch to discuss whether he might be interested in buying the News and publishing both it and the Post. He said he would be interested.

Following that meeting, the Tribune Co. announced that it considered Allbritton the "buyer of last resort" for the News and said it would close the paper if he could not fulfill the terms of his option for the paper. The company has not said when it would close the News, however, reporter Jonathan Friendly noted in the New York Times.

During and after the April 22 meeting, William Kennedy, president of the New York Pressmen's Union, and Theodore Kheel, the mediator who is advisor to the unions' council, questioned whether Allbritton is serious about reaching agreements with the unions.

During a break in the morning meeting, Kennedy said he felt Allbritton was "in over his head" and was looking for "an excuse to blame this on the unions and just walk away."

Charging that Allbritton's representatives "have no idea what

the newspaper business is" in New York, Kennedy said they have "cancelled more meetings than the Long Island Rail Road during a snowstorm," while the union leaders were ready to meet around the clock, if necessary.

After the meeting, Kheel charged that Allbritton and his representatives were doing "exactly what people do when they hold up airplanes."

"They say 'unless you do this, that and the other thing, we're going to blow up the airplane.' This man said 'unless you agree to unconditional surrender, forget it,'" Kheel said.

Silver told reporters that it was his opinion that "unless and until the unions recognize the Daily News is shutting down, there's no possibility of negotiations permitting Allbritton to buy" the paper.

Two days earlier, after receiving Allbritton's list of the 298 News employees covered by the Guild that he would terminate if he bought the paper, the New York Guild's chief bargainer, Executive Vice President Edwin R. Egan, also castigated Allbritton's tactics.

Calling it "a hit list," Egan said it attacked one of the "basic building blocks of our contract," seniority, by seemingly ignoring it.

The list also showed "a pattern of union-busting," according to "a well placed Guild source" quoted in the New York Post. "They've gone after the core of the union activists, the women activists, the black activists, people who've filed grievances," the Post quoted the source as charging.

The Guild, meanwhile, was in-

formally polling its members at the News on individual interest in accepting out-of-seniority buy-outs.

Post publisher Murdoch, in his meeting with the unions' council April 12, said he too would seek staff reductions and other savings equal to operating deficits were he to negotiate for acquisition of the News, with long-term job guarantees for those who remained.

He said he would be interested in acquiring the paper in partnership with the News Employees' Stock Ownership Trust, established earlier by the unions' council, and publishing both the News and the Post in a new, highly automated plant he would propose to build.

In addition, Murdoch said he would propose full partnership for ownership of the operation with NESOT, open to employees of both papers.

Tribune Co. President Stanton R. Cook called Murdoch's proposal "curious . . . even for Mr. Murdoch," and observed that Murdoch had showed no interest in buying the News before Allbritton came forth and it "became apparent" that the Texan was "making progress . . . with the unions."

As Allbritton resumed meeting with the unions April 12, he proposed a profit-sharing plan under which union-represented employees would share in 20 percent of any profits in return for a two-year freeze in wages at their pre-March 31 levels. That's the day raises went into effect under the unions' contracts. The freeze would be followed by annual increases averaging \$36, \$34 and \$39 in each of the next three years.

Allbritton's agreement with the Tribune Co. would require no initial cash outlay. He would lease 440,000 square feet of space in the Daily News Building in Manhattan from the Tribune Co. at an average annual rate of \$12 per square foot—\$5.8 million a year.

Allbritton also would buy at least 130,000 short tons of newsprint annually for 10 years from the Tribune Co.'s mills at market price, less 5 percent.

FCC drops rule for \$\$ reporting

Washington — The Federal Communications Commission has dropped the requirement that broadcasting companies file annual financial reports with the agency.

The March action, supported unanimously by the commissioners, is effective immediately and owners of broadcast properties—many of them also owners of newspapers—will not be required to file reports on their 1981 financial performances, which otherwise would have been due April 1.

The burdens imposed on the federal agency and broadcasters outweigh the benefits, according to FCC staff, Broadcasting magazine reported.



'I do solemnly swear . . .'

TNG Secretary-Treasurer Charles Dale, right, administers the oath of office to Barry Lipton, the New York Guild's newly elected secretary-treasurer. Lipton pledged to build solidarity within the local, saying he was "fully committed to working together with all Guild members to achieve the goals we should share in common."

Minneapolis severance offer is popular

Minneapolis — Senior Guild-covered reporters, photographers, copy and desk editors almost literally stood in line to resign from the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.'s staff under the "enhanced" severance pay the company offered as it combined the afternoon Star with its morning Tribune into an all-day daily.

The result: seven senior employees who applied weren't senior enough and failed to qualify for one of the 31 "enhanced severance spots" available under an

agreement between the Twin Cities Guild and the company.

At the same time, however, not a single junior employee in a key or "super-key" newsroom classification was discharged, a Guild representative said.

Also, 20 senior "clerical and support" newsroom employees applied for the 19 enhanced severance spots available to that Guild-covered group and again no junior employee was severed.

Only among circulation district managers—where there had been

heavy response a few months previously to a company offer of beefed-up early retirement—were employees involuntarily severed in the cutback. Only three senior district managers opted for the 19 enhanced severance spots available there, the Guild reported.

All 69 pared from the three Guild groups were placed in a rehiring pool under the Guild's contract and will be given opportunities to fill jobs that may become open according to seniority.

The enhanced severance was 26 weeks' pay to employees with less than 10 years' service and 40 weeks' pay to those with 10 or more years. The Guild's contract provides for two weeks' per year of service, but not upon resignations.

Most senior employee resigning under the program was William Thorkelson, a nationally recognized religion reporter on the Star. He had been with the company 40 years.

Other resignees included George M. McCormick of the Tribune's editorial-page staff, a two-term

TNG vice president from the Midwest in 1969-70 who also had served several terms as president and treasurer of the Guild local.

In addition to the enhanced severance, the company also is paying \$100 a month toward the cost of combined health and medical insurance for the 69 resignees.

The company announced that it was combining the Star into the Tribune and seeking to pare the combined work force on March 24 [Guild Reporter, March 26].

While there were reductions in force also among the company's unorganized employees and executives, as well as in other unions' jurisdictions, heaviest staff cuts appeared to be among employees represented by the Guild and the Teamsters.

Publisher Donald Dwight said in March, after announcing the combination of the Star with the Tribune, that while the Star was not losing money, it had been making less in recent years. He called the move "a pre-emptive strike" against a continued decline in its contribution to the firm's profits.

Santa Rosa leader joins union's staff

San Francisco — Bob Klose, vice chairperson of the San Francisco-Oakland Guild's unit in Santa Rosa, joined the local's staff March 22 as an organizer.

On leave from the Press Democrat under the Guild's contract with the paper, Klose replaces Helen S. Palter, former SFONG president, who returned to her job at the jointly owned firm that does the sales, production and

distribution for the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner.

Klose joins Alice Burton of the San Jose Guild's Monterey unit as an organizer for the local, working mostly with the Northern California Newspaper Organizing Committee, formed by locals of four unions in addition to the Guild. Both local organizing positions are supported by subsidies from TNG.

The U.S. price elevator

The table below records the ascent of the Consumer Price Index in the United States over a 24-month period following a 0.4-point drop in the index in March, to 282.5, up 17.3 points from March 1981, and 42.6 points from March 1980. The first column lists the index for each of the last 12 months, the second the percentage increase over the same month of the preceding year, and the third, the percentage increase over March 1980. The Urban Wage-Earners' and Clerical Workers' Index is the source.

	Index*	Percentage over	
		Same month prior year	March 1980†
April, 1981	266.8	10.0	11.2
May	269.1	9.8	12.2
June	271.3	9.5	13.1
July	274.6	10.7	14.5
August	276.5	10.8	15.3
September	279.1	10.8	16.3
October	279.7	10.1	16.6
November	280.4	9.4	16.9
December	281.1	8.7	17.2
January, 1982	282.1	8.2	17.6
February	282.9	7.4	17.9
March	282.5	6.5	17.8

*1967 = 100

†Index = 239.9

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'It's over!' M. William Salganik, chairperson of the Sunpapers' unit of the Washington-Baltimore Guild, standing second from left, announces to several hundred members of the Guild, Typographical and Pressmen's unions that striking newspeople from WMAR-TV were removing their picket lines from the Sunpapers after management said

the papers no longer would be a drop point for materials destined for the struck, co-owned television station. Also pictured above are, from left: Allen Smith of AFTRA, the striking union, seated; Rob Kasper, Sunpapers' Guild unit vice chairperson; Ernie Mercer, president of the Washington-Baltimore Guild, and an unidentified leader of the Seafarers' Union, which also supported the strikers.

Sun ends aid to struck TV affiliate

Baltimore — Members of the Guild and other unions returned to their jobs at the Sunpapers the afternoon of April 14 after management informed its counterpart at a struck, commonly owned television station that the Sun's plant no longer would be a drop point for film and other materials destined for the station.

The action by the papers' management also brought removal of a picket line the striking 18-member unit of the American Federation of Television & Radio Artists had extended to the papers from the TV station the night before.

And a day later, AFTRA announced that it had reached agreement on a new contract and its members were ending the strike they had begun March 1.

Sunpapers publisher Reg Murphy, in a letter to the struck station, said that the papers would no longer handle material for WMAR-TV, though its doing so had been a "sporadic practice of the past 20 years." Both properties are owned by the A. S. Abell Co.

Organized drivers had refused to cross the AFTRA picket lines at WMAR to deliver the material directly to the station.

Striking anchorman Tom Sweeney had reported that he had photographs taken in the Sunpapers plant of shipments addressed to the television station and affidavits from persons who said they had observed shipments passing through the paper's plant.

Following settlement of the strike, Sweeney and a sports anchorman were discharged. Sweeney was described by the Sun as "one of the most active and vocal" of the strikers.

Orioles baseball announcers Brooks Robinson, a former Oriole third baseman, and Chuck Thompson honored the AFTRA picket lines.

The Washington - Baltimore Guild's executive council directed members of its Sunpapers unit to honor the AFTRA picket lines the night they went up at the papers. Stewards met dayside Guild members outside the plant

beginning at 5:30 a.m. on April 14 to advise them of the council's directive.

Guild and craft union members inside the plant when the AFTRA lines went up about 9 p.m. the night before completed their shifts and most day workers stayed out until the picket lines were taken down.

The picket lines came down shortly before a 1 p.m. Guild unit meeting was to vote on continuing to honor the strike. Guild leaders instead announced the lines' removal to the meeting, which drew a heavy turnout of both Guild unit members and members of the Printers' and Pressmen's unions, plus AFTRA members and leaders.

The Sunpapers' unionists actions delayed production and distribution of both the morning Sun and the Evening Sun of April 14. A management representative said that through the use of non-union drivers the company was able to distribute both papers, though late.

Poles' valor brings new fund plea

(Continued from Page 1)
up, hugging one another," the New York Times reported. When the announcers, a man and a woman, asked listeners to flick their lights, they began "flickering like Christmas decorations" in a high rise building watched by a reporter for the Times.

"Those broadcasters undoubtedly were members of the dissolved union," Perlik said. "The courage and ingenuity they displayed in getting on the air and the reactions reported to their broadcast show the kind of spirit that is very much alive despite martial law."

Earlier, the Washington Post reported that leaders of the suspended Solidarity union—with which the Journalists' Assn. is affiliated—said that the government's dissolution of the union had been a key element in Solidarity's decision to more vigorously resist martial-law restrictions.

"If we truly believe in the principles of journalistic freedom and in unshackled unions, we must as a union and union members do everything possible to support our brothers and sisters who literally are risking their lives for those principles," Perlik said.

In announcing the establishment of the Polish Journalists' Aid Fund earlier, Perlik said that TNG had learned "through sources in Europe" that members of the dissolved union had been "deprived of their jobs" and "in many cases driven underground" where "they and their families face starvation."

At least 60 Polish journalists were reported arrested in the first three months of martial law and hundreds more were said to have been fired, disciplined and/or subjected to "verification" of their political orthodoxy.

Associated Press reported from Warsaw on March 29 that the

chairman of the new, government-backed journalists' union, the Journalists' Assn. of the Polish People's Republic, told Western reporters that 21 newspapers had been shut and 705 journalists purged by the military government.

Meanwhile, initial contributions to TNG's Polish Journalists' Aid Fund—from four locals and 16 individuals—totaled \$1,025. The contributions included \$500 from the St. Louis Guild, \$100 from the Philadelphia Guild, \$50 from the Cleveland Guild and \$25 from the Cincinnati Guild.

The individual contributions were made by members of four Guild locals—Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and Wire Service—plus TNG officers, members of the Federation of Guild Representatives and members of the Office Workers Union employed by TNG.

STEPHEN HESS' BOOK

Probe of capital press corps takes '81 Mellett Award

Washington—The *Washington Reporters*, a book by Stephen Hess examining Washington press coverage and the men and women who provide it, has won the fourth annual Lowell Mellett Award for Improving Journalism through Critical Evaluation.

An honorable mention went to the Grand Forks (N.D.) Herald and Herald staff writer Chuck Haga for a week-long series of articles assessing both print and broadcast news performance in North Dakota, including the Herald itself.

The results of the annual Mellett Award competition were announced April 19 following the annual meeting of the board of directors of the Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press, which sponsors the award.

Judges of this year's competition were Ray White, editor of the *Washington Journalism Review*; Jack Landau, director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, and Lewis W. Wolfson, professor of communication at American University and director of AU's graduate internship program in journalism.

Describing Hess' book (published by the Brookings Institution) as a "unique contribution to media self-understanding," the judges said that "journalism can benefit greatly from such careful analysis by outsiders who do not seek to justify some self-satisfying theory about the media but who strive to educate the press about itself."

"We can all profit from that kind of understanding, as the

news media increasingly reach into our lives," they said.

Emphasizing that their choice was an especially difficult decision in view of the "richness" of the 36 entries, ranging from books to broadcasts, the judges said they were particularly impressed "with some news organizations' efforts to be more open about their own operations," among them the Grand Forks Herald.

"With a candor seldom found in journalism, the Herald revealed itself to its readers by showing them how the paper makes news and editorial judgments and decisions," the judges said in citing it for an honorary mention.

"As a result of the series, the citizens of this relatively small city in North Dakota were provided knowledge about the processes and problems of journalism in their community nearly unequalled elsewhere."

H. Eugene Goodwin, professor of journalism at the Pennsylvania State University School of Journalism, was re-elected president of the Mellett Fund at the annual meeting of its directors, who announced, with thanks, contributions to the Fund from the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Sun-Times and the Miami Herald. Charles A. Perlik, Jr., president of The Newspaper Guild, was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Fund.

The Mellett Fund is an independent, nonprofit corporation established through a bequest to TNG from Lowell Mellett, a longtime editor with Scripps-Howard.

Clip & Mail

Solidarność

The independent Polish journalists' Solidarity-affiliated union has been officially dissolved by Poland's military regime on grounds that it acted "against state and social institutions of public information."

Through European sources, the Guild has been informed that many in the banned union have been driven underground and that they and their families are sorely in need of the necessities to maintain life.

Enclosed, therefore, is my contribution of _____ to the Polish Journalists' Aid Fund created by TNG.

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

(City & State/Province) _____

(Guild Local) _____

POLISH JOURNALISTS' AID FUND
c/o The Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO/CLC
1125 15th St. NW — #835
Washington, D.C. 20005

Clip & Mail

New push urged for 'voice in the product'

(Continued from Page 1)

guished paper in Europe has contractual provisions with its owning corporation for exactly this kind of arrangement. Either the news staff elects its editor for a fixed term or the staff must be consulted. In addition, some staffs sit on controlling boards and in a few cases can vote on whether their paper shall be taken over. It works with the best papers in Europe and there is no reason it cannot work here.

AN URGENT reason for moving now is the growing concentration of control by relatively few corporations over most of our mass media.

Today 50 corporations control more than half of the output of every medium of information in the United States—newspapers, magazines, radio, television, book publishing and motion pictures.

Some of these corporations are dominant in two or more media. CBS is dominant in broadcasting, magazines and books; Newhouse in newspapers, magazines and books. If we take the leading ten publishers of books for the general public, for example, the ownership includes such large industrial conglomerates as Gulf & Western, Newhouse, Time Inc., MCA, Hearst and Filmways.

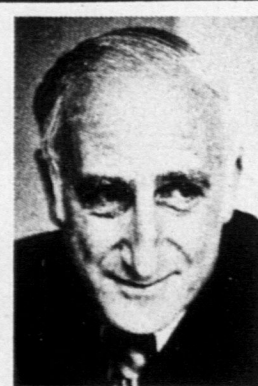
Of the 50 corporations controlling most of our mass media, 21 are members of the Fortune 500, the largest manufacturing organizations in the country. Through directorship interlocks and bank voting trusts, there is not a major industry in the country that does not have a measure of control over a major medium of public information, including newspaper chains, broadcasting and books. These industries include oil, munitions, nuclear power, and almost all have heavy foreign investments, which means that they all have profound conflicts of interest between their corporate profits and the nature of the news.

Today, American journalists have some measure of informal independence. In less than 10 percent of newspapers, The Newspaper Guild at least provides some process to prevent unjustified firing. There are individual journalists who through personal strength and dedication break through barriers of apathy and resistance. There are professional conventions and ethics that make it embarrassing for a news organization or an individual committing an explicit dishonest act.

But this is not enough. The greatest danger is not what we see that may be false or misleading but the news that is never covered,

This article is taken, with the author's permission, from an address by Bagdikian March 20 to a Student Conference on Investigative Reporting, sponsored by the Center for Study of Responsive Law, in Washington.

A professor in the graduate school of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, Bagdikian has been a reporter and editor for two decades and a widely published news-industry analyst and critic for more than a decade. He is a former member of the Providence Guild and was the first president of the Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press.



the investigative piece never assigned or, if done, never printed, or the television documentary on a central issue never made, or the book that is never published. These are hierarchical policy decisions. They are the most crucial ones made in all of journalism and journalists are seldom parties to those decisions.

The new owning corporations of our media generally insist that they do not interfere in the editorial product. All they do is appoint the publisher, the editor, the business manager and determine the budget.

If I wanted control of public information that is all I would want. I would not want to decide on every story every day or say "yes" or "no" to every manuscript that came over the transom. I would rather appoint leaders who understand clearly who hired them and who can fire them, who pays their salaries and decides on their stock options. I would then leave it to them.

The question for working journalists, it seems to me, is whether they will take responsibility for the news they themselves produce. Or will they accept the status of hired guns to be pointed as ordered by someone whom they may not trust or, more likely, not even know? Are we, in the end, just obedient technicians who make the stories run on time?

Journalists have a responsibility to take steps to prevent becoming mere professional talent for hire without parallel responsibility and participation in the use of their talent.

The possibility that whole segments of journalism can be subverted and quietly turned from central concerns is not an abstraction. It has happened before that when a body of journalism came too close to the core interests of powerful commercial interests this journalism became corporate captives and [was] silenced.

On of the most creative periods of American journalism was at the turn of the century, from 1900 to 1912. It was the so-called progressive period when investigative reporters like Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell and

dozens of others exposed in careful, systematic ways the first pathologies of the Industrial Revolution. They described in meticulously researched journalism the dangerous and sometimes illegal accumulation of capital that threatened democratic society. They provided the basis for the Theodore Roosevelt presidency that started, but did not finish, the reform to protect public interest.

Harper's Magazine at the turn of the century ran some of the most powerful investigative articles of the period. J. P. Morgan, the banker, quietly bought a controlling interest in Harper's and that was the end of that.

North American Review was another major source of investigative articles on illegal activities in banking. J. P. Morgan bought a controlling interest in that magazine, too, and installed one of his vice presidents as editor.

He did the same thing with similar effect with another investigative journal, The American Magazine.

Hampton's was still another major investigative outlet popular and prosperous but when it began to expose illegal machinations of the New Haven Railroad suddenly all its lines of credit were cancelled.

THE LESSON, I think, is that when the stakes become high enough, all the resounding rhetoric of editorial independence and freedom of expression will mean nothing and high corporate and banking centers of power will suppress, noisily or quietly, if they feel threatened.

Today corporate life and money know no national barrier. The foreign policy of the country is just as essential to large corporations as domestic policy is to small ones.

And because most of our large controlling conglomerates are also in the information business and are publicly traded on Wall Street, the ability to influence media subsidiaries is easier than ever.

I need not remind you that the New York Stock Exchange does not deny availability of stock to buyers who have money and, it seems, a few who don't. . . . In 1978, Otis Chandler, head of one of the country's largest media empires, told CBS:

"I am concerned about the possibility of a major oil company, American-owned or foreign-owned, decid-

ing to get in the newspaper business. . . . And then you have foreign financial interests, particularly in the oil companies of the Middle East. . . . Someday they may decide to buy the ten top media companies in America. And that's probably, in Saudi Arabia, maybe one day's oil production."

It is also worth noting that what about that amount of money CBS instantly made itself the fourth largest magazine publisher in the United States.

Let us take the case of John McGoff and his one-time partner, Richard Mellon Scaife. McGoff in the 1970s owned through his Panax chain about 67 newspapers. According to an official investigative commission of the Union of South Africa, the Erasmus Report, a secret fund for that country was created to propagandize its policies, including racial apartheid. The report says that a minimum of \$11-750,000 was secretly given to McGoff for the purpose of buying the Washington Star and thereby establish a major propagandistic voice for South African policies in the U.S. capital. . . . McGoff did, in fact, try to buy the Washington Star before it went to another buyer. [He also subsequently denied acting as a front for any foreign government and said none ever had an ownership interest in his papers.] . . .

The Erasmus Report then says that he used this money for two other projects. One was to buy a half-interest in United Press International Television News, a firm that supplied TV news to 100 clients in 80 countries, one of them ABC News. . . . He is no longer a partner of that enterprise.

At about this time, McGoff went into partnership with Richard Mellon Scaife and they bought a daily paper in the capital of California, the Sacramento Union. . . .

Scaife first came to the attention of many journalists in a minor incident that nevertheless hinted at what was to come. Scaife inherited substantial control of the Mellon Bank in Pittsburgh and through this and family holdings, Gulf Oil, Alcoa and First Boston Corporation. . . .

The small incident occurred on his newspaper in Greensburg, Pa., during the period when the Nixon regime was unravelling with corruption. When news came over the wire that Nixon's vice president, Spiro Agnew, had resigned while facing criminal prosecution, a reporter on Mr. Scaife's paper, turned to another reporter in the newsroom and said, "One down and one to go," a private remark for which he was fired. The Greensburg paper is not a Guild paper.

Scaife is deeply involved in the Reagan administration in substantial ways; the way relevant to news, is as a major backer of right-wing attacks on the media, including financial support of Accuracy in Media, the American Spectator Magazine [and] the Media Institute in Washington. . . .

But not many owning corporations

intervene with individual stories or day-to-day decisions because they know that this would be impractical and unnecessary. By appointing the right leaders and controlling the money they know that the peculiarly sensitive reward-and-punishment dynamics of a newsroom socializes reporters and editors quickly and efficiently so that no one doubts what will get assigned and what will not, what will get into the news and what will not, what will be prominently displayed and what will not, and what will bring pay raises and promotions and what will not.

THIS IS NOT a denigration of those few—very few—chains that have given resources and a large degree of freedom to some of their editors and staffs and have produced stories that are honest and important. But even in the best of news worlds there are hierarchically imposed limits unrelated to professional needs.

Neither is it true that crudities are the worst problem. Nor is our greatest threat those chains that are open and direct in their intervention. . . .

The real threat is the alarming rate during the last 15 years at which news and public affairs has become a by-product of the national industrial-banking complex.

The result of this is seldom obvious or dramatic. Instead, it is the absence of central information, the avoidance of crucial exposure of systemic problems in society or in a community. It is the quiet emphasis on the kind of content that is either superficial and profitable for advertising—the enormous increase in fluff content of newspapers and magazines, for example—and the concurrent de-emphasis on stories and analysis on the social forces that are most powerfully affecting the population. . . .

There have always been excuses given for denying news and other journalistic professionals genuine participation in control of their product.

One objection has been that it contravenes the right of the owner to run his or her own property, as provided in ordinary business law and in the First Amendment. There is no question that owners have a legal right to control their product if it involves freedom of expression, nor is it a constitutional right that should be ignored.

Whatever arrangement is made to permit participation of professionals in the fate of their intellectual product must come from contractual agreement with owners.

Owners need to recognize their ultimate self-interest in convincing a public made ever more skeptical by the knowledge of the high degree of monopoly in control of news and public information, of concentration of control of great centralized systems of communication, and the narrow goals of the industries and financial institutions who now have this control.

They [owners] also need to recog-

GLOBE AND MAIL'S MEGARRY:

Ads, not news, are primary aim

Toronto—Daily newspaper publishers "by 1990 . . . will finally stop kidding themselves that they are in the newspaper business and admit that they are primarily in the business of carrying advertising messages," the publisher of the prestigious Toronto Globe and Mail has predicted.

Addressing a March 8 Canadian Media Directors Conference, A. Roy Megarry said he based the statement on several facts, including:

- ✓ "Advertising revenues currently account for over 80 percent of the newspaper industry's total revenues, and this ratio is growing."
- ✓ "Advertising content accounts for 60-70 percent of the space in the average daily newspaper."
- ✓ "Insert lineage—containing no editorial at all—accounted for 13 percent of the total advertising lineage in daily newspapers in 1981. . . . Retail inserts accounted for over 22 percent of all retail lineage. Insert lineage is growing at a faster rate than ROP [run-of-the-paper] lineage. . . ."
- ✓ "Over 60 percent of the daily newspapers in North America now publish some form of free-distribu-

tion publication," which are 90-95 percent advertising.

Megarry also predicted that circulation revenues will continue to decline as a proportion of dailies' total revenues in both the '80s and the '90s.

There also will be more specialization by dailies, he predicted, both "product" and "geographic" specialization. On the latter, he pointed to the "leaps and bounds" growth of community newspapers.

Turning to so-called "electronic newspapers," Megarry said that he sees them as "a solution looking for a problem" which, in light of the "hundreds of millions of dollars" being invested, undoubtedly "one day" will be found.

Referring specifically to the Canadian Telidon system, however, he said he does not foresee the solution being found in an "electronic newspaper" but, more likely, in what he called "data base publishing." That, he predicted, will be a "substantial industry by the decade of the '90s."

He described data base publishing as a sort of computer-based research library enabling individuals to call up all available information on a particular subject needed for a

task like writing a speech or developing a policy document.

He contrasted this to an "electronic newspaper" wherein reporters and editors gather, select, prepare and "publish" information they decide is important.

"When you pick up your Globe and Mail in the morning, implicitly you're relying on us to tell you what we think is important to you," Megarry said.

The person using a data base service, however, "knows what he wants, usually wants it fairly quickly and requires the search to be accurate and comprehensive" and places a high value on the selective information sought, Megarry pointed out.

He also predicted further development of newsprint-publishing technology, pointing to automated mail rooms and pagination "within the next two-to-five years," and an economical form of "nonimpact printing" which will "reduce waste, increase speeds, improve reproduction and reduce costs."

"These," he said, "will bring enormous benefits to our industry—and enable us to compete effectively and efficiently in the 1990s."

nize what is not explicit in the First Amendment, but is implicit, which is to make available to the public, one way or another, an effective mechanism for the spreading of a wide spectrum of information and ideas to the citizenry.

Another excuse against staff powers is that if news people elected their own editors it would result in office politics. And of course it would.

BUT IF ANYONE thinks that newsroom and editorial-staff office politics is now absent in the jostling for favor from above they are living in a dream world, a dream world that ignores the current brutality of hierarchical struggles, often encouraged and manipulated from the top.

The difference would be office politics directed at professional goals instead of strictly managerial ones. Furthermore, staff power has been granted at some of the best newspapers in the world without diminishing their quality or effectiveness.

Still another excuse is that budget-making for a newsroom or editorial office is beyond the comprehension of mere journalists.

If that is true, then it is an indictment of people who now hire and fire journalists. A competent journalist needs to understand budgets of school

committees, city councils, state governments, and even the Department of Defense. If they can do that, as they ought to, there is nothing cosmic about a newsroom budget.

It is also claimed that with newsroom democracy, daily decisions would never be made on deadline. This is a fantasy, of course.

I am not proposing collective votes in day-to-day operations but rather a voice in the election of editors, of long-range news policy and budget-making. These in no way would disturb the rhythm and synchronization required in most editorial operations.

Finally, it is said that there is no current problem that justifies a change.

I think it is a problem that in a country without competing national papers available in every city, and in a country where central public issues like education, policing and land use are left to local decision-making, that in 98 percent of our newspaper cities there is a monopoly paper.

I think it is a problem that broadcasting, certainly on a local level, has treated news as an entertainment commodity and failed to create a truly competitive news-gathering and editing system comparable to those in the printed media, despite broadcasting's fabulous profits.

I think it is a problem that increas-

ingly large conglomerates own what in the past have been different and competing media and can use these not only to exclude inter-media competition but to reinforce at every level their own social and political policies.

For example, a Texas wood products firm controls Time Inc. That corporation is an obvious admirer of Henry Kissinger and his ideas. There is nothing inherently wrong with that, so long as nonKissinger ideas have a fair chance in the marketplace of foreign policy. But do they?

Kissinger's memoirs and interpretations of history are published by Little, Brown book publishers, a wholly owned subsidiary of Time Inc. They are massively excerpted in Time magazine, a wholly owned subsidiary of Time Inc. They are a selection of the Book-of-the-Month-Club, a wholly owned subsidiary of Time Inc. It is not unlikely that they will find a place in pay TV and other cable operations that are wholly owned subsidiaries of Time Inc.

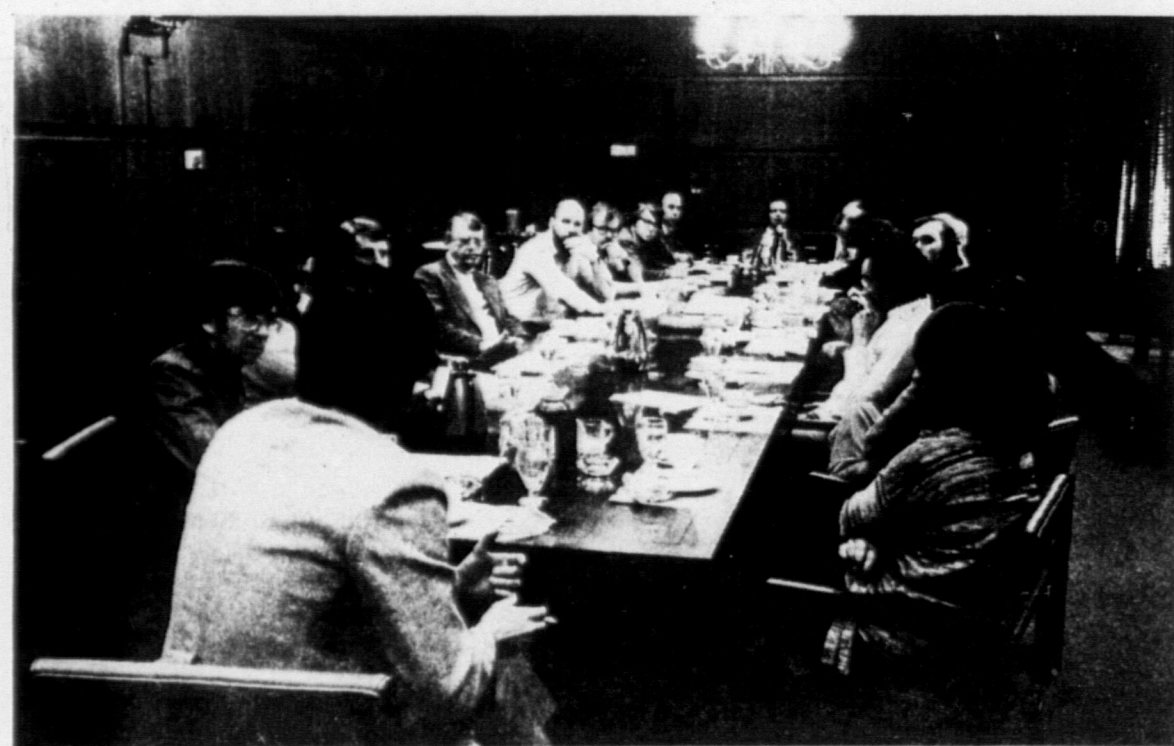
Warren Buffet's Blue Chip Stamps and Berkshire Hathaway Mills own the Buffalo Evening News, 13 percent of the Washington Post Co., 8 percent of Affiliated Publications (the Boston Globe), 4 percent of Media General, the 24th largest newspaper chain, and a 1 percent interest in Times Mirror, the sixth largest newspaper chain and a major publisher of books and magazines.

MOST IMPORTANT are the interlocks between the largest industries and financial institutions of the country and all our major media.

When newspapers, magazines, broadcasting, book publishing and motion pictures were more scattered in ownership these interlocks did not occur at such a heavy rate because one or two papers were not the kind of investment and control a major industry or bank preferred. But now our media are great centralized corporations with huge cash flows worth the financial control and huge public impact.

Today 19 corporations control more than half the papers sold every day in the United States. Three corporations control more than half the audience in

(Continued on Page 6)



MEETING OF GUILD, MANAGEMENT 'VOICE' UNITS IN MINNEAPOLIS

TNG policy on 'voice' for the staff

TNG's Collective Bargaining Program calls for Guild locals to seek contract language that specifies that any matter affecting relations between employer and employee may be taken up under the contract's grievance procedures.

Such provisions ensure an avenue for exercising "a voice in the product," the program notes, and are found in a majority of Guild contracts.

As an alternative, the program calls for locals to seek agreement that representatives of a Guild and of the company will form separate commit-

tees that will meet together at least monthly to discuss and make recommendations on "all aspects of the operations of all Guild-represented departments, including news coverage."

In addition, TNG's Convention Recommendations on Bargaining call for locals to seek contract provisions for the Guild to be notified of the name and qualifications of any person proposed for appointment to an exempt position in a Guild-covered department, with the proviso that the appointment not take effect until management discusses it with the Guild.

The bargaining recommendations also call for the Guild to be represented on editorial boards and in news conferences by representatives of its own choosing.

At least 15 Guild contracts include provision for committees to meet at regular intervals to discuss what some of them term "matters of interest and concern."

The provisions of the bargaining program must be included in locals' contract proposals; those from the recommendations are optional.

New push for news-staff 'voice' urged

(Continued from Page 5)

television; seven control more than half in radio; 20 have more than half the revenues from the 11,000 magazines in the country; 11 corporations have more than half the revenues from the 2,500 book publishing firms, and four studios make most of the money from motion pictures.

Some of these corporations are dominant in more than one medium, so we have 50 corporations with control of more than half the output of every major medium of news and public information. . . .

Almost all the 50, and many others, are dependent not only on a cluster of six banks in New York for credit but in many instances the bank trust departments vote controlling or influential blocs of stock in the media companies or their parent conglomerates. These same banks vote similarly controlling or influential stocks in non-journalistic industries whose fate is closely tied to creating a favorable public opinion or government policy.

DOES ANYONE doubt that if the stakes are high enough, if the nonjournalistic properties of large conglomerates and their investors become threatened by unfavorable news, or by the need to create a sympathetic atmosphere for important business needs, that they will not use their journalistic subsidiaries rather than risk failure in their nonjournalistic enterprises? . . .

It is with this integration of our news and public affairs with the national industrial-banking complex that we enter a critical political era in which not only is the First Amendment under fire but the basic social structure of the country is being altered. We see a kind of holy war in the name of free enterprise, superficially and often inaccurately reported by major institutions, of news.

In our court system, the clear voices of unfettered expression are being replaced and muted. I cannot forget that two months before he was appointed to the court, Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell, in a confidential memo-

randum to the United States Chamber of Commerce, wrote:

"The national television networks should be monitored in the same way that textbooks should be kept under constant surveillance . . . [including] the daily news analysis which so often includes the most insidious type of criticism of the free enterprise system . . ."

I don't know what networks and newspapers Justice Powell was reading, but I am not aware of widespread insidious criticism of the free enterprise system in our major media. And if it were there, let the surveillance be by the citizens and not powerful organizations who outweigh the citizens in their influence.

The granting of a voice in their product to professional journalists will not be easy. Journalists, like everyone else, are swept in the tides of the time, but they must have clarity and courage to protect society's reservoir of ideas, ideas and information that should be as wide and diverse as possible but especially so in times of trouble and change, when each of us needs the clearest vision of our alternatives that we can obtain. It is out of ignorance and silence that panic and repression grow, that we look for scapegoats instead of rational answers.

Journalists have a special obligation to protect this pool of national intelligence in all the richness and honesty possible. Journalists must not become hired guns that do bad things simply because they are ordered to.

We have many journalists who are skilled, honest and courageous, who risk disfavor and disadvantage by their insistence on doing an honest job on crucial issues. They deserve our support and admiration.

BUT SOMETHING more than individual heroism is needed. It is concerted effort by enough journalists, working together, to create acceptance of the idea of professional responsibility for keeping news and commentary in our monopolistic media honest and significant.

This is not asking for control for pursuit of any particular idea or doctrine, but honesty and professional competence in perceiving whatever is true and significant in society and being free to share it with society.

The journalists' union, The Newspaper Guild, has tried to include in its contracts a staff voice in the product. But it needs support. . . .

I propose that groups of journalists, nationally, regionally and locally, pass resolutions and work actively toward agreements with their managements to give working journalists a voice in professional news policies: to elect their own editors for stated periods of time; to have their own representatives at news budget sessions; and to have their own representatives on boards of journalistic corporations. . . .

It already works on some of the most distinguished newspapers:

Le Monde, considered the best paper in Europe, has its editor elected by professional journalists on its staff.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, considered the best newspaper in Germany and one of the best in the world, has a board of five editors who have power over news policy. No editor can be fired by the owners without the agreement of a majority of this board. In the appointment of a new editor, seven representatives elected by the news staff must be consulted. These seven can also nominate candidates for the top editorship, though they do not have final power.

The editor of the *Observer*, in London, can be fired only with the agreement of a board of five persons elected by the news staff. Changes in news policy and leadership of the staff can be done only after consultation with representatives of the news staff, with serious disagreements going to binding arbitration.

In the Netherlands, a paper cannot be taken over by a new corporation without consultation with the news staff. The editor cannot be appointed without consultation with the staff.

In Norway, tradition involves staff approval of all major changes in edi-

torial leadership and owners cannot interfere in selection of news.

Werner Holzer, editor-in-chief of *Allgemeine Zeitung*, has said:

"The idea that a staff could have spent years building up an image and quality of a paper and some new owner could come along, buy it lock, stock and barrel and reverse the whole thing, started the idea of contracts on rights of editors and journalists in relation to the owners."

Today in the United States our news companies are bought and sold like hamburger franchises. The *Oakland Tribune* had three owners in one year. McGraw-Hill, a major reporter on banking, was almost taken over by a banking organization, American Express, when McGraw-Hill's own bank, quietly changed sides and financed an attack on its own client.

Each of our great industries and their financial backers has its own narrow goals—whether they make munitions, nuclear power or chemicals—and each has a profound stake in public opinion and governmental policy. These goals may be natural for those corporations, but they are not necessarily natural or good for the citizenry at large.

NOW THAT OUR news media are coming under the control of these corporations and their backers, the most effective and competent protection against contamination or constriction of vital public information is the journalist.

With all their flaws, he and she is better equipped to judge professional leadership and significance of public information. Journalists, with all their strengths and weaknesses, are better equipped to do this than people skilled largely in the accumulation of money and certainly better than government.

Money is the lifeblood of industry and commerce. Sound, complete information is the lifeblood of democracy. Let the experts in money stay in their corporate quarters and let the experts in sound and complete information have control over their own product.

NLRB charges Times for moves in finance

New York—A series of incidents in the New York Times' financial-service department has brought two sets of unfair-labor-practice complaints from the National Labor Relations Board against the paper, including one alleging that it unlawfully fired a temporary employee in retaliation over the New York Guild's having filed a grievance and unfair labor practice charges on the employees' behalf.

Meanwhile, the local is moving to arbitration over the company's having docked 15-minutes' pay from the checks of more than 50 employees in the department who

attended a five-minute "seminar" conducted by the local to inform them of their rights.

The seminar, which also brought warning letters and threats of discipline or discharge, was held after the company had interrogated the temporary employee about the Guild's grievance seeking the proper pay for her work.

The Times terminated the grievant at the end of her six-month period of temporary employment, at the same time extending employment of other temporaries in the department.

The NLRB's regional director found that the grievant's termination and the demotion of a Guild-covered supervisor who gave the board an affidavit on behalf of the grievant were motivated by a desire to dissuade other employees before testifying in the case.

The board also cited the company for unlawfully interrogating the supervisor about information he provided the NLRB.

Earlier the board had issued a complaint over the company's interrogating the grievant and threatening to fire her unless the grievance was retracted.

In the wake of these events in the financial services department

Tops in Victoria to go up by \$154

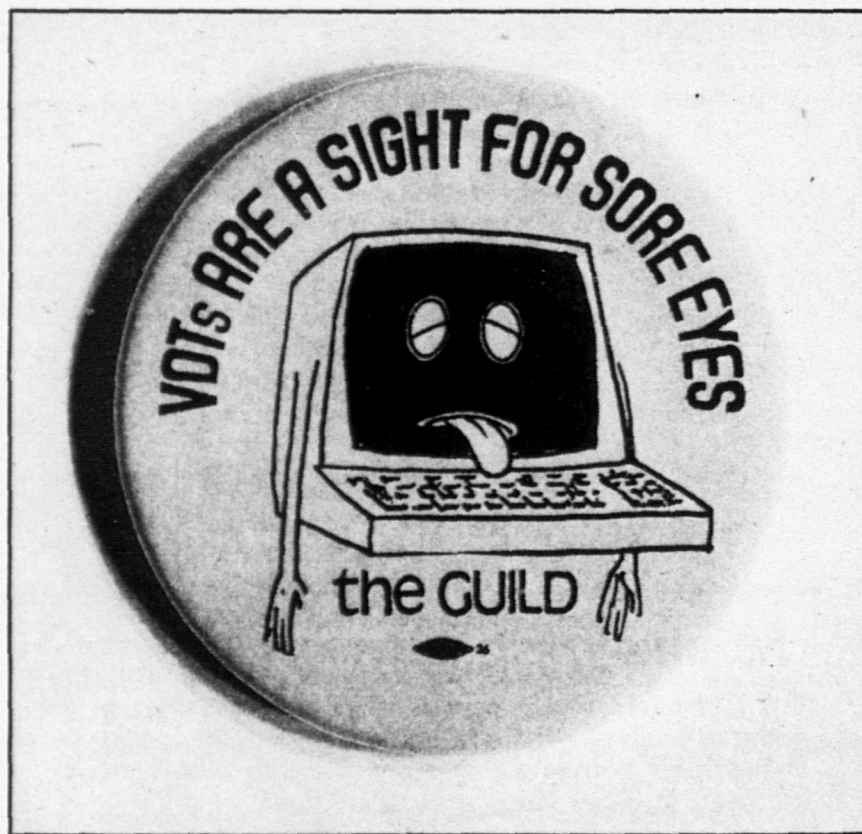
(Continued from Page 1)

\$108.87, to \$446.87 a week, in increments of \$57.46 and \$51.41.

Circulation clerks — Up by \$90.32, to \$370.71 a week, in increments of \$47.67 and \$42.65.

Stenographers—Up by \$92.46, to \$379.51, in increments of \$48.80 and \$43.66.

Classified advertising clerks—Up by \$84.90, to \$348.50 a week, in increments of \$44.81 and \$40.09.



Bee bargaining

The button reproduced above is the third in a series of "pin-up protests" Guild members at the Sacramento Bee are sporting during Central California Guild bargaining with the McClatchey daily for a contract to replace that which expired April 11. The button was designed by Rick Hugo, a member of the unit and a political cartoonist at the paper.

last fall, the Times management announced that the Guild could not conduct balloting in December's TNG referendum in the plant lobby, cafeteria or any other public area. The local filed a griev-

ance over this violation of a long-standing past practice.

The NLRB's complaints against the Times will be heard by an administrative law judge. A hearing has been set for July 19.

Judge rules reporter lost law's shield

San Francisco—A California Superior Court has held that a reporter waived his right to claim confidentiality under the state's shield law when he answered some questions about a news story about a teenage murder case.

Glen Bunting, a reporter for the San Jose Mercury and a San Jose Guild member, had been cited for contempt for refusing to identify the source of a quotation and to divulge unpublished notes.

A 60-day jail sentence imposed by the county municipal court judge who issued the contempt citation was later vacated by the superior court as "utterly void," since the maximum penalty for civil contempt is five days in jail. [Guild Reporter, April 9].

Bunting's attorney called the finding that his client had waived any protection under the shield law by answering some questions "a true Catch-22 position."

"In order to avoid waiver, you have to advise a reporter not to answer any question at all," the attorney said.

An appeal to the State Court of Appeals is being considered.

TNG urges defeat of Hobbs rider

Washington—Pointing out that even President Reagan is against it, TNG has called on the U.S. Senate to reject an amendment to the Hobbs Act being prepared for inclusion in the so-called Criminal Code Reform Act by Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa).

The Criminal Code Reform Act is "intended to codify existing federal law" and "is not intended to rewrite the nation's labor laws," TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., said in a letter to all U.S. Senators.

Under Grassley's proposals for amending the Hobbs Act, strikers could be prosecuted under federal anti-extortion law for picket-line violence, while management rep-

resentatives or strikebreakers would be immune from such federal prosecution.

While no responsible union, including the Guild, endorses violence in a labor dispute, a federal law is not necessary to prevent or punish it, Perlik wrote. He cited Justice Dept. testimony last year that state and local officials have not been reluctant to take action in cases that have arisen.

"A law that would make the federal government a policeman at every picket line doesn't sound much like the president's 'new federalism,'" Perlik observed, adding that "perhaps that is why even he [Reagan] is against" the Grassley amendment.



WALLY HENNIG, The Jersey Journal

SFONG enters JOA

San Francisco—The San Francisco-Oakland Guild—with the bulk of its members employed by the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner and their joint publishing company—has entered into a joint publishing arrangement of its own.

Starting in March, its tabloid membership publication, the Bay Guild News, is being printed and distributed to Guild members as a "wrap-around" to Northern California Labor, 45,000-circulation monthly published by the San Francisco and Santa Clara County AFL-CIO councils.

The arrangement saves the

Guild "several cents" per copy, said Doug Cuthbertson, SFONG's executive secretary. It also saves SFONG's office staff from the full day needed to label and bag copies of each issue of the News and it gives Guild members "a glance" at what is going on with other area unions.

Fifteen other unions' publications also are published under the same circumstances by Northern California Labor.

Distribution of the Bay Guild News to the membership of the Central California and San Jose locals is continuing under the arrangement.

OSHA cites papers for hazards

Philadelphia — The Occupational Safety & Health Administration has cited Knight-Ridder's Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News for safety hazards observed during an inspection made March 19 at the request of the Philadelphia Guild.

Hazards cited were: VDT and

telephone wires in the aisle in the advertising department, lack of an exit sign outside the ad-censor department and obstruction of a fire extinguisher by three trash cans in the ad department.

The company did not contest the citations and is correcting the problems, the local reported.

For seminarians

Judy Locorriere, president of the Hudson County (Jersey City, N.J.) Guild, displays the certificate attesting to her participation in TNG's Residential Seminar for New Local Officers Feb. 12-15 at the George Meany Labor Studies Center. Each of the 46 local

leaders from 34 Guild locals in the U.S. and Canada who attended the seminar, the first of its kind, received a like certificate, signed by TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Ellis T. Baker, TNG's director of administrative operations, who co-ordinated the seminar.

Join health units, locals urged

Washington—U.S. Guild locals have been urged to join in local health-care coalitions, being formed by the AFL-CIO and business and health-related organizations, in an effort to control spiraling costs and improve the quality of care available.

"Increasing medical costs take dollars from our members' pockets in the worst case, or drain them from contract money packages into mounting insurance premiums in the best," TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., said in a letter to local presidents.

Moreover, "holding down costs acquires general social urgency," as federal budget cuts put adequate health care further from the reach of millions of low-income persons, Perlik said.

Joining the AFL-CIO in developing the coalitions in communities throughout the country are the American Hospital Assn., the American Medical Assn., Blue Cross and Blue Shield Assns., the Business Roundtable and the Health Insurance Assn. of Amer-

ica, the federation said.

The AFL-CIO has called on its affiliates to participate in the development of local coalitions to ensure that they are "broad-based and consumer-oriented and focus on health care problems of particular concern to workers."

Fehlhaber, early Cleveland leader

Brookline, Mass. — Elmer O. Fehlhaber, a founder of the Cleveland Guild and its president in 1935, died March 31 at the age of 75.

A city-hall reporter for the old Cleveland News, he was secretary of the Cleveland CIO and the Ohio CIO Political Action Committee.

From 1954 until his retirement

in 1972, Fehlhaber was a proof-reader for the Boston Trade Composition Co.

A Minnesota native, he was the founder and long-active member of the Massachusetts Political Action for Peace and of the Citizens for Participation for Political Action and, earlier, a member of the American League Against War and Facism.

Survivors include his spouse, Alice, a son and a stepson.

\$721 tops district manager minimums

THE HIGHEST TOP minimum for circulation district managers in effect April 1 among the 59 Guild contracts with daily newspapers covering the job was \$721.92 a week, at the New York Times, according to a tabulation by TNG's Collective Bargaining Dept.

Two other of the top minimums were above \$600 a week and 13 were between \$500 and \$599, the data shows.

Eight were between \$450 and \$499 and 12 between \$400 and \$449.99.

The average top minimum for circulation district managers as of April 1 was \$430.19 a week. The table does not include the results of settlements or deferred increases effective since, nor cost-of-living increases effective in the interim.

Contract	Minimum After
New York Times.....	\$721.92—4 yrs.
New York News.....	679.46—6 yrs.
Montreal Gazette.....	613.00—5 yrs.
New Westminster Columbian.....	562.62—5 yrs.
Eugene-Register- Guard.....	554.25—4 yrs.
Seattle Post- Intelligencer.....	*\$47.10—4 yrs.
Seattle Times.....	547.10—4 yrs.
Minneapolis Star & Tribune.....	542.00—5 yrs.
St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press.....	542.00—5 yrs.
Stockton Record.....	537.08—5 yrs.
Vancouver Sun and Province.....	530.62—5 yrs.
Denver Post.....	†\$520.00—4 yrs.
Denver Rocky Mountain News and Tribune.....	520.00—4 yrs.
Toledo Blade.....	514.71—5 yrs.
Toronto Star.....	505.00—4 yrs.
Long Beach Press- Telegram.....	503.53—4 yrs.
Ottawa Citizen.....	496.32—2 yrs.
Victoria Times- Colonist.....	491.74—5 yrs.
Monterey Peninsula Herald.....	480.04—4 yrs.
New York Post.....	478.00—6 yrs.
Pottstown Mercury.....	464.70—3 yrs.
Bakersfield California.....	457.42—5 yrs.
	456.00—5 yrs.

Contract	Minimum After
Chester: Delaware County Times.....	454.82—5 yrs.
Scranton Tribune & Scrantonian.....	449.83—3 yrs.
Buffalo News.....	437.55—3 yrs.
Portland Press Herald, Express and Telegram.....	437.00—4 yrs.
Maui News.....	435.20—5 yrs.
Boston Herald American.....	435.00—3 yrs.
Buffalo Courier- Express.....	424.95—3 yrs.
Erie News and Times.....	423.50—5 yrs.
St. Louis Post- Dispatch.....	422.66—5 yrs.
Peoria Journal Star.....	421.00—5 yrs.
Duluth News Tribune and Herald.....	420.00—5 yrs.
Hilo: Hawaii Tribune Herald.....	412.88—5 yrs.
Wilmington News and Journal.....	407.78—4 yrs.
Yupingtown Vindicator.....	399.00—5 yrs.
Yakima Herald- Republic.....	397.25—4 yrs.
Great Falls Tribune.....	393.00—5 yrs.
Salem (Mass.) News.....	392.24—2 yrs.
Columbus Dispatch.....	378.02—3 yrs.
Albany Times-Union and Knicker- bocker News.....	376.05—8 yrs.

Contract	Minimum After
Brockton Enterprise.....	375.30—3 yrs.
Sioux City Journal.....	364.30—4 yrs.
Manchester Union Leader and New Hampshire Sunday News.....	361.80—3 yrs.
Canton Repository.....	341.57—5 yrs.
Kingston Daily Freeman.....	335.10—3 yrs.
Pueblo Star-Journal and Chieftain.....	322.36—3 yrs.
Fall River Herald- News.....	318.31—2 yrs.
Oshawa Times.....	314.58—3 yrs.
York Daily Record.....	302.66—5 yrs.
Terre Haute Tribune and Star.....	302.00—5 yrs.
San Juan Star.....	300.00—4 yrs.
Morgantown Dominion-Post.....	284.83—4 yrs.
Massillon Independent.....	270.00—3 yrs.
San Antonio Light.....	265.80—5 yrs.
San Juan: El Mundo.....	261.00—5 yrs.
San Juan: El Vocero.....	245.00—2 yrs.
Monessen Valley Independent.....	234.00—4 yrs.

* Plus commission.
† \$5-\$41 wk. extra for designated bonus districts.
‡ Applies to those hired on or after 3/31/82. For those hired on or before 6/11/81: \$529.85.

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SHOE JEFF MacNELLY

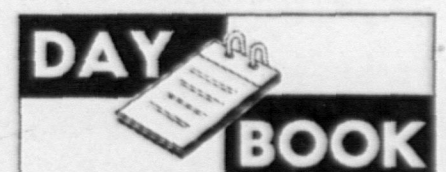


Guild loses election at Catholic paper

Baltimore—Employees of the Catholic Review, publication of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, have voted 11 to 3 against the Washington-Baltimore Guild being their bargaining representative.

The April 7 election was conducted, by agreement of the Guild and management, under the supervision of the American Arbitration Assn.

The Guild local had sought voluntary recognition for the group last Aug. 27 after a majority had applied for Guild membership.



Middle-Atlantic District Council, spring meeting, May 1-2, Ramada Inn, Albany, N.Y.
Western District Council, spring meeting, May 8-9, Heritage Inn, Great Falls, Mont.
New England District Council, Spring meeting, May 8-9, Hawthorne Inn, Salem, Mass.
Great Lakes, Midwest and Southern District Council, joint spring meeting, May 15-16, Quaker Square Hilton Inn, Akron.
49th Annual TNG Convention, June 21-25, 1982, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles.
50th Annual TNG Convention, 1983, Cleveland.

OSHA being repealed by fiat, Senator alleges



ELLEN ROZNOWSKI/Empire State Labor College

Protesting the 'OSHA-bust'

U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), above, speaks to newspaper, radio and television reporters outside the building housing the Brooklyn area office of the U.S. Occupational Safety & Health Administration a week before it was to close under Reagan administration budget cutbacks. Observers included four employees of the office. One, Tony Uliano, is interviewed, at left, by New York Guild President Betsy Wade.

Brooklyn—"Repeal of OSHA would not get 15 votes in the U.S. Senate," Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) told a news conference on a sidewalk here April 16. "But if you don't enforce the law, it has been repealed."

And that is exactly what the Reagan administration is doing—repealing the law by cutback, administrative order and layoff—Moynihan told reporters, unionists, OSHA employees and passers-by.

The news conference was called by the New York Committee for Occupational Safety & Health (NYCOSH), a coalition in which the Guild has played a major role, and by its member unions.

It was held outside the building housing the Brooklyn area office of the U.S. Occupational Safety & Health Administration just a week before it and similar offices in White Plains, Rochester, Newark and nine other cities were scheduled to close. Twenty-nine smaller offices and 272 OSHA inspectors' jobs also are scheduled for elimination.

Leaders of NYCOSH and several unions, including the New York Guild, the Auto Workers, and Clothing & Textile Workers, expressed anger and dismay at the closings and urged Moynihan to "carry the message to Washington."

Betsy Wade, president of the New York Guild, expressed the Guild's displeasure at the difficulty of getting a "handle" legislatively on the Reagan administration's actions. She, along with officers of such unions as the Chemical Workers and Service Employees' as well as government employees' unions, spoke at the news conference to express their unions' views to Moynihan.

Among the spectators were four OSHA employees from the doomed Brooklyn office.

One, Tony Uliano, told of restrictions on the number of hours now permitted for compliance

work, how short a time each inspection may take, how many inspections must be accomplished each day.

"If a compliance officer must travel from Albany to Yonkers," Uliano said, referring to a three-hour automobile trip, "instead of going 20 minutes down the thruway from White Plains, then not too much is going to get done. The trip is too long for a good inspection."

The three OSHA employees with Uliano also said they were angry and upset.

"OSHA has made the world a little better for workers," Moynihan said.

He pointed out that there has been a 20 percent drop in occupational deaths and injuries since OSHA began to function.

While the agency was slow getting started, when it began to be effective, some employers viewed it as a threat to dangerous shortcuts in the workplace, he said.

OSHA's operations were intended to aid employers, too, the senator said, expressing disbelief that they want their employees ill and their insurance rates raised by deaths and injuries on the job.

Moynihan underlined his belief that in the main today's enforcement problems are not so much with mechanical hazards, but with more subtle problems like the use of toxic materials and unidentified chemicals.

He also deplored the closing of offices and cut backs in data gathered and reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, noting that the agency was one of the first sought by the labor movement.

"The whole base of information that workers need is there," Moynihan said, adding "This is a wrongful action."

Moynihan pledged that we will "stay with the issue until it is resolved."

NYCOSH co-ordinated a similar demonstration at OSHA's Newark office.

NLRB upholds right to safety data

Washington—The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that unions have a right to health, safety and medical information—provided that identifying data has been excised from individual medical records and that lists of substances used or produced in the workplace do not reveal trade secrets.

While the board, acting on a trilogy of cases, found that unions have a right to the generic names of substances to which employees are exposed, it limited its orders by requiring the companies—Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., Colgate-Palmolive Co. and Borden Chemical Co.—to furnish the generic names of substances only to the extent

that no trade secrets are revealed.

As to substances the employers seek to protect under that shroud, the majority of the five-member board called for the parties to bargain over how the interests of both could be met.

Citing a 1979 Supreme Court ruling, the majority said that a union's interests in information relevant to collective bargaining does not necessarily outweigh all other legitimate interests.

Applying that ruling, the board majority said it must balance the countervailing rights of the parties. In the instant cases, however, the majority said it would do so only if the parties are unable to reach an accommodation on their own.

In a partial dissent, board member Howard Jenkins, Jr., pointed to the majority opinion's statement that "few matters can be of greater legitimate concern to individuals in the workplace, and thus to the bargaining agent representing them, than exposure to conditions potentially threatening their health, well-being, or their very lives." It would seem, he observed, that "we have already balanced the union's right" to the generic names of substances against the company's "claimed confidentiality."

"Confidentiality is not a defense to an obligation to furnish relevant information," Jenkins said and suggested that once it is determined the union has a right to the data, that it be left to the parties to work out a method for

providing the union access to the data while protecting it from falling into the hands of competitors.

The cases grew out of attempts by locals of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and the International Chemical Workers to obtain work environment data from the employers.

The board ruled unanimously that the unions were entitled to information sought on employee health and safety programs, monitoring and testing systems and medical statistical data related to working conditions.

Although noting that the unions did not seek individually identified employee medical records, the board observed that a union's need for such data might be outweighed by the confidentiality of the patient-physician relationship.

While welcoming the NLRB's upholding a union's right to health and safety information, the AFL-CIO's Occupational Safety Director George H. R. Taylor expressed dissatisfaction over the trade secret limitation of the order.

The unions have petitioned the U.S. Court of Appeals for review of this portion of the decisions, Taylor said.

Signing the majority decisions in the three cases were acting NLRB Chairman John R. Van de Water and members John H. Fanning and Don A. Zimmerman. Robert P. Hunter filed concurring opinions and Jenkins filed opinions dissenting in part.

GR shifts dates in May and June

The Guild Reporter will be published the first and third Fridays of the month in May and June, rather than the usual second and fourth Fridays.

That means that the May issues will come off the press on the 7th and 21st and the June issues on the 4th and 18th.

The publication dates are being changed in view of TNG's 1982 Convention being scheduled for the fourth week of June, a publication week under the customary publication schedule.

The Guild Reporter



JAMES M. CESNIK, Editor

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