# New Victoria pact includes job guarantees

**Victoria, B.C.** — Tentative agreements by the Victoria Guild and this city's four other newspaper unions with the Times-Colonist would provide all 350 of the Thomson daily's employees—including 175 in the Guild—with lifetime guarantees against dismissal for economy and wage increases of 5, 5 and 7 percent in each of the pacts' three years.

Bargained jointly by all five unions, the settlements were reached at 1 a.m. April 28 to cap a full week of marathon bargaining that consumed 16 to 20 hours per day, reported Guild President Joe Ravick, chief spokesperson for the unions' bargainers.

The memberships of each of the unions—Pressmen, Stereotypers, Typographical and Mailers, as well as the Guild—had voted their bargainers authority to call a strike 2½ months previously.

Chief issue in the bargaining from the outset of talks that began in November was job security in the face of a company announcement of its intention to eliminate the Times-Colonist's afternoon edition sometime this year. The move was not being taken because of economic necessity, however, the company pointed out.

The settlements' job guarantee provision applies to all who were on the Times-Colonist's staff on Dec. 3, 1983. It is one of the most comprehensive of its kind in the Guild.

Increases under the Guild settlement range up to $125.08 a week over the three-year term, with the top minimum for key editorial, circulation and advertising jobs going up by $114.03, to $748.69 a week for the final year.

That top minimum—for district managers, reporters and outside ad salespersons—would go up by $34.73, to $669.39 a week, retroactive to Dec. 1 and then increase by $30.32 and $48.98 on Dec. 1 of 1984 and 1985, Ravick reported.

The starting minimum for the same jobs would go up by $75.57 over the contract's term, to $496.22 a week, in increments of $21.03, $22.08 and $32.46 on the same dates.

Top minimum for advertising clerks would go up by a total of $72.77, to $477.80 a week, in increments to $20.25, $21.26 and $31.26.

The highest contract-covered editor's minimum would be increased by $125.08, to $821.21 a week, over the contract's three years, while the flat minimum for

**(Continued on Page 2)**


# The GUILD REPORTER

*Official publication of The Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC)*

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# Strike benefit pay triggers period of full regular dues

**Washington** — Payment of weekly strike/lockout benefits to more than 1,000 Guild members since the end of March has reduced the balance in TNG's Defense Fund to the point where working members will begin paying full regular dues in June, locals have been notified.

The higher dues payments are required under TNG's Constitution whenever available Defense Fund assets fall below $4.5 million. They add amounts to monthly dues ranging from $2 to $27.35 under a constitutional formula basing the amount on each member's weekly compensation. To pay the higher amount a member would have to be earning $895 a week or more.

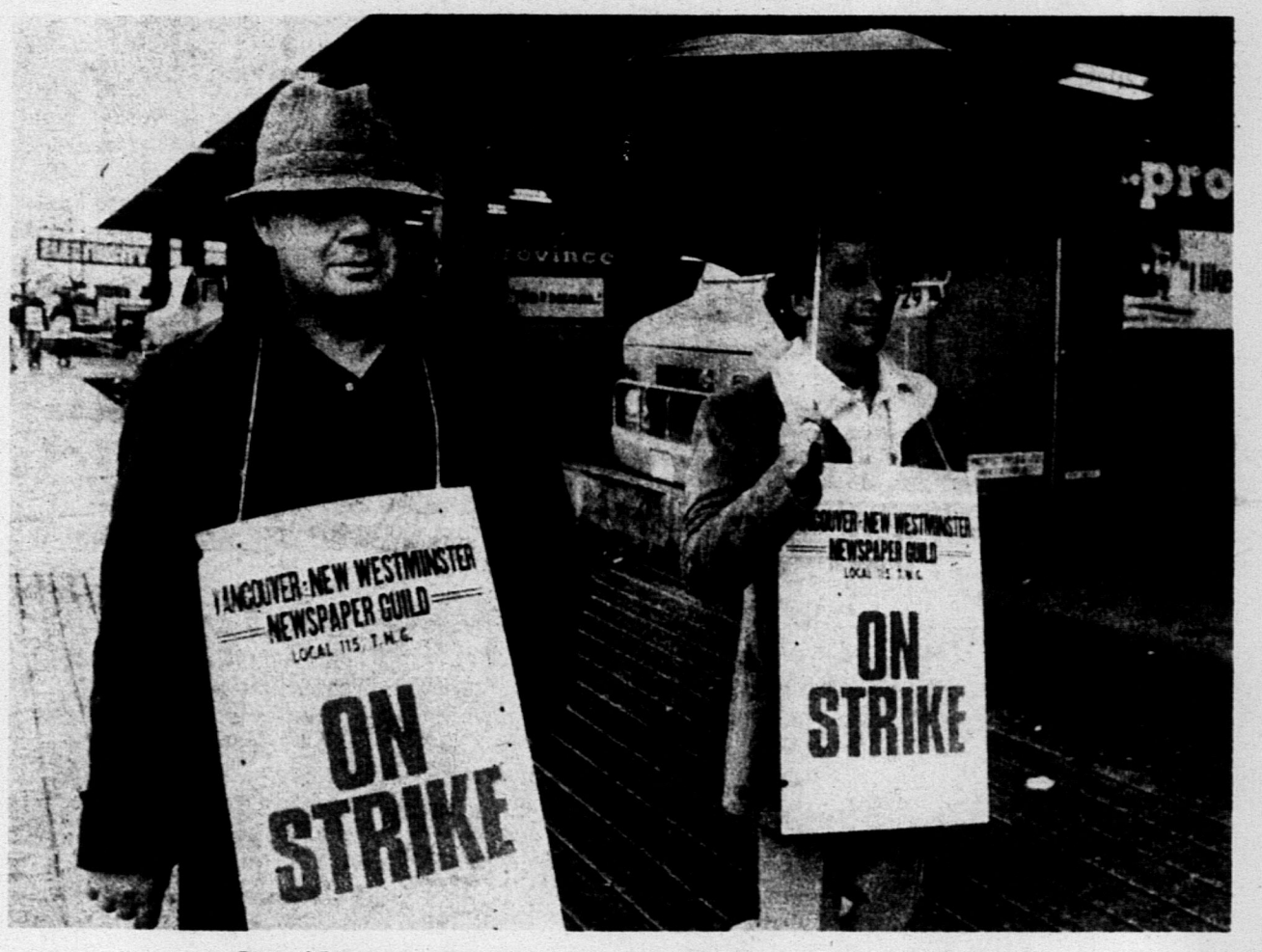
The higher dues will remain in effect until liquid assets of the Defense Fund reach $5 million.

Under a recommendation from TNG's Int'l Executive Board to TNG's 1984 Convention, set to meet June 18-22, the additional amounts generated by the higher dues payments in July and August would go into a special organizing fund to finance an expanded Guild organizing program, in lieu of going to the Defense Fund [Guild Reporter, April 20]. This would result in two additional months of higher dues in order to restore the Defense Fund to the $5-million level.

Since the addition of 950 Vancouver-New Westminister Guild members to the strike/lockout benefit rolls, weekly payments from the Defense Fund have totalled $107,500 a week, TNG Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale explained in an April 25 letter to local officers.

Guild members in Vancouver joined striking and locked-out members in Wilkes-Barre, Vallejo

**(Continued on Page 2)**




## *Strikers march on at Sun, Province*

Vancouver-New Westminster Guild President Jim Young and Executive Sec'y Roy Tubbs walk picket shift at Vancouver Sun and Province's idle loading dock as Southam dailies enter sixth week closed by strikes. No contract talks were scheduled. Five craft unions' 400 members struck March 28; 950 Guild members honored picket lines for two weeks, then themselves struck on April 11. Chief issues include dailies' insistence on one-year wage freezes.

# Safeguards for unborn recommended by IEB

**Washington**—TNG's Collective Bargaining Program would be expanded to guarantee a pregnant employee the right to transfer from work she believes may be harmful to herself or her unborn child if a change recommended by TNG's Int'l Executive Board is adopted by this summer's convention.

Such a transfer, for the duration of pregnancy, would be without any reduction in pay or benefits under the language the IEB proposes to add to the program.

The Collective Bargaining Program is a catalogue of "minimum basic contract goals." All locals must include the provisions enumerated in the program in their contract proposals.

While a pregnant employee concerned about hazards from continuing to work on a video display terminal would be permitted to transfer to other work during pregnancy under the proposed language, the scope of the new goal goes beyond concerns about potential hazards from the electronic terminals.

Under the IEB's recommendation, a pregnant employee would be permitted to transfer from any working conditions she believed potentially harmful to herself or her unborn child.

In addition, the IEB is recommending that the bargaining program be expanded to require lo-

**(Continued on Page 2)**

# IEB urges 'meaningful' political activity

**Washington**—The Reagan administration has made political action into "trade-union action in the most immediate sense" for the Guild and Guild members as well as for other unions and their members, TNG's Int'l Executive Board asserted during its spring meeting.

"To be meaningful," that political action "must mean much more than political endorsements," said the board in adopting its Political Action Report to TNG's 1984 Convention. Approval was by voice vote with audible dissent from but a single board member.

The Reagan presidency bears the indelible stamp of "one special interest . . . alone: Big Business," and the prospects for the immediate future of the Guild and Guild members are tied in large part to a change of national administrations, the IEB said in the report.

The report charges that under that stamp:

✓ "Big Business and its ultra-right idealogues rule the National Labor Relations Board, wiping out rulings that have offered a measure of protection to workers for decades and virtually eliminating it as a court of resort for labor.

✓ "Big Business dominates the Labor Dept. and its agencies, eliminating or modifying every protective regulation it dares, from health and safety standards to bans on home work in the garment industry.

✓ "Its right-wing flag-bearers set policy for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, reversing the country's march toward job equality through affirmative action, and they set an even more reactionary course for the Civil Rights Commission, seeking to undo the gains of two decades.

"All of this has taken place against a background of general economic policies that have increased unemployment, eroded long-standing social-welfare programs and shifted the burden of taxes from those who can afford it most to those who can bear it least," the report continued, adding:

"All this will be but prelude, however, if Reagan is elected for a second term" when additional appointments to agencies and the Supreme Court—already exhibiting "a pronounced rightward warp" against labor and the press—would leave the Reagan stamp on them for "close to a generation," the IEB said.

It was "recognition of this reality" that led it to authorize

**(Continued on Page 2)**

## *Document issues on endorsements*

**Washington—TNG's Int'l Executive Board voted by 12 to 2 in a roll call during its spring meeting to include in its Officers' Report to the 1984 Convention a lengthy report titled "The case for political action/Guild endorsement and its critics."**

**TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., ordered the report prepared in the face of objections by several locals and units to he and TNG's other two delegates having cast the Guild's votes last October in favor of the AFL-CIO's pre-primary endorsement of Walter Mondale to be the Democratic nominee for president.**

**The entire text of the report is reproduced on Pages 3-6 of this issue of the Guild Reporter.**

## *Judge stops ITU vote on Teamsters*

**Page 8**

# Strike benefit pay triggers period of full regular dues

(Continued from Page 1)

and Sudbury when craft union members struck Southam's Vancouver Sun and Province March 28. The Guild also struck the papers on April 11.

While liquid assets in TNG's Defense Fund totalled $5,359,598 on April 1, eight weeks of benefit payments at the weekly rate of $107,500 will have lowered the liquid assets to $4,499,598 by mid-May, triggering full regular dues for the first time since the spring of 1981, Dale wrote to local officers April 25.

If the Vancouver strike were to be settled before Defense Fund assets drop below $4.5 million, implementation of full regular dues would be cancelled, Dale told members of TNG's Int'l Executive Board during its mid-April meeting. There appeared to be little prospect of an imminent settlement in Vancouver as the Guild Reporter neared its press date, however.

Exempt from payment of the higher Defense Fund dues are associate, inactive, retired and unemployed members, plus new members in their first 60 days of membership during an organizing campaign.

The full amount of the additional dues payments goes to the Defense Fund from which weekly strike/lockout benefits of $100-$110 per member are paid. The basic weekly benefit of $100 is raised by $5 with both the fifth and 13th payments.

## No per caps, no votes, locals told

**Washington—Locals must have their per-capita obligations to TNG paid up through the month of April in order to be entitled to a voice and vote in TNG's convention, which will meet June 18-22, and those per-capita payments must be postmarked no later than May 31, TNG Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale has reminded locals.**

**Locals could lose their right to participate in the convention deliberations under a constitutional provision adopted in 1982 and effective this year which requires locals to meet their per-capita obligations to TNG up to and including the second month preceding the convention in order to have a voice and a vote in it.**



JOHN HARTE/Bakersfield Guild

## The price of unfair practices

Three Bakersfield Guild members pose with checks representing their portions of more than $30,000 paid by the Californian beginning in March to reimburse employees for out-of-pocket medical expenses they incurred after the paper unilaterally switched to less comprehensive health insurance. Each of the three —Cecil White, Cindy Gray and Tom Maurer —was reimbursed more than $500 under unfair-practices findings by the National Labor Relations Board on charges filed by the Guild. All three unions at the Californian—the Guild, Pressmen's and Typographical Unions — are bargaining jointly with the daily for new health insurance coverage, also under the NLRB findings.

# 'Meaningful' political action need escalates under Reagan, IEB says

(Continued from Page 1)

TNG officers to participate in the AFL-CIO's endorsement last fall of a candidate for the Democratic nomination and that led the officers to cast TNG's votes for Walter Mondale, "a longtime champion of unions," the IEB added.

The kind of political action that that reality calls for "requires local efforts to register members and their families and make sure they vote."

"Almost equally important, it means raising money for labor's political arm," the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE)," the board said.

The board's formal recommendations to the convention call for "a concerted effort" by locals on voter registration and voting, appointment of local committees for legislative and political action, increased efforts to bargain political-contribution checkoff provisions and otherwise to "spur COPE contributions." The recommendations also call for elimination from local by-laws of any prohibitions against political activity by the local.

Vice President David M. Mulcahy of New York, an avowed Republican, was the sole IEB member voting "no" on the report. He did so, he said, because while he had "no problem" with the formal recommendations, he had several "with the 5½ pages of rhetoric."

Vice President Larry D. Hatfield of San Francisco-Oakland said that he also had "some reservations on the rhetoric" but voted for the report because it is from the IEB "to the membership, not a statement on behalf of the membership."

Mulcahy voted against TNG participation in the AFL-CIO endorsement, as did Vice President Richard M. Peery of Cleveland and then-Vice President Barbara Yuncker of New York. Hatfield and Vice President Roger L. Stonebanks of Victoria abstained.

The board's report notes that TNG participation in the endorsement—"in principle no different from similar votes . . . in 1976 and 1980"—did draw objections from several Guild locals and units after it "became the focus of news stories because of attention directed at the AFL-CIO endorsement of a primary candidate for the first time."

Those objections—on grounds members had not been consulted and that it gave the appearance of compromising reporters' objectivity—had been rejected by Guild conventions both before and after the endorsement of George McGovern in 1972, the IEB report pointed out.

A proposal that would have required approval of endorsements in referendums, proposed by Hatfield and Stonebanks, was voted down by the IEB at its January meeting as it was adopting a policy requiring that the sentiments of members be assessed before TNG officers make future endorsements on behalf of the Guild.

After that policy was adopted, Hatfield and Stonebanks said they would take the issue to the membership.

After the IEB adopted its Political Action Report to the convention, it also voted—by 12 to 2 in a roll call—to include with the report to the convention a lengthy position paper titled "The case for political action/Guild endorsement and its critics."

Perlik ordered the paper prepared by TNG staff after the IEB's January meeting. When it was put before the IEB's spring meeting he described it as "an authoritative, written justification as to why we do so."

Voting for inclusion of the report in the Officers' Report to the convention were Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale, Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver and Vice Presidents Robert C. Holt, Jr., Carol D. McGarvey, Marie Shellock, Stanley Souza, Thomas R. Hiltz, Faye McCracken, Peter E. McLaughlin, Lee C. Clifford and Peery, as well as Perlik.

Voting against inclusion of the report in the Officers' Report were Hatfield and Mulcahy. Stonebanks was excused from attendance at the spring IEB meeting.

# Safety for unborn urged

(Continued from Page 1)

cals to seek contract guarantees that VDTs be shielded against very low frequency radiation (VLF) emissions by the installation of a metal shield on the exterior of the machine or a conductive metal shield around the terminal's flyback transformer.

It also is proposing a clarification of the program's requirement that locals seek company payment for regular eye examinations for VDT operators. The proposed change would specify that the examinations include tests for both visual function and eye disease. The program would also be changed to provide that the tests could be performed by optometrists as well as an ophthalmologists.

Consistent with TNG's efforts to ensure minimum safeguards for "VDT users everywhere," the IEB also is recommending that the convention call on locals to support the introduction and passage of VDT regulatory legislation in co-operation with other unions and concerned groups "wherever conditions appear to be auspicious."

## Victoria key up $114

(Continued from Page 1)

assistant-city, financial and features editors would be increased by $106.38, to $782.67 a week.

Other improvements in the settlement include increasing the night differential to 9 percent, from 8½ percent, a two-year reduction, to 20 years, in the service time required for six weeks' vacation per year and increasing the minimum guarantees for automobile expense reimbursement to 38 cents a mile and $67.50 a week, the latter for district managers.

## Locals reminded about Reporter listing

**Washington**—All Guild locals in both the U.S. and Canada should take immediate steps to assure that the Guild Reporter has both the names and the current addresses of all their members, the Int'l Executive Board urged during its spring meeting.

Doing so, the IEB pointed out in a report to TNG's June convention, will "help assure that the mandate in TNG's Constitution—that the Guild Reporter be 'distributed to all members'—be fulfilled."

In keeping with that and other action by the board, letters have been sent to all locals offering each a printout of the Guild Reporter mailing list of its members for correction and return to the Guild Reporter.

When changes in each local's membership list are not reported promptly by local officers, not all members "receive important information contained in the publication," the IEB noted.

## GR's publication shifted thru July

**The Guild Reporter is being published on the first and third Fridays of the month through June.**

**In July there will be a single issue, on the 13th.**

**Publication on the customary second and fourth Fridays of the month will resume in August.**

## GOP unit readies invitation to VP

**Washington** — The Republican National Committee is inviting TNG Vice President David M. Mulcahy of New York to join its Labor Advisory Council.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., had recommended Mulcahy for the post as an alternative to Perlik, whom it had invited [Guild Reporter, April 20]. Mulcahy is a Republican.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., RNC chair, now has responded that the RNC "would be happy" to have Mulcahy on the advisory council and will contact him.

Mulcahy said he's not sure how happy they'll be when they hear his views on "that mess they've made at the NLRB."

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**Postmaster:** Send address changes to The Guild Reporter, 1125 15th St., N.W., #550, Washington, D.C. 20005.

# The case for political action

*"Typical of the anti-worker sentiment found in the industry today is the belief that if workers try to exercise their rights, even outside their jobs, those attempts should be quashed. Those with wealth have rights; those who make the wealth possible have none."*

**—Robert Picard**
**St. Louis Journalism Review**
**January 1984**

*"Having debated the issue at length, the committee found no conflict between the role of a newsperson as a reporter and as a citizen participating fully in the government of his city, state or province and country.*

*"If a reporter is not compromised by the arbitrarily determined editorial positions taken by his employers, surely his integrity and objectivity are not impaired by the democratically espoused positions of his union."*

**—1973 Guild Convention**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## GUILD ENDORSEMENT —AND ITS CRITICS—

## Text of report to 1984 TNG convention

**This is the full text of a report included in the Officers' Report to TNG's 1984 Convention on a 12-to-2 roll call of the Int'l Executive Board on April 19, the last day of its spring meeting at TNG headquarters in Washington.**

**It was prepared by TNG staff after several locals and units objected to TNG representatives' participation in the AFL-CIO pre-primary endorsement in October of Walter Mondale to be the Democratic nominee for U.S. president this fall.**

**Voting to include the report were TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale, Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver and Vice Presidents Robert C. Holt, Jr., Carol D. McGarvey, Marie Shellock, Stanley Souza, Thomas R. Hiltz, Faye McCracken, Richard M. Peery, Peter E. McLaughlin and Lee C. Clifford.**

**Voting against inclusion were Vice Presidents David M. Mulcahy and Larry D. Hatfield. Vice President Roger L. Stonebanks was excused from the meeting.**

WHEN TNG CAST its votes for Walter Mondale in the AFL-CIO's endorsement process last fall, it was not the first time that the Guild, in one way or another, had endorsed a candidate for president of the United States.

In addition to participating in previous AFL-CIO endorsements, the Guild itself endorsed a presidential candidate as long ago as 1939 and again in 1944 and 1972.

The endorsement of Mondale touched off a reaction echoing, in substance if not in extent, the reaction to the Guild's endorsement of George McGovern, under vastly different circumstances, in 1972.

As in 1972, objections came from both inside and outside the Guild. From outside, the Guild's action was deplored by columnists and an assortment of publishers in the editorial columns they normally reserve for their own endorsements.

Inside, objections were voiced primarily by editorial employees in several locals, who complained variously that 1) the endorsement compromised their editorial integrity and, 2) it was made without consulting them and other Guild members.

We shall examine the merits of both objections, with all the implications they contain for what a union of newspaper employees can and should do to advance and defend the economic and professional interests of its members.

## The Mondale endorsement and its aftermath

THE NEW element in the 1983-84 political picture was not the Guild's presidential endorsement in the councils of the AFL-CIO. It was the AFL-CIO's decision to endorse a candidate in the Democratic primaries instead of awaiting the general election, as it had in the past.

That decision was taken in two steps: first, by the AFL-CIO General Board, then, four days later, by the federation's convention.

The general board meeting was scheduled for Oct. 1. Early in September, TNG officers polled the IEB for authorization to participate in the pre-primary endorsement and received it by a vote of 9 to 3, with two formal abstentions and one member not voting. All U.S. locals were notified of the poll in a letter Sept. 8.

At the general board meeting, President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., cast TNG's votes for Mondale, the position taken by board members speaking for more than 90 percent of the 14.3 million AFL-CIO members represented at the meeting. At the convention Oct. 5, TNG's three delegates —Perlik, Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver and Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale—joined in a standing vote of endorsement for Mondale.

That was it. Perlik did not publicly announce the endorsement, as he had announced the McGovern endorsement at the 1972 Democratic Convention. The Guild issued no press release, as it had then. It merely cast its votes in two deliberative bodies of the AFL-CIO, as it does on dozens of other issues, across the legislative and political board.

Indeed, TNG officers had done essentially the same thing on the AFL-CIO General Board in 1976 and 1980, voting to endorse Jimmy Carter in the presidential elections. Both actions were reported on the front page of the Guild Reporter and stirred not a murmur of protest.

What was the difference?

It was not in the nature of the Guild's action, which was in principle identical. The difference was that the AFL-CIO's 1976 and 1980 actions were traditional general-election endorsements and received little public attention. The 1983 primary endorsement, on the other hand, was a break with tradition, and the media turned out in force to chronicle it.

Even so, reaction to the Guild endorsement was slow in coming. Only when a wire-service story moved two weeks later, leading with the fact that the Guild's membership had not been polled on the endorsement, did the issue surface. (The Guild's endorsements in 1976 and 1980 also were made without polling the membership.) The story featured a statement opposing the endorsement by Wire Service Guild President William Morrissey, based on a previous WSG referendum opposing political endorsements.

Resolutions dissociating themselves from the endorsement followed from four locals, two local executive committees, three units and Guild members at a Washington bureau. There were letters from individual members; columnists, members and nonmembers alike, had their say; and some publishers added their opinions.

Typical of the objections was that of the Lynn Guild's resolution, which charged that the endorsement "calls into question the supposed objectivity and impartiality of working journalists."

The New York Post unit resolution, similarly, affirmed that "a union of newspaper workers should not engage in any activity that could compromise its members on the job."

Editor & Publisher weighed in along the same lines: "We feel strongly that political endorsements by their (reporters' and editors') union gives the appearance of conflict of interest to the people who count the most—newspaper readers."



**1940:** Kenneth G. Crawford, then-president of the American Newspaper Guild, testifies before House Labor Committee challenging those opposing Guild shop for reporters to back up claims that news was colored by union membership. No one did.

And, somewhat less politely, from John Whiteside, a columnist and Guild member at the Joliet Herald-News: "If Charlie was ever a working newsman he should have known how reporters feel about endorsing political candidates. That belongs to each newspaper's editorial conference board."

Some of the opposition, such as the Cleveland Guild's, was based solely on failure to poll the membership. Others paired the two, in the manner of David Hoffman of the Washington Post, who said: "I don't think they should endorse at all, but if they are going to, they should find out who we really support."

## Membership authorization

TWO QUITE different questions are involved here: 1) whether TNG should make endorsements, and 2) whom it should endorse.

It is impossible to get a perspective on either without reviewing what the Guild has done in the past, the reaction of the membership and, most important, the actions of the Guild's highest governing body, its convention.

Contrary to a widespread impression, the Guild did not wade into the political waters for the first time when it endorsed McGovern in 1972.

The Guild made its first national political endorsement back in 1939, six years after its founding. In what was in substance a rough equivalent of the Mondale pre-primary endorsement, the 1939 Convention endorsed President Roosevelt for what was then a highly controversial third term long before his nomination.

The vote was an overwhelming 108 to 8, with 8 abstentions, and what opposition there was had nothing to do with whether reporters' credentials would be sullied by the action. Opponents were principally concerned with the effect the endorsement might have on unorganized newspersons unsympathetic to Roosevelt.

It was a period of heavy political controversy in the Guild, but reaction to the endorsement was virtually nil. There was one letter in the Guild Reporter, bottomed broadly on the same principle as the convention objectors'. And that was all. The membership was not polled, no one suggested that it should have been, and no attempt was made to send the matter to referendum, although that was a not infrequent recourse in those days.

The Guild's second endorsement came in 1944, and this time there was, indeed, a straw poll of the membership. The IEB, in advance of the convention, authorized an advisory, nonbinding postcard poll of the membership on whether the convention should endorse a candidate for president.

The result was a 2,754-to-2,105 vote for endorsement, and postcard comments, read at the convention, were again instructive. Not a single one raised the issue of reporter integrity, either in substance or appearance. Negative comments, like those of 1939, were for the most part based on political, not professional, considerations.

The convention went on to endorse the re-election of President Roosevelt, rejecting by a roll-call vote of 155⅔ to 73⅓ a minority report opposing the endorsement.

The minority report emphasized two points, neither related to professional integrity: the division in

**(Continued on Page 4)**

# The case for political action: Guild endorsement and its critics

(Continued from Page 3)

Guild opinion on the question and the inadvisability of the Guild taking "a partisan stand in an election." Several of those who opposed the endorsement in floor debate said they planned to work for Roosevelt locally but considered it inadvisable to make a convention endorsement.

In this first full Guild debate on the issue the essential case for endorsement was put simply by a Detroit delegate, Paul Weber:

"I think that the American Newspaper Guild has a perfect right to advise its members, just as it might advise them on a particular bargaining technique or on a model contract. It has a right to advise its members that in the judgment of this convention their economic interests will best be protected by the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman."

The Guild's next endorsement was the one in 1972, and the sequence is not without interest in the light of the latest controversy.

President Perlik, in his official address to the convention, urged it to "call on the IEB, once the major-party choices for the presidency are made, to give guidance to the Guild and to its members." But the convention Political Action Committee proposed more: an endorsement of McGovern for both the Democratic nomination and the presidency.

A minority report was raised against it, and for the first time the matter was contested on the issue of an endorsement's effect on the integrity of the newspersons represented by the Guild.

*". . . How can the public be expected to trust the fairness of news stories," it asked, "if the men and women who write and edit them have already gone on record, through their union, opposing some candidates and favoring others? . . . We are a unique union with unique responsibilities. One of these responsibilities is doing our best to keep the trust of the people we are supposed to inform. Any endorsement of political candidates by TNG or its IEB would be incompatible with that trust."*

The convention debated that issue first and rejected the minority position decisively—so decisively that no one even requested a roll call.

Then, however, it went on to pull back the specific McGovern endorsement by a roll-call vote of approximately 201 to 147 [201 7/16 to 147 9/16], substituting an amendment instructing the IEB "to consider endorsing a candidate for the presidency following the national conventions and that it is the sense of this convention that such endorsement should be made."

While the debate was noteworthy for the issue that was raised, it was also notable for the one that wasn't. None of the opponents suggested that endorsement was an issue that had to be put to membership referendum. And neither, in the last analysis, after all that ensued in the events that followed, did the Guild rank and file.

## The endorsement —and after

THE IEB MOVED to endorse McGovern following the convention in a two-step process that followed the spirit if not exactly the letter of the convention action.

At its post-convention meeting, the board voted to act on an endorsement immediately after the Democratic convention because President Nixon already was assured of the Republican nomination on the basis of primary-election results. Later it voted, 14-0, in a poll on the eve of the Democratic convention, to endorse McGovern should he receive the nomination. Perlik announced the endorsement at a press conference in McGovern headquarters at the convention immediately after the nomination.

Then came the firestorm.

Both inside and outside the Guild came a reaction far exceeding that of 1983. Guild local and unit bodies adopted resolutions of protest, members signed petitions and sent letters into headquarters, publishers and columnists denounced the endorsement in newspapers from coast to coast.

The Guild reaction cannot be minimized. But as we shall see, neither should it be overestimated.

The criticism zeroed in almost entirely on the question of the endorsement's supposed effect on reporters' integrity and reputation for objectivity. But even with the record of convention and IEB action that stood behind it, there were objections about its authorization, as well.

Some objected directly that the IEB's actions transgressed the formal authorization procedures set forth by the convention. In the statements of others, focused primarily on the issue of integrity, there were occasional overtones of complaint that the membership had not been directly consulted. That position was set forth most succinctly by San Diego, which, in circulating a resolution of opposition to Guild locals, said:

*". . . We feel any decision regarding political endorsements from an organization such as ours is one best made by the entire membership."*

On the other hand, there was a sizable counterflow of resolutions, letters and even petitions supporting the endorsement. Most telling, however, was the total failure of a move to send the whole matter to referendum.

While membership referendums can be costly and time-consuming, the requirements for initiating them are not onerous. They call for a referendum motion to be seconded by membership action within 30 days by only 10 additional locals in five states, territories or provinces, with at least five percent of TNG membership.

Yet when the Twin Cities Guild initiated a motion to rescind the convention's endorsement action, only one other local—San Diego—seconded it. An earlier San Diego motion to bar future endorsements, which had been ruled invalid, drew just three seconds—from Buffalo, Bay City and Columbus. Washington-Baltimore, center of the most vociferous opposition to endorsement, could not even muster a quorum to vote on the motion.

It was against this background, after months of discussion in locals and the Guild Reporter, that the issue came before the 1973 Convention.

First came a minority report of the Political Action Committee, directing that an international referendum be held on the following question:

*"Shall delegates to TNG conventions either endorse or authorize the IEB to endorse candidates for public office?"*

It was debated extensively—and lost decisively on a roll call, by approximately 274 to 101 [274 11/36 to 101 25/36].

Then, on a voice vote, the convention adopted the majority report, containing the following affirmation:

"Having debated the issue at length, the committee found no conflict between the role of a newsperson as a reporter and as a citizen participating fully in the government of his city, state or province and country.

"If a reporter is not compromised by the arbitrarily determined editorial positions taken by his employers, surely his integrity and objectivity are not impaired by the democratically espoused positions of his union."

And there the matter stood until 1983. TNG's two fulltime officers endorsed Carter as individuals in 1976 and 1980, but neither the IEB nor the convention put the Guild officially on record.

## Authorization: The conclusions

IN THE LIGHT of this history, it should be clear that the action of the IEB in approving the Guild's participation in the AFL-CIO's endorsement process last fall is consistent with the actions taken at at least the two conventions recent enough to be relevant (1972 and 1973), rejecting both the principal argument against endorsements—the presumed impairment of reportorial integrity—and the necessity for a referendum of the membership. These convention actions continue to govern Guild policy today.

Some Guild endorsements, such as those of 1939, 1944 and 1972, are directed at Guild members. To give such an endorsement maximum authority and effectiveness, it would be normal to submit it to the Guild's delegated local leaders in convention, as was done in those years.

That was not the function of the 1983 endorsement.

That endorsement, as we have noted, was simply a function of the Guild's role as part of the AFL-CIO's governing board and assembled convention, brought to public attention principally by the endorsement's departure from AFL-CIO, rather than Guild, policy.

It differed in principle not one whit from the AFL-CIO presidential endorsements participated in by TNG in 1976 and 1980.

TNG's vote was not cast to mobilize Guild votes for Mondale but to exercise its judgment in this, as in other questions, as to what action by the AFL-CIO was in the best interests of the Guild and its members. Similar votes are cast all the time on a wide variety of political and legislative issues, with the clear understanding that the Guild's position neither represents the position of every Guild member nor commits any Guild member to follow it. The endorsement was not trumpeted to Guild members, much less to the world at large, any more than were TNG's endorsement votes in 1976 and 1980. It was simply reported routinely in the Guild Reporter.

Thus, in view of past convention policy and the nature of the endorsement itself, the argument that the officers should have obtained membership approval for it carries little weight, even had there been time to do so.

In any event, the position of those who say the membership should be polled because endorsements compromise their position as reporters is a self-defeating one. In fact, exactly the opposite is the case.

As matters stand, a Guild endorsement represents the considered opinion of the Guild's leadership as to which candidate best embodies the economic and professional interests of Guild members. In its conventional form, it is a recommendation *to* the membership, not *from* the membership.

But in a referendum, it is the membership that speaks. How is the position of those who argue against endorsement as a threat to their appearance of objectivity improved by a referendum in which support of one or another candidate is voted not by the officers or even the convention but by a majority of the Guild membership itself? That would, indeed, make the endorsement more "theirs" than it is now.

A political endorsement is not the equivalent of calling a strike or instituting a dues increase. Guild officers cannot cast any election ballots but their own; they can only recommend. Guild members will cast the votes that count.

## The question of integrity

IN THE LAST analysis, when arguments of procedure fall away, it is the basic argument from integrity —that a political position taken by a reporter's union will damage readers' and news subjects' confidence in his or her fairness—that remains.

That position has been stated in countless variations, first in 1972 and again in 1983. It is set forth perhaps as clearly as anywhere in a petition signed by Baltimore Sunpapers newspersons in 1972:

*"As newsmen, we believe that an endorsement by an organization which represents reporters collectively only erodes public confidence in reporters' objectivity. The public has to trust reporters to be as objective as possible. In return, reporters have a duty to refrain from actions which could compromise themselves and the public's expectation of impartiality."*

The position is basically a lineal descendent of one advanced almost half a century ago, shortly after the Guild's founding. At that time, however, it was the *substance* of integrity that was at issue. Today it is the *shadow!*

The argument, in its earliest form, came from the publishers' camp, and it was directed at the idea of Guild membership per se.

Arguing against Guild organization for editorial employees in 1937, just after the Guild had affiliated with the CIO, Malcolm W. Bingay, editorial director of the Detroit Free Press, said of a reporter:

*"His highest mission is to report things exactly as he sees them, impersonally, objectively, honestly. . . . But if he is an ardent advocate of one side or another in a public controversy, he cannot remain completely objective. . . . As an active member of the CIO, for example, he is dividing his loyalty between that organization and his paper, no matter how honest he strives to be in his writing."*

The Los Angeles Times minced fewer words:

*"Once under Guild control," it thundered in a 1938 editorial, "a newspaper's news and editorial columns are under constant and vigilant union censorship. It can print what the Guild says it can print; anything, however important, objectionable to the Guild never reaches the public."*

It has been a long time since anyone has raised such a charge, much less taken it seriously.

There is not a single instance on the record of Guild membership having influenced a reporter or copy editor's handling of a Guild or labor story, and publishers have given testimonials to that effect.

Intermittently for a number of years thereafter, critics shifted to a second line of attack—against the adoption of resolutions on political/legislative issues by Guild conventions. Columnist Dorothy Thompson, in 1956, for example, objected to the Guild's undertaking to "commit its writing members to supporting . . . political action," thereby "infringing their freedom of thought and speech."

The objection had been voiced as far back as 1937 by the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. As cited by Irving Brant, editorial-page editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch at the time, the publishers argued that "freedom of the press is threatened because the St. Louis Convention of the Newspaper Guild adopted resolutions on subjects like the war in Spain, political action in behalf of labor, the president's court plan and a few other things which may be wise or foolish. . . .

"The resolutions of the Newspaper Guild were adopted five months ago. I will pay $500, the next time I get it, for any newspaper headline written since that time which shows bias growing out of the resolutions of the Newspaper Guild, provided I am also paid five cents for every headline which shows bias ordered into the headlines by those responsible for newspaper policy."

With no one having adduced any evidence over the years of Guild membership producing biased copy—or headlines—on this score, either, the focus of the allegation has gradually changed—from the substance of bias to its perception. And even in this shadow area, critics of the Guild's endorsement position are inclined to grant the Guild a license for political action in areas that cut manifestly close to its direct concerns.

"I wish to make clear that I am in no way opposed . . . to TNG taking a stand on an issue of freedom of the press, either foreign or domestic," wrote one Guild member, a Sigma Delta Chi activist, in a letter protesting the Mondale endorsement. "I think that your outspoken support of press freedom is commendable and I am proud of your involvement in that area. . . .

"Likewise, I know that as a labor leader you are and must be involved in trade-union issues. But there is a vast difference between taking a stand on a genuine labor or press issue and taking a stand on an issue not related to unions or journalism and which, moreover, is a subject that your members must cover."

Indeed, Sigma Delta Chi has all but set up an official double standard in these matters. Stephen R. Dornfeld, its former national president, was among those who criticized the Mondale endorsement, stating that it "thrusts the union into the political area and raises questions about objectivity." He cited a plank in the society's ethics code advising journalists against any activity that might compromise their integrity.

BUT SDX IS, properly, a consistent lobbyist on press issues, and during the last presidential election year, 1980, the chairman of its Freedom of Information Committee, Bob Lewis, suggested that lobbying was not enough.

"We can, if necessary, take a more active role in elections," he declared. "At the very least, we can demonstrate our thanks to legislators who share our concerns for a free press by giving them our votes and our contributions."

It is time to assess the issue.

Is there any reason to hold that a newsperson's integrity—or the appearance of that integrity—should be less compromised by SDX's lobbying against Reagan's Freedom of Information proposals, or his pre-publication-review order, than by the Guild's endorsement of a candidate?

Is there a shred of logic to sustain the argument that a reporter whose union endorses Mondale will handle news stories on the election campaign less fairly than a reporter who follows SDX's call to "take a more active role in elections" and makes a political contribution to the candidate sympathetic to free-press concerns?

SDX can take the position it does because these are shared concerns of news-industry organizations, including publishers and the Guild. But the issues are hardly ones on which there is a national consensus; fairness is still required in handling stories about them. Why do SDX, and the Guild, have a license to take positions on *them* without incurring the malediction that a political endorsement automatically brings down upon the Guild?

The fact is that reporters do not slant their stories in favor of the Freedom of Information Act just because the Guild, Sigma Chi or even the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. supports it. Nor can it be demonstrated that they are perceived to be doing so.

No more do they tilt their stories towards Mondale because the Guild has endorsed him. And, aside from ideologues with obvious political axes to grind, there is no one who has accused them of doing so.

THE ELEMENTAL truth that stands unshaken despite the torrent of words that have crashed over it since 1972 is that it is publishers, not reporters, who make newspaper policy, and the public knows it.

Some observers may believe, as one columnist put it, that newspaper readers "tend to separate (editorial endorsements) from news coverage, "but few people familiar with the perceptions of the average newspaper reader will agree with him. Many readers make no distinction at all between news stories and editorials, and others assume that a paper will slant its coverage, at least minimally, to help the candidate it favors.

It must be said that there is some justification for this belief—certainly more than there is for any idea that Guild policy has ever influenced a newspaper's coverage. U.S. newspaper history is replete with examples of publishers who have used their papers' news columns to promote political candidates—and that history is not all in the past.

Furthermore, some sections of the public are prone to assume not only that reporters are bound to shape their stories to fit their papers' endorsements but that the reporters share their newspapers' opinions.

"From listening to people," wrote Janet Allen, editor of the Brockton Guild's publication, Guilded Cage, in an article on the endorsement controversy, "I'd say that when a newspaper endorses a candidate, the public usually does assume that it is the opinion of the entire newspaper staff, even though that is far from the truth."

No sophisticated person may believe that—but neither does any sophisticated person believe that a newspaper's content is determined—or even influenced—by the reporters' union rather than their publisher.

Publishers—and editors—are not afflicted by any embarrassment, either about endorsement itself or the uses to which it can be put.

Early last December, according to the New York Times, the American Society of Newspaper Editors sent its members a letter urging them to pin

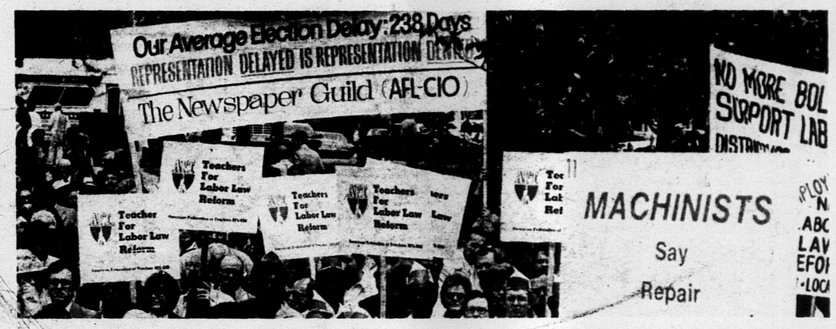
(Continued on Page 6)



**1967:** Reporters covering Senate Antitrust Subcommittee hearings on publisher-inspired bill to grant sweeping exemptions to all newspaper mergers question then-ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farson, seated left, and then-Sec'y-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., behind Farson, on Guild opposition to the bill.



**1972:** TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., right, testifies in hearing on press freedom by Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, chaired by Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N.C.), far left.




**1978:** Sign looming above crowd at Washington rally for enactment of reform of federal labor law is testament to Guild backing of the bills. Organized publishers joined National Assn. of Manufacturers' and others in what proved successful effort to thwart enactment. It died in a filibuster.

# The case for political action

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## GUILD ENDORSEMENT —AND ITS CRITICS—

(Continued from Page 5)

down members of Congress home for the Christmas holidays.

"The timing could hardly be better," the ASNE wrote. "As the 1984 political campaign begins to pick up momentum, House and Senate candidates will be visiting newspapers to seek an endorsement, or at the very least to pay a friendly call." It went on to urge editors to "take full advantage of these opportunities to present your views on the FOI Act and indeed on the broad issue of the trend toward more secrecy and less disclosure by the U.S. Government."

Edward R. Cony, Dow Jones' vice president for news and chairman of the ASNE's Freedom of Information Committee, told the Times he saw no ethical problem in the practice.

**Question:** What would have been the reaction, both inside and outside the Guild, had TNG sent a letter to locals urging that reporters covering these political candidates engage them in discussion of *the very same issues?*

To sum up the salient facts against which the real, not the fancied, effect of a Guild endorsement should be judged:

1. It is the publisher who makes newspaper policy.
2. It is the publisher, and the editors answerable to that publisher, who determine what gets into the paper.
3. Readers and news subjects, who live in the same hierarchical world as reporters, are fully aware of these facts of economic life.

Or, to put it in the words of columnist Milton Viorst during the 1972 controversy:

". . . If there is an inherent conflict of interest among newspapermen, it is not in the partisanship of their union, with which their ties are very loose, but of their bosses, who pay their salaries and, in general, set the journalistic standards which they are called upon to observe. . . .

"In many newspapers throughout the country, publishers' political preferences—and not journalistic impartiality—determine what readers get. If high-minded newspapermen want to unite in behalf of fairness, this is a cause to which they might more appropriately direct themselves."

### The purpose of endorsement

SIMPLY PUT, a Guild endorsement is a recommendation from the union to its members on how their economic and professional interests as newspaper employees can best be served by their votes.

As such, it is basically no different than a recommendation that they support legislation to reform National Labor Relations Board procedures, regulate plant closings—or, with Sigma Delta Chi, strengthen the Freedom of Information Act.

In taking these kinds of positions, the Guild, as it has from its earliest days, addresses its members and the appropriate legislators and government officials. It does not seek to influence the general public, much less to have its members exert such influence in the course of their work. Indeed, its constitution explicitly forbids penalizing members for anything they may write for publication.

On the one occasion—1972—when the purpose of an endorsement might have appeared otherwise, it was to serve an auxiliary purpose. TNG's endorsement of McGovern was announced publicly at the Democratic convention immediately after his nomination to serve as a demonstration of badly needed trade-union support.

It is time to dispel, for once and for all, the fog that has shrouded the issue of such endorsements, a mist generated by the contention that such political actions have nothing to do with the Guild's proper function as a trade union of newspaper employees.

The contention will not bear a moment's close examination.

No one disputes that it is TNG's function to dispense guidance to its locals and members on organizing, collective bargaining, safety and health, human and professional rights and all the other matters related to its role as the representative of its members' economic interests.

In so doing, it cannot but acquire an expertise not only in the nuts and bolts of these subjects but on the effects that government laws, policies, regulations and agencies have on the Gulid's ability to successfully perform that role—and on its members' resulting economic and social welfare.

Some of these issues become embodied in legislation, and even critics will for the most part concede that it is entirely proper for the Guild to seek to affect such legislation. In the words of the Sigma Delta Chi activist quoted earlier, "you are and must be involved in trade-union issues."

But many—in fact, most—of the government policies affecting Guild members are effected not directly by legislation but by the administrative and judicial policies of government bodies and officers such as the National Labor Relations Board, the Sec'y of Labor, the Supreme Court and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, appointed by the president. And the president, and members of Congress in his orbit, are largely responsible even for legislation.

Does it make sense to contend that it is appropriate for the Guild to support this, that or the other bill related to its trade-union objectives but not the political candidate who comes closest to identification with those objectives? Does it make sense to argue that defeat of a president whose policies and actions have been unrelievedly hostile to the Guild, as to unions generally, is not a proper matter of Guild concern?

Is it acceptable for the Guild to speak out against President Reagan's sustained record of measures infringing press freedom but unacceptable to seek his removal from the launching platform for them?

To ask these questions is to answer them.

Once a Guild endorsement is understood for what it is—a recommendation from Guild leaders to Guild members as to which candidate will best serve their interests as newspaper employees and union members—it becomes clear why a referendum is both inappropriate and redundant: It would constitute nothing more nor less than a recommendation of the membership to itself. Only if the endorsement were intended not as an internal recommendation to Guild members but as a public expression of the Guild's position to the electorate at large would a referendum make sense.

Even so, Guild endorsements may continue to generate controversy both inside and outside the union, as they sometimes have in the past. But that is a small price to pay for the exercise of our responsibilities as a union to advance and protect the present and future well-being of our members and the industry they serve.

### Our rights: Must we give them up?

A FINAL WORD is in order on the principal spectre raised against endorsement—that it creates a public perception of bias—if not actual bias—on the part of reporters.

The evidence advanced to justify this concern, as we have seen, is unconvincing. It fares little better on grounds of logic.

Is there any more reason to believe that the public will assume reporters are slanting their copy toward a candidate endorsed by the Guild than toward, say, labor legislation favored by the Guild?

If anything, less. Labor legislation is more directly related to a reporter's position as a newspaper employee and union member. Reporters' sentiments toward a political candidate are more likely to be affected by considerations additional to those involving their union and their work.

Is there a public perception of bias in news copy on the Freedom of Information Act and other press issues because SDX, the Guild and other industry organizations take a stand on them? Is there any more reason for a public perception of bias on the part of reporters than on the part of teachers, whose unions also endorse political candidates?

A mythology has fastened its grip on the minds of all too many in our industry, including our own members. It is the myth that when they enter the news business, they check part of their rights as citizens, if not their right to any opinions at all, at the door.

Proponents claim it is the price newspersons have to pay. Strangely enough, it is only the hired hands who have to pay it. Publishers are exempt.

A Louisiana State journalism professor, Robert Picard, summed it all up in the St. Louis Journalism Review:

"The critics of the Guild's stand ironically demonstrate little faith in the credibility of the press. They ignore the professionalism with which reporters approach their jobs. They assume that reporters will be swayed in their writing—or will be perceived as biased—as a result of the activities of their labor union. . . .

"Opponents of Guild political activity damn all the political activity as being supported by or influencing all reports and say that by virtue of their employment in the newspaper industry they give up their right to free speech, association and political participation. It is a contradictory position for an industry that relies so heavily on the protections of the First Amendment and shows the depth to which some publishers will stoop to promote their own self-interest. . . .

"All Americans have the right to speak freely on topics of social significance. And throughout the history of this nation newspaper men and women have exercised that right and privilege in endless political campaigns. Every year publishers put their choices for public office on the editorial pages of papers, some even tout them on the front pages.

"Few suggest that newspapers exercising their political freedom and declaring their preference bodes biased news coverage. Neither should they when a worker's organization does the same."



**1984:** TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., left, and Society of Professional Journalists/SDX President Phil Record, right, present to members of Congress petitions by 7,000 news employees opposing Reagan administration proposals to weaken the federal Freedom of Information Act. Center left is Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.); center right, Rep. Glenn English (D-Okla.).

# Challenges demand new commitment for rights—IEB

**Washington** — While lauding gains and initiatives by locals during the past year, TNG's Int'l Executive Board is calling for the Guild's 1984 Convention to rededicate the union to achievement of its basic human rights goals in the face of serious challenges to civil, women's and minority rights.

Among those challenges, as cited in the IEB's human rights report, adopted during its spring meeting:

A U.S. administration adverse to affirmative action in employment practices "despite proof of its effectiveness," debilitating cuts in the budgets and staffs of all federal enforcement agencies and the stacking of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission with a majority actively sympathetic to the administration's go-slow approaches.

These kinds of challenges "demand strong, enforceable contracts, intensified legislative activity, pressure for vigorous enforcement" of existing laws and regulations, "coalition building and the exercise of that most basic right—the right to vote," the IEB declared.

It then voted unanimously to recommend that the convention call for new efforts by locals to achieve wage parity and upgradings for jobs traditionally filled with women and minorities and for greater efforts to achieve and enforce fair-employment-practices contract provisions.

The convention also should remind locals of the importance of having active human rights committees of their own and TNG and U.S. locals should continue to support and utilize services aimed at helping minorities prepare for and get jobs in the industry, the IEB said in its report to the convention.

In another action, on recommendation of its Finance Committee, the IEB voted "non-concurrence" in a proposal, referred to the board by last year's convention, to establish and maintain through special assessments on the membership a fund to pay legal expenses in race, sex and age bias suits.

TNG participation in legal actions against job discrimination should be paid from regular revenue sources, not from dedicated funds, the board said in adopting the Finance Committee's recommendation.

The board also expressed its concern that creation of "this special fund would create argument and justification for other" special, assessment-based funds and would invite creation of "a special bureaucracy to administer them."

With two of the board members taking exception, the IEB also said that "only in the rarest of cases" do anti-bias actions "raise issues or nuances that make them applicable in any but the instant circumstances . . . and seldom can what's shown or proved in one case be translated into another."

It would be "imprudent to recommend approval of such a radical departure from the Guild's traditional way of doing business," the IEB added, pointing to the probability of a shift to higher dues to support existing strikes and lockout actions and the need for funds to support "a long-needed special organizing program" that the board is recommending to the convention.

Also on recommendation of its Finance Committee, the IEB denied a request for a $45,000 loan to the New York Daily News Black Caucus to assist it with legal bills in a current action against the paper. The denial came on a 12-to-2 roll-call vote, with all on the IEB except Vice Presidents Larry D. Hatfield and Peter E. McLaughlin voting for the action.

When the IEB deferred action in January it had empowered TNG's full-time officers to make the loan to the New York Guild with long-term repayment terms. In the interim, the local's executive committee declined to seek the loan itself, but urged TNG to grant it to the caucus.

In denying the loan, the IEB repeated concerns it had expressed in January about setting "an unwise precedent" in making loans or grants to ad-hoc membership groups.

It also said it believes it would be an inappropriate use of TNG funds to support individual litigation when "the same or similar results could be achieved through group or class actions."



MARY ANN LaPOINT/Albany

## Half as long as Albany

Albany Guild President Tom LaPoint, left, congratulates members who received 25-year pins during celebration of the local's 50th anniversary April 28. Others in attendance included charter members Janet Scott and Ben Danforth, ten former local officers, including Scott, an early president, delegates to the Middle-Atlantic District Council's spring meeting, TNG Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale and Pulitzer Prize-winning author Bill Kennedy, a former member of the local. With LaPoint, above: Arvis Chalmers, Pete Carroll, Art Clemenzi and Bud Hanson.

# Report on Latin policies given nod

**Washington**—The Int'l Executive Board has authorized TNG to endorse a report that outlines policy alternatives for the United States in its relations with the nations of Central America and the Caribbean.

The board authorized the endorsement during its spring meeting April 16-19 on a 7-to-4 roll-call vote. There were three abstensions.

The report, intended to offer alternatives to policies suggested by the presidential "Kissinger Commission," includes among its recommendations an end to U.S. support for groups fighting against the Nicaraguan government and a restoration of full relations with that country's current government.

It also calls for an end to military aid to El Salvador and would condition further economic aid on progress toward a negotiated settlement between the government and opposition groups and urges that U.S. military activities in Honduras be terminated.

TNG Vice President Larry D. Hatfield of San Francisco-Oakland said that he opposed endorsing the report "in the name of our members" despite personal sentiment. Not only will some members be concerned that such an endorsement may damage their credibility, but "in this case" there will be concern that the endorsement endanger the safety of reporters covering events in the region, Hatfield said.

Vice President Richard M. Peery of Cleveland, however, urged support for the endorsement on grounds that a lessening of militarism in the region would reduce the likelihood of acts of suppression toward reporters working in the area.

Voting in favor of the endorsement were TNG President Charles A Perlik, Jr., Sec'y-Treasurer Charles Dale and Vice President Thomas R. Hiltz of Boston, Robert C. Holt, Jr., of St. Louis, Carol D. McGarvey of Philadelphia, Marie Shellock of Youngstown and Peery.

Voting against the endorsement were Vice Presidents Faye McCracken of Memphis, David M. Mulcahy of New York, Stanley Souza of Hawaii and Hatfield.

Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver and Vice Presidents Lee Clifford of the Canadian Wire Service Guild and Peter E. McLaughlin of New York abstained.

The report, "Changing Course: Blueprint for Peace In Central America and the Caribbean," was prepared by "a group of scholars know as PACCA (Policy Alternatives on the Caribbean and Central America)," Terry Herndon, a former official of the National Education Assn., explained in a letter to Perlik.

In that letter, distributed to board members along with a summary of the report, Herndon said that it had early endorsements from Mayors Andrew Young of Atlanta and Don Fraser of Minneapolis, former U.S. Ambassadors Robert White, Murat Williams and Ben Stephansky and former congressional members Dick Clark, Toby Moffett and George McGovern, as well as William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists union.

TNG's 1981 Convention called for an end to U.S. aid—both military and economic—to the government of El Salvador.

## Montanez taking leave to aid Puerto Rico local

**San Juan, Puerto Rico**—Luis Montanez, Jr., longtime TNG representative and a former president of the Puerto Rico Guild, is joining the staff of the Puerto Rico Guild as an organizer.

He is taking unpaid leave from TNG's field staff to serve in the local position.

## Toxic substance reform urged

**Washington**—The public is being unwittingly exposed to toxic chemicals in the home and the workplace through the use of unsafe pesticides, TNG's Int'l Executive Board said during its spring meeting as it called for reform of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act.

Despite passage of the law in 1972, pesticides continue to be marketed without adequate testing to isolate properties that may cause cancer, genetic damage or birth defects, the board said.

"In fact," the IEB noted, even registration provisions mandated by the existing legislation are routinely bypassed.

The IEB called for passage of reforms encompassed in H.R. 3818 and S. 1774 "to correct deficiencies in the existing law." It also urged the House of Representatives to shift jurisdiction over the legislation from its Agriculture Committee, "which has refused to act on pesticide contamination," to the Energy and Commerce Committee with jurisdiction over other envoronmental and public-health laws.

## Western council endorses Turner

**San Diego**—Delegates to the Western District Council's spring meeting here April 21-22 unanimously endorsed Gene Turner of the Central California Guild for election to the remaining year of the term of the at-large TNG vice presidency vacant since the resignation of William T. Davis of San Jose.

Turner, in his third term as president of the council, is a vice president and former president of his local and is the only announced candidate for the post open since the end of March.

Nominations will take place at the Guild convention, June 18-22, and if there is a contest there will be a Guild-wide election late in the summer or early in the fall.

Delegates to the Western Council also voted $100 to help with the expenses of having had David J. Eisen, TNG research and information director, testify in Sacramento on behalf of proposed VDT-safety legislation [Guild Reporter, April 20] and set the council's next meeting for Oct. 20-21, in San Francisco.

## IT SEEMS TO US

### N.Y. retiree applauds Perlik and Kirkland

NEW YORK, N.Y.

**Editor:**

TNG President Perlik's spirited and informed objection to confirmation of Edwin Meese for Attorney General and the way AFL-CIO President Kirkland put his body on the line against fraud by an airline, pictured in your March 22d issue, deserve applause. The old-fashioned AFL sidelines' stance has no merit nowadays.

**OLIVER PILAT**
**Retired unit,**
**New York Guild**

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

## DAY BOOK

**New England District Council, spring meeting, May 19-20, Portland, Me.**

**Int'l Executive Board, preconvention meeting, June 15-16, Caribe Hilton, San Juan, Puerto Rico.**

**51st Annual Convention, June 18-22, Caribe Hilton, San Juan.**

**Int'l Executive Board, post-convention meeting, June 22, Caribe Hilton, San Juan.**

**Gannett-chain Caucus, summer meeting, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich., Aug. 10-12.**

**Ingersoll Chain Council, fall meeting, Oct. 13-14, Philadelphia.**

**International Executive Board, fall meeting, Oct. 15-18, TNG headquarters, Washington.**

# Judge blocks ITU voting on Teamster merger

**San Francisco**—A federal district court judge has ordered an indefinite delay in the membership referendum that was scheduled for May 16 in the Int'l Typographical Union on a proposal to merge the ITU into the Teamsters.

It was understood that the temporary injunction would remain in effect at least until resolution of challenges to the conduct of last fall's ITU officers elections.

In blocking the merger referendum May 1, U.S. District Court Judge Phelton E. Henderson said that if it were held and the merger approved the rights of six ITU members who sued to block the referendum could be irreparably damaged by changes that would occur immediately in the ITU's nature and structure.

The judge pointed to sections of the tentative merger agreement which would make each ITU local subject to the Teamsters constitution, would transfer to the Teamsters all ITU property and funds and would disenfranchise all ITU retirees. One of the six litigants is a retiree.

In his order, Henderson also forbade any further steps being taken to hold the merger vote, including the mailing out of ballots, and he banned expenditure of ITU funds "to merge or affiliate the ITU with any other organization."

He dismissed arguments by ITU lawyers that any delay in the referendum could endanger the merger's ever taking place. They pointed to the considerable time and money the union's officers have spent in seeking merger.

Damages to ITU members' rights could be far more serious if the merger were prematurely approved, the judge held.

The judge also pointed to "extensive evidence" that if Robert S. McMichen had been seated as ITU president pending final resolution of challenges to the conduct of the contest between him and incumbent Joe Bingel in last November's ITU elections, McMichen "would have had the power and the inclination to prevent" the merger agreement being concluded.

In addition, Henderson wrote, the six ITU members who sued April 11 to block the referendum "have demonstrated that McMichen's opposition to merger with the IBT, and Bingel's support for it, were critical issues in the election campaign."

The six also showed that McMichen's margin of 4,920 votes in the count conducted and then set aside by the ITU's canvassing board was a strong indication that McMichen "would have moved quickly to negotiate a possible merger agreement with an AFL-CIO union," such as the Graphic Communications Union, Henderson said.

"Taken together, the evidence indicates that the ITU presidential election and the choice of possible merger partners were closely linked," Henderson asserted.

The judge ordered the referendum stopped "pending a final decision by this court on the merits" of the suit by the six—five active members of the Bay Area Typographical Union and one retired member of San Francisco-Oakland Mailers Union 18. He gave no indication of when that might be, but said that his order was drafted quickly because of impending distribution of ballots and that he would issue a supplemental decision which also will address other issues in the suit.

Defendants to the six members' suit are the ITU itself, Bingel, and all four others on the ITU Executive Council: Sec.-Treas. Thomas W. Kopeck and Vice Presidents Allan J. Heritage, Robert L. Wartinger and Ray Brown.




BILL BURKE/Washington-Baltimore Guild

## Backing Las Vegas casino strikers

TNG's Int'l Executive Board takes time out from spring meeting to join other union members marching in Washington in support of striking Las Vegas hotel workers April 19. Similar demonstrations were held in Boston, New York, Denver, San Francisco and Los Angeles to protest hotels' bargaining intransigence and abuses of civil rights and police authority that triggered violent confrontations and arrests of more than 400 strikers in walkout's first four weeks. IEB voted $1,000 contribution from TNG Defense Fund to AFL-CIO Strike Assistance Fund, set up to aid the 17,000 Las Vegas strikers. Leading IEB marchers above, left foreground, are Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver and President Charles A. Perlik, Jr.

# Ciuccio of Denver resigns

**Denver**—Victor Ciuccio, administrative secretary of the Denver Guild for the past five years, and president of the Midwest District Council the last three, has resigned the local post to take a job with the Graphic Communications Int'l Union. He will resign the council post at its meeting the weekend of May 5-6.



Ciuccio will serve as the GCIU's director of contracts research, a newly created position in the international union's Washington headquarters. He begins the job May 14.

A former field and legal researcher for Colorado's state government, Ciuccio holds a Ph.D in anthorpology with emphasis on labor studies and demographics and taught social sciences and labor studies at Penn State.

# IEB urges expansion of bias clause

**Washington**—TNG's Int'l Executive Board is recommending that delegates to this summer's convention approve expansion of the constitutional requirement that locals' contracts include provisions banning employment discrimination.

The provision would be expanded to prohibit discrimination because of family relationship, sexual or affectional preference and irrelevant mental or physical handicaps. It currently calls for bans on discrimination because of age, sex, race, creed, color, marital or parental status, national origin or political belief or activity.

Previous conventions have approved similar expansions of discrimination bans included in the constitution's description of membership eligibility and in TNG's Collective Bargaining Program.

The constitutional provision that the board currently seeks to amend establishes a list of minimum contractual protections which "without specific permission of the IEB" all contracts are to include.

The board proposed the change during its spring meeting, on the recommendation of its Constitution Committee.

Also on the recommendation of its Constitution Committee the IEB granted permission to the San Francisco-Oakland, San Jose and Central California Guild locals to proceed with discussions of the possibility of the three merging.

Merger of the three locals, subject to membership approval, would bring some 3,000 members in Northern California into one local, creating a Guild local second in size only to New York.

Leaders of the three locals first met in February to explore the possibility of merging in order to provide greater service to members at no increase in cost.

Savings from elimination of duplicative administrative functions have been estimated to be sufficient to provide an additional fulltime servicing representative. The three locals currently have four between them.

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