Culver directs TNG registration campaign

Washington — TNG has launched the most ambitious voter-registration campaign among U.S. members in its history, with Int'l Chairperson Harry S. Culver taking a leave from his job as a reporter with United Press Int'l to co-ordinate it.

In announcing Culver's appointment to the temporary post, TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., pointed out that the registration effort was being undertaken in keeping with the number one political-action recommendation by this June's Guild convention.

In that recommendation, delegates called for a "concerted effort to identify and contact members not registered." They should be urged first to register and then to vote, particularly in this fall's federal elections, said the convention.

The campaign is being meshed with a massive registration drive the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education is co-ordinating among all affiliated unions.

In announcing the wider AFL-CIO effort in an early August letter to presidents of affiliated unions, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland called the numbers of unregistered voters among union members "a terrible obstacle" to the success of get-out-the-vote efforts.

Kirkland pointed to an estimate that 45 percent of the 13.8 million members of AFL-CIO unions are not registered to vote. That comes to 6.2 mililon unregistered union members overall.

The same data indicates that the situation is even less salutary among U.S. Guild members, producing an estimate that as many as half are not registered.

Culver, working from TNG headquarters, will seek to convince each U.S. local to participate in the registration push, advising them on setting up registration committees and on how to identify and contact unregistered voters among local members.

A mailing to all locals Aug. 24 included printout sheets listing the members of each local found to be not registered in a cross-check of voter registration lists with members names and addresses. The check was made on the AFL-CIO COPE computer.

While the total accuracy of the data may be subject to question, Perlik wrote in an accompanying letter, "that is not the point."

The point is, he said, that "we should intensify our efforts to make sure that everyone is registered."

Other enclosures with the letter provide suggestions and other

(Continued on Page 2)



INT'L CHAIRPERSON CULVER, LEFT, AND PRESIDENT PERLIK CHECK PRINTOUTS LISTING UNREGISTERED U.S. MEMBERS

Guild-UPI plan aims at rescue

New York — Negotiators for the Wire Service Guild and United Press Int'l announced tentative agreement Aug. 23 on a package of cost-saving measures designed to protect employees of the news service "to the maximum extent possible while keeping the company in business," as Guild representatives put it.

"We worked on an (hospital) emergency room basis . . . to prevent the news service's demise," Wire Service Guild President William Morrissey told a press conference announcing the proposals.

Approved unanimously by the local's executive committee, the proposal will be put to a vote of the local's approximately 1,000 members at UPI offices and bureaus throughout the United States.

The tentative agreement calls for an initial 25 percent wage cut among all employees—both Guild-covered and non-Guild employees, including top management—with current salary levels gradually being restored over the next year.

It also calls for the elimination of 205 jobs. About 100 of the staff cuts would come from among Guild-covered employees, including cutbacks the company had announced earlier in the month.

The wage and staff cuts would cut UPI's operating costs by $9 million while they remain in effect, according to Luis Nogales,

(Continued on Page 2)

The Guild Reporter

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

Vol. 51, No. 15 **Washington, D.C.** **August 24, 1984**

AFL-CIO's board affirms Mondale support

Denver — Acting with even more unity than when it voted last fall to back Walter F. Mondale for the U.S. presidency, the AFL-CIO General Board on Aug. 19 pledged the federation of unions to making an all-out effort to support the Mondale-Ferraro ticket in this fall's elections.

That effort will "get the facts" to every union member and family demonstrating why Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are the candidates who "best represent the aspirations of America's working men and women," said the board, composed of the principal officer of each AFL-CIO-affiliated national and international union and department.

Echoing the Mondale endorsement also voted by the 1983 AFL-CIO Convention, the board said he "has earned special esteem as an eloquent spokesman for the concerns of working people."

It's time for the real thing, Kirkland says ..... Page 8

That esteem, the board said, "rests on shared principles, a common vision of social justice and a joint determination to do the hard work necessary to create a future for America worthy of its past."

This time the general board was unanimous in its endorsement and pledge of support for Mondale.

In October, leaders of a few unions had opposed either the unprecedentedly early endorsement action, supporting Mondale, or both. Leaders of at least two of those unions—the Sheet Metal Workers and the Fire Fighters—now spoke enthusiastically in favor of the board's action.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., said he voted for the board's latest action—taken by voice vote—as he did on its action in October—in a roll call.

Mondale, addressing the board

(Continued on Page 6)

Publishers form Reagan-Bush unit

Buffalo, N.Y.—George Measer, the publisher of a chain of area weeklies who is a former president of the National Newspaper Assn., has formed a committee of publishers to support the re-election of President Reagan and Vice President Bush.

Called "Newspaper Friends of Reagan-Bush," the committee contains at least one publisher in each of the contiguous states, and includes daily as well as weekly publishers, Measer said, though he is counting all of New England as a single state.

Measer, who formed similar committees of publishers to back Richard M. Nixon's presidential candidacies in both 1972 and 1968, said he and the members of the committee feel that "with the exception of a few First Amendment matters" Reagan "has been a good president."

He said the committee is being administered by the staff of the Reagan-Bush campaign in Washington, which is having stationery

(Continued on Page 6)

How Reagan, aides control press coverage

By David Hoffman

ON A CLOUDLY afternoon in June, President Reagan cut short his weekend at Camp David to open the International Games for the Disabled in Uniondale, N.Y. Reagan viewed a parade of physically handicapped athletes from 53 nations, hailing them as "indomitable men and women."

He stepped from the podium to pass a torch from one runner to another, and then, turning to face the cameras positioned 75 feet away, gently draped his arm around one young runner as the torch was carried away.

Not once during the day of pageantry was Reagan questioned about the administration's budget cuts in programs for the handicapped.

In a Rose Garden ceremony the following week, Reagan signed bills creating new wilderness areas in four states. "No task facing us is more important than preserving the American land," he declared, adding that "our administration has undertaken this effort with energy and vision." The new wilderness areas, he said, "are intended to be completely natural, no housing developments, no power lines, just forest, rock, wind and sky."

The speech made no mention of the oil and gas exploration rigs that Reagan's first interior secretary, James G. Watt, wanted to put in wilderness

(Continued on Page 4)

This article is reprinted with permission from the September issue of the Washington Journalism Review. A companion piece by Barbara Matusow chronicles the Reagan staff's "masterful" tactics and successes at orchestrating coverage of his trips outside the United States.

David Hoffman covers the White House for the Washington Post.

UPI, Guild reveal proposal, aim to rescue news service

(Continued from Page 1)

the firm's new general manager.

He said the savings should give UPI operating profit in the last quarter of this year—which would be its first profitable quarter in 20 years—and predicted a $3 million profit for 1985. Other UPI officials have said they hope to find new investors for future growth once the operation is made profitable.

Talks between the Guild and UPI representatives began Aug. 12 in Washington shortly after the company informed the Guild that its financial position had deteriorated to the point that it was forced to begin laying off employees. Talks moved to UPI's corporate headquarters in Brentwood, Tenn., and then to New York.

The 25 percent pay cut, which would take effect Sept. 15 under the tentative agreement, would reduce the reporter top minimum by $139.40, to $418.20 a week. After three months the pay cut would be cut back to 15 percent, producing a reporter top minimum of $473.96.

In April 1985 the pay reduction would decline to 10 percent, then in July to 5 percent, where it would remain until October 1985 when salaries would be restored to their current level, with a $557.60 top minimum.

The agreement calls for subsequent increases of 3 percent beginning Dec. 15, 1985, and an additional 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1986. Negotiated increases that were to have taken effect under the Guild contract this October and in April and October of 1985 would be waived, however.

The current Guild-UPI contract runs through April 15, 1986.

Under the proposed agreement the reporter top minimum would stand at $585.18 in January 1986 following the cuts and the subsequent new increases. It is set to rise to $465.56 in October 1985 under the current Guild contract, a difference of $60.38 a week.

In addition, under the proposed cutbacks:

Payments to the pension fund would be suspended for a 12-month period, along with benefit accruals; there would be no reduction in benefits to current retirees or those who retire while the freeze is in effect.

The Guild and UPI would discuss ways of reducing health insurance costs, with a goal of saving the company $500,000 annually. Employees currently share the cost of medical insurance.

Of the 100 staff cuts among Guild-covered employees, about 60 would involve temporary and probationary employees. Another 100 would be cut from management and overseas employees who are not covered by the Guild contract.

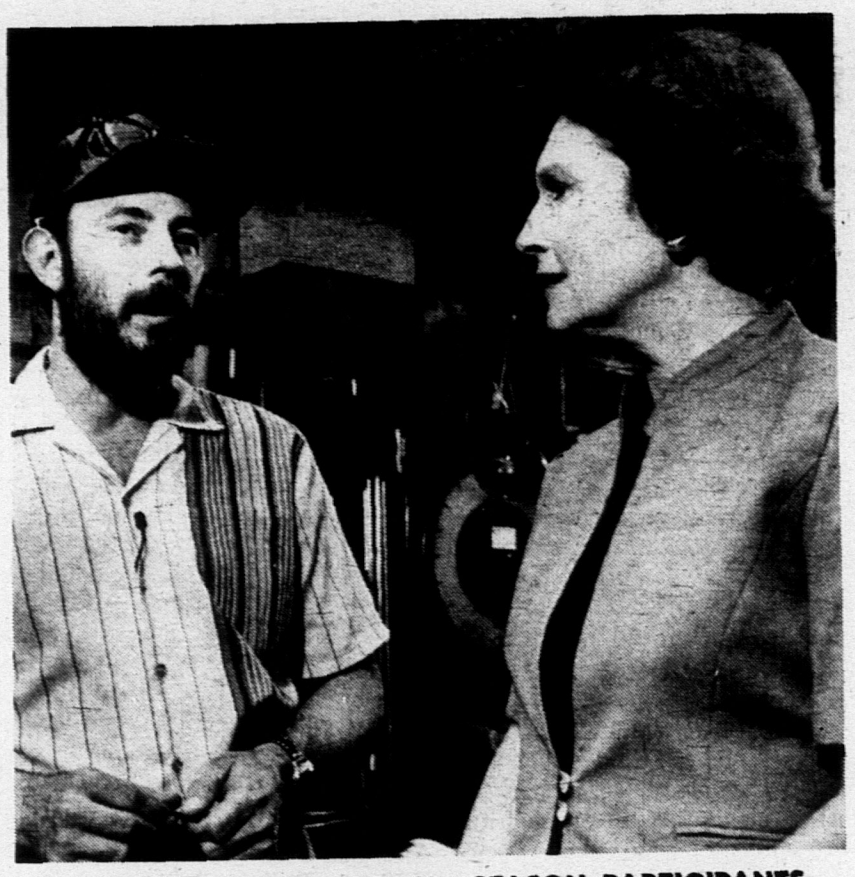
Contractual seniority provisions would remain intact and govern the manner in which staff cuts were made among Guild covered employees. Dismissed employees would receive 115 percent of contractual severance pay.

UPI's board of directors would be expanded to add a second seat for a Wire Service Guild representative. The Guild won one seat on the board last spring as part of an agreement approved by Guild members at UPI that cleared the way for the wire service to spin off its non-news operations, eliminating some Guild-covered jobs in the process.

The tentative agreement also calls for 6.5 percent of the non-voting stock in Media News Corp., UPI's parent holding company, to be set aside for employees. Employees would accrue shares of stock in proportion to their length of employment during the period of the wage cuts.

"Although the stock currently has no value, the hope is that UPI can diversify and become profitable, making the stock valuable eventually," Guild representatives explained in a special bulletin dispatched to UPI bureaus.

The Guild bulletin described the talks with UPI as "extremely frank." The Guild received "assurances that there would be major changes in UPI's antiquated management structure," it said, noting that the company pledged to reduce travel and entertainment expenses.



'AMERICA WORKS' SECOND SEASON PARTICIPANTS
Moderator Marie Torre interviews Cleveland Steelworker Dan Liuzzo for the first 1984 program.

'America Works' series set for fall

Washington—The first of six new episodes of "America Works," the television documentary and discussion series produced by the AFL-CIO's Labor Institute of Public Affairs, will premiere on more than 150 public television stations in the U.S. over the Labor Day weekend.

The first segment of the new series will focus on Cleveland Steelworker Dan Liuzzo and the labor-management quality of work life team in which he participates.

Among others featured in the new series are:

✓ Milka Ruiz, a Bronx, N.Y., teen-ager, who is leading a fight to protect decent paying jobs for herself and other young people;

✓ Karen Bivins, a Philadelphia Teacher who has been organizing parents, other teachers, and school employees to clean up hazardous asbestos in the schools;

✓ Frank Alexander, an Iowa Auto Worker who is joining with farmers to save families who may lose their livelihoods through foreclosure.

Followup discussions about the issues raised by the worker profiles among reporters, columnists, members of Congress, the administration and others again are to be moderated by Marie Torre, the shows' host.

A former New York Guild member, Torre was jailed in 1959 for refusing to reveal a confidential source. She was writing a syndicated television column at the time.

MORE MIDYEAR REPORTS

Outlook for industry reinforced

More reports on publishing-industry profits in the first half of the year reinforce a rosy outlook for the industry for all of 1984.

April brought a surge in spending for newspaper advertising compared with April of last year. Figures released by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau show April spending for all categories of advertising up by 32.7 percent. Classified was up by 44.3 percent, to $681 million, retail was up by 29.8 percent, to $1.15 billion, and national rose by 20.2 percent, to $272 million.

For the first four months of the year, advertising spending in newspapers was up by 20.6 percent, to $7.32 billion, from the year earlier period. Classified was up by 35.3 percent, to $2.41 billion, retail rose by 15.5 percent, to $3.92 billion, and national was up by 11.1 percent, to $982 million.

Midyear results from publicly traded magazine and newspaper publishrs in the U.S. and Canada, in addition to those carried in the Aug. 10 Guild Reporter, include:

Maclean-Hunter, Ltd.—Revenues for the first six months of the year of $437.8 million were up by 50.6 percent, though after-tax profits of $22.8 million were down by 24.8 percent from the first half of 1983. Last year the company's profit figures included a $16.9 million "extraordinary" credit in the second quarter.

Harte-Hanks Communications—Revenues for the first half of the year rose by 15.8 percent, to $242.2 million, and after-tax profits of $16.8 million were up by 13.9 percent.

Reuters Inc.—Revenues for the first six months of $9.2 million, up by 43.6 percent. After-tax profits of $1.1 million were up 88.6 percent.

Thomson Newspapers Ltd.—After-tax profits for the six-month period of $70.3 million were up by 23.8 percent, on revenues of $391.4 million, up by 16.4 percent.

Time Inc.—After-tax profits of $103.7 million in the first six months were up by 23.8 percent. Revenues of $1.5 billion were up by 13.1 percent.

McGraw-Hill Inc.—Revenues in the first half of $629 million were up by 7.6 percent. After-tax profits of $59 million were up 17.2 percent.

Media General Inc.—After-tax profits of $20 million were up by 9 percent. Revenues for the first six months of $271.5 million were up by 9.4 percent.

A. H. Belo—Revenues for the first six months of the year of $171 million were up 51.3 percent. After-tax profits for the period of $38.6 million, including a $21.7-million gain from the sale of telecommunication subsidiary, were up by 183.8 percent.

Meanwhile, the after-tax profits for the year's first half among 26 publishing and broadcasting companies analyzed by Business Week magazine showed an average gain of 32 percent over the first half of 1983. For the same period the companies revenues were up by an average of 15 percent.

Registration basics for 30 Guild states

State	Deadline?	By Mail?
California	29 days before election	Yes
Colorado	32 days before election	No
Connecticut	21 days before election	No
Delaware	Third Saturday in October	Yes
Hawaii	30th days before election	No
Illinois	28 days before election	No
Indiana	29th days before election	No
Iowa	10th day before election	Yes
Kentucky	30 days before election	Yes
Maine	Election day registration	No
Maryland	29 days before election	Yes
Massachusetts	28 days before election	No
Michigan	30 days before election	Yes
Minnesota	20 days before election plus election day registration	Yes No
Missouri	28 days before election	Yes
Montana	30 days before election	Yes
New Hampshire	10 days before election	No
New Jersey	29 days before election	Yes
New York	30 days before election	Yes
Ohio	30 days before election	Yes
Oregon	None—election day registration	Yes
Pennsylvania	30 days before election	Yes
Rhode Island	30 days before election	No
Tennessee	30 days before election	Yes
Texas	30 days before election	Yes
Virginia	31 days before election	No
Washington	30 days before election	No
West Virginia	29 days before election	No
Wisconsin	Second Wednesday before election, plus election day registration	Yes
District of Columbia	30 days before election	Yes

TNG sets registration drive, Culver named to head effort

(Continued from Page 1)

information on conducting registration drives. "Read them carefully, then decide on the best method to suit your particular circumstances," Perlik urged.

"To be effective," he wrote, "we must begin work immediately. As one of our friends has said, 'The battle for November may be decided in September'."

Culver also is supplying the locals and their committees with information about registration deadlines in their states and on procedures for aiding their members in registering.

Twenty states and the District of Columbia provide for registration by mail, while in 31 states volunteers can be deputized as registrars to conduct registrations at such places as work sites, shopping malls and the like.

In most states failure to vote over a specified period of time—as short as two years—results in automatic cancellation of registration and, possibly, unsuspected disenfranchisement.

The Guild Reporter (ISSN: 0017-5404) is issued semimonthly, except monthly in July and December, at 1125 15th St. NW., Washington, D.C. 20005. $15 a year. Second-class postage paid in Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Printed in U.S.A.

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

Key top to $573 in Memphis pact

Memphis—The top minimum for reporters, photographers and display advertising sales personnel is raised by $58, to $573.50 a week, in a new two-year contract between the Memphis Guild and Scripps-Howard's Memphis Commercial Appeal.

The agreement, retroactive to June 10, raises the key news and advertising top minimum by $29 a week from the start of each of its two years.

The settlement, ratified by Guild members at the paper on Aug. 9, was the third company proposal put to the membership. Earlier packages had been rejected in mid-June and late July, with both rejections emphasized by members mounting informational picket lines [Guild Reporter, Aug. 10].

The key top minimum—$544.59 in the first year—is also extended to a new job, senior computer programmer.

The minimum for telephone sales representatives is upgraded and the title changed to "telemarketing personnel." The top minimum covering the inside advertising sales employees is raised by $79.10, to $421 a week. The increase comes in increments of $58.10 a week retroactive to June 10 and $21 a week next June.

Another upgrading takes computer operators' top minimum up by $54, to $387.35 a week, with the increase coming in increments of $33 and $21 a week.

An option of diverting to pensions up to $2 a week from the 1985 increases is available under agreement, with members to vote next year on any diversion.

Other increases and resulting new top minimums include:

Computer programmers, general bookkeepers, cashiers—Up by $48, to $489.55 a week.

Building mechanics — Up by $48, to $489.55 a week, also in increments of $24 each.

Advertising schedule clerks, counter clerks—Up by $34, to $345.45 a week, in increments of $16 and $18 a week.

Outside classified salespersons—Up by $48, to $499.55 a week.

New contracts ratified at News, Free Press

Detroit—Guild members at the Detroit News and Free Press Aug. 14 ratified new three-year contracts which will increase minimums and salaries by amounts ranging from $39 to $75.40 a week over their terms.

At the Free Press, the $75.40 increase will take the top minimum for reporters and photographers to $647.84 a week and that for display and outside classified salespersons to $652.74.

At the News, the $75.40 increase will take the top minimum for reporters and photographers to $649.54 a week and that for copy editors and rewrite persons to $660.54.

While ratifying the pacts, both members and leaders of the Detroit Guild characterized them as inadequate and disappointing.

There was no viable alternative, however, Guild President Lou Mleczko explained, after the Detroit Typographical and Mailers unions just hours before a strike deadline broke from joint bargaining with the Guild and three other unions and, along with a Teamsters local, settled for increases averaging $65. The deadline was set by the joint union council that had included all the unions at the two dailies except the Teamsters, who left it in 1977.

"We're convinced," Mleczko said, that in light of the proposed Teamsters-Int'l Typographical Union merger Detroit Teamster leaders were "hell bent on fashioning the settlement pattern, no matter how poor the settlement."

The Typographical Union's membership rejected the proposed settlement at its first meeting to consider it, then ratified it at a second. Mleczko said. (The same membership in the recent Labor Dept.-supervised rerun election voted by wide margins for the candidates opposing the ITU incumbents, who supported the Teamster-ITU merger proposals.)

Under the new Guild contract at the Free Press, the top minimums for reporters, photographers and outside ad salespersons are increased by $29 retroactive to June 18, then by $23.20 on the same date in 1985 and 1986. The first increase puts the reporter rate at $601.44 a week and that for ad sales at $606.34.

Top minimums for programmer/analysts and computer operators also go up by $75.40 a week, in the same increments, to $631.19 for the former and to $614.84 for the latter.

The top minimum for librarians is increased a total of $62.40 a week—in increments of $24, $19.20 and $19.20 on the same dates—to $568.29 in 1986.

The top minimum for inside classified salespersons also is increased by $62.40, going to $555.29.

The top minimum for telephone operators at the Free Press is increased a total of $52—in increments of $20, $16 and $16—to $385.45 a week.

At the News, increases for the Guild's editorial-department unit come in six-month increments.

Top minimums for reporters, photographers and copy editors are increased by $22.75 retroactive to June 18 and by $6.25 on Dec. 18, then next year by $18 on June 18 and $5.20 on Dec. 18 and in 1986 by the same amounts on the same dates.

The initial, retroactive increase puts the reporter and photographer top at $596.89.

The top minimum for degree librarians at the News is raised a total of $62.40—in increments of $19 and $5, $15 and $4.20 (twice) on the same dates—to $552.57 in 1986.

The top minimum for reference clerks goes up by $39 total—in increments of $12 and $3, $9.50 and $2.50 (twice) on the same dates—to $327.89 a week.

In a separate contract covering the News' maintenance employees, the top minimum for janitors goes up a total of $65—in annual increments of $25, $20 and $20—to $422.26 a week.

In addition, at both the News and the Free Press an average of $1 a week per employee in each year of the contract is added to the publishers' contributions to pensions.

At the News, maternity leave provisions are improved to permit an employee to opt for three months of unpaid leave following the period of medical disability.

A requirement also is added to force-reduction provisions in the News contract to require that all part-time employees be severed before any full-time employee is let go.

N.Y. names new rep

New York—Sid Kress, a staff attorney for the New York Guild the last two years, has been named to the local's staff of representatives, filling the vacancy created by the death of Harry Fisdell in February.

Before joining the Guild's staff, Kress, 28, was with a law firm. He has continued to pursue a master's degree in labor law since joining the staff.

VIP shut down after six years

Vallejo, Calif.—The Vallejo Independent Press, published by members of five area newspaper unions, suspended publication with its Aug. 3 edition, two weeks short of its sixth anniversary.

The paper was launched Aug. 16, 1978, as a strike against Donrey's Vallejo Times-Herald by its union employees, including members of the San Francisco Oakland Guild, entered its 12th week.

The VIP, as it was known, first appeared as an insert to a weekly shopping paper, then expanded to a daily paper. This March it had cut back to publishing three times a week.

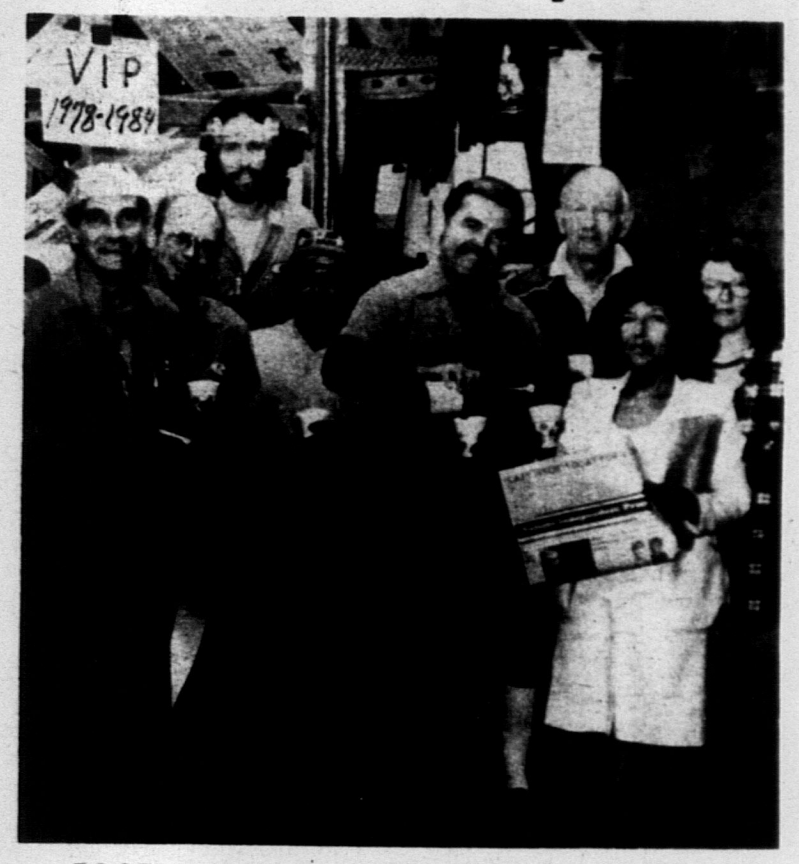
Insurmountable cash-flow problems forced the paper's closure, explained Guild unit chair Roger Warnock, the paper's general manager, in the final edition.

Guild strikers, who had numbered 41 when the five unions struck the Donrey daily on June 21, 1978, had dropped to about 15 through attrition to other employment, retirement and even death.

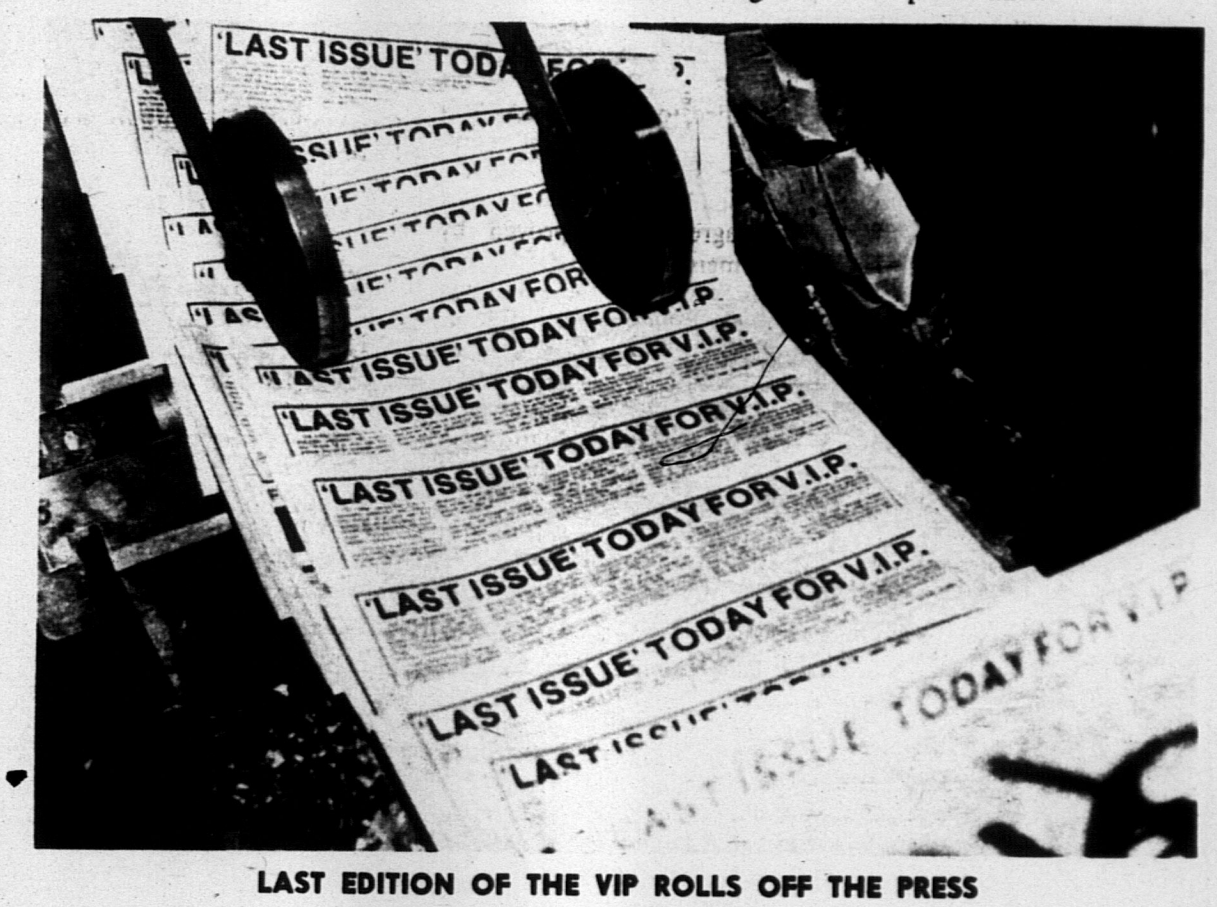
Union efforts to win just settlements with the Times-Herald's then new owner, Donrey Media Group, had spanned nearly three years when the unions struck. At that time management was demanding cuts of as much as $100 a week in some employees' pay.

The Times-Herald remains on the California AFL-CIO's "Do Not Patronize" list.

Each of the unions has since been decertified as the bargaining representative for Times-Herald employees. The decertifications came after the National Labor Relations Board conducted votes among employees working for the Times-Herald behind the unions' picket lines.



ROGER WARNOCK POURS SALUTE TO LAST VIP



LAST EDITION OF THE VIP ROLLS OFF THE PRESS

Leader's reassignment unfair, local charges

Milwaukee — The Milwaukee Guild is filing unfair labor practice charges against the Journal Co. over its transfer of newly elected Milwaukee Guild President Jack Norman from his position as business reporter for the Milwaukee Journal to a general assignment beat.

The transfer and attendant change in Norman's working conditions was "a blatant reaction" to his Guild activity, a Guild representative said.

In a bulletin board notice, the company said that it transferred Norman because of "a concern" that his "visibility as a union president might unduly harm his credibility as a business reporter and might harm the credibility of the business news section."

When Guild representatives had questioned the company about that "concern," a management representative said he knew of no specific complaints about Norman from members of the business community.

Norman was recruited to work on the Journal's business section after having sold the paper stories about a labor dispute with a heavy equipment manufacturing firm.

He had worked as a reporter for several small papers, including Racine Labor, a 14,000 circulation weekly published by a group of unions in that nearby city, after leaving a position as a University of Wisconsin professor.

Editorial and library employees of the Milwaukee Journal and Sentinel voted for Guild representation in an NLRB election in June. Bargaining for a Guild contract for them began in mid-July.

Reagan and the press: *Packaged, perfected*

(Continued from Page 1)

areas. When a reporter shouted a question to the president about environmentalists' criticism of his record, he shot back, "They don't know what they're talking about."

IF THE PAST is any guide, Reagan's re-election campaign this fall will be filled with these photo events and shouted one-liners. The presidency can be a powerful political weapon for image-making, and for avoiding negative images. The Reagan White House, like those before it, tries to tout the goods news and sugar-coat the bad; to highlight Reagan's triumphs and hide him at times of crisis and defeat. The goal is simply to control the agenda to best advantage.

In the Reagan White House, this responsibility falls largely to Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver, Presidential Assistant Richard G. Darman and Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes. They start every day attempting to put their own stamp on when and where the president will be seen on television news that evening and what he should say.

White House correspondents have been getting heart-burn over these attempts at manipulation for a long time. Many agonized over the coverage of Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign and his "secret" plan to end the Vietnam war; his largely successful effort to ignore George McGovern in the 1972 campaign; President Gerald Ford's attempt at a "Rose Garden" strategy in 1976; and President Carter's selective use of the Iran hostage crisis in the 1980 campaign.

Time and again, reporters hit the wall of incumbency. For many, it is a source of frustration. "It is not new for presidents to try and disassociate themselves from bad news, but the Reagan White House has extended it beyond any presidency and White House in the past," says CBS News correspondent Lesley Stahl, who has covered both the Carter and Reagan administrations.

A day-to-day fact of life in covering Reagan is that contact with him can be scarce. His views or comments often emerge in dribs and drabs. Days pass with only glimpses of Reagan at ceremonial events, and the White House is on a constant vigil to protect him from reporters' questions. Apparently, the loud engines of presidential helicopter Marine One are revved up deliberately on Friday afternoon so Reagan cannot hear—and thus cannot answer—the shouted questions as he leaves for Camp David.

A good example of how this protective shell works came as Reagan was heading on Air Force One for a day of Florida politicking and planned to start the Firecracker 400 stock-car race by telephone from the plane. Reagan travels with a "pool" of reporters, which includes still photographers, a network television crew and correspondent, wire service and print reporters, all of whom sit near the rear of the craft.

This day, aides invited the cameramen to come forward to record the start of the race—a natural campaign picture. The aides refused, however, to allow NBC White House correspondent Chris Wallace, or any other reporters, to come forward. Wallace insisted that he would not send his cameras without a correspondent; the aides reluctantly gave in, but other reporters were barred.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE came a few weeks later, when Reagan was touring a wildlife refuge on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Reporters in the pool shouted a question at Reagan about his controversial appointment of former Environmental Protection Agency administrator Anne M. Burford to an advisory panel on oceans and the atmosphere.

Speakes quickly stepped in front of Reagan to cut off the question. "My guardian says I can't talk," Reagan said. Then White House aides clicked off the television lights so that Reagan could not be photographed. The president was seen on that evening's national news broadcasts standing in the shadows giving a one-sentence defense of Burford.

Even when reporters do get a shouted question to Reagan, "we usually end up with a one-line answer," Stahl says, "and we are unable to find him the next day and the next." These brief answers often have to be obtained by "herculean efforts," shouting across rope barriers or during ceremonies, she adds.

Many correspondents would rather have it differently, Stahl says, but don't complain: "We all feel that by complaining about it, it's just whining. Our function in society is to have these officials be accountable to the public—we're just doing our job."

"I'm not a big fan of shouting questions, but they give you a character of Reagan you don't always get," says Ann Devroy, White House correspondent for Gannett News Service. One week, she notes, Reagan offered the rejoinder that "they don't know what they're talking about" to reply to both Soviet criticism and to criticism of his record from environmentalists.

FOR ALL THE protective machinery of the presidency, there are some Reagan advisers—and correspondents who have covered him—who agree that it is hard to shield Reagan completely over a long period of time. Either deliberately or through oversight, he often breaks through the barrier that has been fashioned for him.

David R. Gergen, former White House communications director, says of Reagan: "No matter how many scripts are given to him, he is going to send signals about who he is. I have argued for a long time he is far more effective when you don't hide him. The worst mistake you can make is to suppress him. Even if he makes a mistake, he is much better full-throat, full-throttle."

The truth is that Reagan will never be "full-throat" all the time. Nor can the White House staff keep him fully suppressed all the time, because Reagan governs in many ways by his power as a communicator. A senior White House official says privately that when confronted with a major problem, Reagan's reaction is almost always to want to give a speech. When confronted with a major defeat, this adviser says, "Reagan's reaction is almost invariably to conclude that he did not get his point across."

James Lake, Reagan's 1984 campaign press secretary and a veteran of his earlier campaigns, points out how candidate Reagan shifted gears from hushed-up front-runner in Iowa to free-wheeling challenger in New Hampshire four years ago after losing the Iowa caucuses.

Reagan views himself as "a teacher, a lecturer, a salesman," Lake says. "This salesman's ability to go out and persuade—well, you can't do that if you're not talking."

The other side of that equation is that Reagan has spent many days "not talking." The White House has never been reluctant to use security or other excuses to keep correspondents away from Reagan. On the campaign trail, Reagan is followed by the pool of reporters and cameras who later report back to their colleagues, but even the pool is often kept as far away from Reagan as possible.

This summer, I was part of the pool accompanying Reagan to a July 4 picnic in Decatur, Ala. The United States was then engaged in an extremely important diplomatic dance with the Soviets over possible arms control talks.

The pool was led away from the picnic after the event, and we were several hundred yards away from Reagan, preparing to board helicopters, when suddenly a White House aide summoned back two wire service photographers. They were staging a "photo opportunity" of Reagan returning a hat to a 12-year-old boy who had tossed it to him. We were stranded, barred from going back. No questions.

IN ANOTHER pool, I was covering Reagan this summer in a New Jersey high school classroom in which the president was getting a demonstration of "simulators" that teach students about the dangers of drunk driving. Seated at one of the machines, Reagan posed for the cameras for a few minutes while an instructor explained how they worked.

As soon as Reagan started talking, a White House aide ordered that the television lights be turned off (to stop filming) and we were ordered to leave the room immediately. One advance man started tugging at my arm insistently, saying we had to leave right then to "pre-position" for Reagan in the



school gymnasium. This was a ploy to get us out of the classroom; we waited for the president for 15 minutes in the gym.

ONE OF THE real hurdles of covering any incumbent—particularly Reagan—is actually seeing the candidate. Most of these "pools" can accommodate only a handful of reporters. For the others, a Reagan campaign trip is often a series of hotel press rooms and staged speeches, a blizzard of transcripts and written statements.

Reagan has often bounced back and forth between the protective impulses of his advisers and his own inclination to be the chief salesman of the administration. As president, he has held fewer formal news conferences than any of his modern predecessors, yet he has at times been remarkably candid when his administration has not.

For example:

✓ Reagan declared that the rebels fighting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua were "freedom fighters" when the official White House explanation was that they were only trying to half the flow of arms to El Salvador.

✓ When White House aides wanted to remain quiet about the CIA-backed mining of Nicaragua's harbors, Reagan volunteered in an interview that the mines were "homemade" and the controversy "much ado about nothing."

✓ When the public administration policy was that the United States would not be pushed out of Lebanon, Reagan said he would pull the Marines out if there was a "collapse of order"—which he did, two months later.

Earlier this year, Reagan personally inserted into a draft of a speech some language about the pain that a fetus feels during abortion. His political aides practically begged him in a White House meeting to take it out, according to some who were there. They feared the language could revive the issue of abortion as a divisive factor in the campaign. Reagan demanded that it remain, and it did.

This willingness to say what subordinates, or others, will not, presents risks that are greater for Reagan than for other recent presidents.

One is the misstatements and factual mistakes that have laced his public comments for years. Another is that Reagan fastens on to a notion and does not let it go easily. An example was his defense at a new conference of Senator Jesse Helms' effort to open sealed FBI files that Helms claimed would show civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. had ties to communists. Asked if he agreed with Helms, Reagan said: "Well, we'll know in about 35 years, won't we?"

It was not known at the time, but this one-liner had been used by Reagan in rehearsals for the news conference. His aides figured he was joking; they were horrified when he said it on national television. Reagan later apologized to King's widow, Coretta Scott King, and signed legislation creating a national holiday in King's honor.

There have been dozens of other misstatements and mangled facts over the years. In a stroke of revisionist history, Reagan told reporters he had not volunteered criticism of Henry A. Kissinger in 1976, when in fact he had attacked him and made him the centerpiece of his campaign against Ford. Another time, Reagan said in a radio interview that he could "approve" a Soviet offer on nuclear arms control; a few minutes later, an aide handed him a note and he announced that was not his position at all.

STILL, REAGAN advisers say they do not worry about mistakes as much anymore because the public seems forgiving or uncaring. They also have simply cut back regular access to him. The president used to hold "mini" news conferences frequently, but rarely does anymore. The White House also scrapped the regular interviews with six correspondents when Reagan, in one, gave a rambling and confused defense of his Central American policy.

Reagan's aides also tried without success to impose the so-called "Deaver rule," named after the deputy chief of staff, which prohibits questioning of Reagan during "photo opportunities."

A challenge in covering Reagan is parsing rhetoric for what pieces of his thoughts do come through. In a mass of boilerplate language there is often a quintessential "Reaganism" to be found, such as his praise last spring for the free-market spirit he found in "so-called communist China," or his denunciation in a July 6 speech of the "grasping politicians" and "indifferent bureaucrats" of Washington.

Reagan rarely, if ever, will deliver even a prepared speech without first scrutinizing the text, and he believes what he says. But the spontaneity of live television is the best forum for unmasking a candidate, and the televised debates this fall may well be the climactic event of the campaign, as they were in 1980.

"Live television doesn't glitz over a guy," says James R. Dickenson, political writer and editor for the *Washington Post*. "People really do get a look at a candidate they didn't get before."

The presidency offers many valuable stages from which to campaign, but some events can just as easily backfire. Reagan was before a friendly group of Realtors and builders one day in Dallas, where he left the impression he might eliminate the mortgage interest deduction, one of the most politically sacrosanct in the tax code. Later, he had to promise to keep it.

One of the most spectacular backfires in recent memory was a peace-making luncheon for environmental leaders in early July.

The day before, a routine White House notice announced the appointment of former Environmental Protection chief Anne Burford to an advisory board on oceans and the atmosphere. The result: an earful of indignant protest at lunch for Reagan, and the guests then went out on the president's driveway to heap more scorn on him in front of the television cameras. What was to be a vehicle for conveying to the voters Reagan's concern for the environment became exactly the opposite.

ULTIMATELY, SAYS Lake, the campaign press secretary, the incumbency is only a political tool. "Jimmy Carter had the same tools and he wasn't able to use them," he says. "If the president has the wherewithal to use the tools of the office, that's what people want."

Gergen points out that the last two incumbent presidents were defeated. "It is not as wonderful a perch as it once was." he says.

One of Reagan's techniques for exploiting the perch is to float an idea without actually proposing it—reaping the political benefits without the risks.

Recently, he devoted a Saturday radio speech to the theme of "families." He said it is harder to raise children now than it once was. He noted that the tax exemption for dependents, now $1,000, had not kept pace with inflation since the late 1940s, and if it had the exemption would be $3,000.

Reagan stopped short of actually proposing a politically popular increase in the exemption—a tax cut for millions of Americans. Instead, he only made the point that he liked the idea, thereby avoiding any of the negative fallout that would come from actually asking Congress for it, such as explaining how it would drive up the deficit.

Reagan can be expected to "float" many such ideas in the campaign—talking vaguely about his plans for reducing personal tax rates, but saying nothing about the taxes that may have to be increased after the election.

"Anything the incumbent says implies that he might do something about it," says Lake. "It's something that goes with the presidency—the mantle of authority and control over the levers of government."



Washington Post photo by FRANK JOHNSTON/Washington-Baltimore Guild

Press aide Larry Speaks waves off reporters' questions to Reagan ("My guardian says I can't talk") during a campaign event on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

One of those levers is the federal treasury. Incumbent presidents have often tried to pump out grants and spending to key states and constituent groups.

When Reagan was battling President Ford in 1976 for the Republican nomination, Ford blitzed Florida one day with an incumbent's extravaganza of goodies.

As Jules Witcover recalled it in his book, *Marathon*, Ford announced the award of a $33-million missile contract to the Martin Marietta plant in Orlando; an $18-million mass transit program was announced in Miami by a cabinet member; and Ford had suggested earlier to a group of veterans, lined up in wheelchairs, that they would get a new hospital.

At one point that year, Reagan's aides were so frustrated they considered a news conference stunt to mock Ford's largesse: One of them would dress up as Santa Claus. Four years later, Jimmy Carter tried vainly to use the same grantsmanship technique against Reagan.

One would think Reagan would be restrained this year, if only because he attempted to slash many of the pork-barrel spending programs that made for such election-year announcements. But he has not abandoned the practice. He boasted to farm editors and industry spokesmen at the White House recently that "we've doubled the funds" for Farmers Home Administration operating loans and that "our" federal crop insurance program "dealt with 1983's severe weather problems by paying out $580 million—that's an all-time high."

YET, ANOTHER incumbents' advantage is a logistical edge.

If Reagan's strength in the South and West holds up this fall, he will devote most of his campaign efforts to the Midwest and Northeast.

There is almost no place on this electoral battleground that Reagan cannot fly to on Air Force One in the morning and be back at the White House by evening, perhaps in time to watch his performance on the evening news. The president's plane has priority over commercial traffic that allows him to cover ground quickly, without waiting in airport backups.

For Reagan, being back at the White House is important, both to rest and to confer with aides and strategists. His advisers don't like to advertise the fact that he needs rest, but it governs his schedule and performance nonetheless.

Some advisers think the Reagan fall campaign would be best carried out in a series of one-day forays. That may well be impossible in a tight race, but Reagan's long stints on the road, like his 21-day New Hampshire bus tour in 1980, are probably a thing of the past.

"It is a tremendous advantage to have a one-house base," says Gergen. He recalls how Ford's verbal slip about Poland at the second Ford-Carter debate in 1976 mushroomed into a major issue, in part because Ford was on the road and isolated from the White House nerve center. "You're out there in that bubble," Gergen says of the campaign plane and entourage that can shield a president from the impact of his own mistakes.

Reagan has spent many days in the "bubble" and will spend more, but those who cover his campaign this fall need not throw down their pencils in despair. Experience has shown there are several ways to cope with it. One is to continue to question Reagan whenever the opportunity presents itself, and ignore the so-called "Deaver rule."

Reagan's lieutenants want plenty of coverage of his "photo opportunities" this fall. Every one of them also is an opportunity to probe Reagan about what he stands for, now and in a second term.

IF THE WHITE House insists on sealing Reagan off, the ultimate remedy is simply to write about it. In the final weeks of the campaign, the question of access becomes more than a matter of journalistic working conditions. It becomes part of the story.

© 1984 Washington Communications Corp. Reprinted by permission.

'The best media game plan of any since John Kennedy'

The following is excerpted from an interview with Austin Ranney reported in question and answer style in the Aug. 27 issue of U.S. News & World Report. Ranney, 63, since 1976 has been a resident scholar in political science at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington "think tank." He is a former president of the American Political Science Assn. and professor at the University of Wisconsin and is a Democrat.

Q: What is the secret of Reagan's leadership style?

A: . . . He also is frequently referred to as "the great communicator." He is very, very good on television. That's an indispensable prerequisite today to being a successful president.

Finally, his administration has a better-developed game plan for dealing with the media than any administration since at least that of John Kennedy, and perhaps better than any administration ever.

Q: What is Reagan's team doing that's different?

A: They isolate the president from disasters. For example, who made the announcement last February when Reagan pulled the troops out of Lebanon? It wasn't the president in a press conference. It was Larry Speakes, his press spokesman. Reagan was in Santa Barbara on vacation. He couldn't be directly interviewed. That was not by accident.

Another thing the White House does well is to spread the blame. When things go wrong, it's never the president's fault. It's the fault of Alexander Haig, or it's the fault of Anne Burford, or it's the fault of somebody else. The president will not stand in front of an angry press, the way Nixon and Johnson did, defending his failed policies. His spokesmen do it for him, and the president lets some time pass before responding to criticism.

And when things go well, the president is personally associated with policy success.

I think all future presidents will try to deal with the media in the same way.

Mum's the word on these

PRESIDENT Reagan's political strategists hope to make it to Election Day without saying more than they have to about the details of a second Reagan term. Here are six stories they would like to do without.

✓ **Taxes:** The president says he intends to cut personal tax rates and simplify the tax code while still trying to reduce the deficit. But many in his own administration say privately a tax increase is likely early in the second term. Will he raise taxes once the election is over?

✓ **Spending:** The president says he intends to further reduce federal spending in a second term. Office of Management and Budget Director David A. Stockman has sketched out a list of possible targets for budget cuts that include such popular programs as student aid and farm price supports. What other painful cuts are waiting in the wings?

✓ **Staff and Cabinet:** Reagan delegates vast responsibility to subordinates, and there is wide agreement that his senior staff and cabinet will undergo a major turnover after the election. Who are the likely players in a second Reagan term?

✓ **The Military Buildup:** Reagan's military buildup far exceeded the level he promised in his 1980 campaign, and many of the weapons systems are already locked in for years. But will Reagan demand the same rapid defense spending increases in a second term that he sought in his first?

✓ **Regulatory Reform:** For all his efforts to roll back health and safety regulations in his first term, Reagan never achieved the lasting legislative changes he sought. Will the second term bring a new assault on health and safety laws?

✓ **The Health Factor:** The White House has gone to great lengths to demonstrate that the 73-year-old Reagan is healthy. But at public events, he still has trouble hearing, even while wearing a hearing aid. Is Reagan willing to break with his past practice and make public his full medical reports so as to put to rest any question about his health?

—David Hoffman

AFL-CIO board gives Mondale all-out support

(Continued from Page 1)

after its action, thanked the assembled union leaders for support in the primaries and observed that "none of us here has any illusions" about the campaign ahead.

"It's going to be tough, but if this year proves anything it's that I know what it means to come from behind. I know what it is to reach inside to find strength and to reach outside for help and to cross the finish line a winner," he said.

Those accompanying Mondale included Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado, his chief rival for the Democratic nomination.

The board's resolution lauded Mondale for choosing "the right woman to the right position" in naming Ferraro to be his running mate.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, in his opening address, some two dozen speakers from the floor of the meeting and Mondale spoke of the need to restore fairness to U.S. society, to reverse policies that benefit the rich at the expense of the middle class and the poor, to bring the economy back into balance through job-creating programs and to work for a future of peace and prosperity.

Kirkland sharply attacked Ronald Reagan's performance in the presidency. He has divided the nation, setting "men against women, young against old, the jobless against the employed, the poor against the near-poor and blacks against whites against browns," Kirkland charged.

Kirkland acknowledged that "the president is an amiable man" and that he "may well be sincere in believing that his policies are good for the nation."

"He may well be one of the nicest men who ever foreclosed a poor man's farm, stacked the deck against the working man or took a school lunch away from a hungry child," Kirkland said. [More Kirkland, *As they put it*, Page 8.]

He urged his audience to consider what the labor board would be like in a second Reagan term, the prospect of five new Reagan appointees to the Supreme Court, and another Reagan tax bill.

"We are fated to live in a dangerous world," Kirkland said, "and the next four years may well be the most perilous that we have ever faced as a nation.

"We need a president who does not regard this circumstance as a fit subject for frivolity," he said.

Mondale pointed out that Reagan is the only president since World War II from either party who has not made some progress toward arms limitations in talks with the Soviet Union.

"Reagan has negotiated nothing, signed nothing and offered nothing except Star Wars," Mondale charged.

"The American people know the difference between salesmanship and leadership, Mondale said, promising to "tell the truth . . . press him for debates . . . deliver the message of a world that can be safer, a nation that can be more competitive, a society that can be safer, a nation that can be more hope."



STEVE YARMOLA/Washington-Baltimore Guild

WALTER F. MONDALE WAVES THANKS TO AFL-CIO GENERAL BOARD FOR ITS SUPPORT
Others, from left: AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, Joan Mondale and Sen. Gary Hart.

Reagan blames press for joke outcry

Ronald Reagan sounded Aug. 19 like he blamed the press for the world-wide criticism of his joke about bombing Russia.

A reporter at Whiteman Air Force Base, Mo., asked about a statement by Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale that the joke had made the world nervous.

"Isn't it funny—if the press had kept their mouth shut no one would have known I said it," Reagan responded.

On Aug. 11 he said during a radio sound-level check that he had "signed legislation that would outlaw Russia forever," adding: "We begin bombing in five minutes." A press aide said it had been off the record.

On Aug. 16, in a meeting with a group of Jewish leaders at the White House, Reagan attempted to joke about the sound-check quip.

Edgar A. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, told the New York Times that "with a very big smile" Reagan "said that he had to go into a Cabinet meeting and that he certainly was not going to bomb Russia in the next five minutes."

$28,000 in back pay disbursed among five

Adapted from the Bay Guild News
San Francisco-Oakland Guild

San Francisco — Five employees from the Chronicle and Examiner's circulation office in Walnut Creek for whom the Guild won an arbitration extending to them contract benefits and coverage have received checks totalling some $28,000—about half what is owed them.

The checks—the largest about $11,000—covered the differences between what each of the five had been paid and what they should have been paid under the San Francisco-Oakland Guild's contracts with the dailies' joint printing company, the Newspaper Agency.

The payments were the latest step in the Guild's three-year battle to have full contract benefits extended to the workers. (The agency has closed the Walnut Creek circulation office and transferred the workers into San Francisco.)

The dispute began in early 1981 when the Guild discovered the Walnut Creek office where workers were performing the same functions as their Guild-covered counterparts in San Francisco.

The agency refused Guild demands that it comply with the contract and provide coverage for all employees there. The Guild grieved and, after some legal maneuverings before the National Labor Relations Board and a federal court ruling upholding the Guild's right to pursue the issue through the arbitration process, an arbitrator ruled in favor of the Guild on Jan. 4, 1983.

The arbitration award included pay retroactive to Jan. 1, 1980, and interest from Jan. 4, 1983, until the date the money was paid.

Nadine Hyde, who was a supervisor in the Walnut Creek office and now, like the four others, is a clerk-typist in the agency's San Francisco plant, said checks for the differential in pay were issued in late June, but did not contain the interest.

She said money also still is owed for vacation time, sick leave, and other benefits that weren't paid the workers in Walnut Creek.

Despite the arbitration award, the Guild had to go to federal court after the agency balked at implementing it. Last Sept. 14 the Court ordered the agency to comply.

"The Guild has been absolutely great," said Hyde, "not only with their support but hanging in there and fighting tooth and nail for us. It wasn't for them (the Guild) that it took so long."

Press freedom book is free to members

Washington—The Council on Hemispheric Affairs is offering the booklet reporting the "Survey of Press Freedom in Latin America 1983/1984" to Guild members without charge.

COHA published the booklet in co-operation with TNG [Guild Reporter, June 15]. Regular price is $4.95 per copy.

Interested members should contact COHA at Room 201, 1900 L St. NW., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Publishers form Reagan-Bush unit

(Continued from Page 1)

printed listing the names of its members.

It will not be involved in fund-raising, but will regularly distribute draft editorials and columns free to dailies and weeklies across the country, Measer said.

Measer, who was president of the National Newspaper Assn. in 1982-83, publishes eight weeklies in the Buffalo area, known as the Bee newspapers.

U.S. protest to So. Africa urged

Washington—TNG has called on Sec'y of State George P. Shultz to protest to the South African government its closure of a Namibian newspaper, the Observer of Windhoek.

This is "an ominous development," TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., said in an Aug. 17 letter to Shultz, noting that the South African government had not forced the closure of a newspaper since 1976.

The government's action "flies in the face of internationally recognized principles of press freedom" and its own "professions of adherance to them," Perlik said. "It is clearly speech . . . that is at issue here," he observed.

The Observer, Perlik pointed out, has often criticized the South African government for its continued occupation of Namibia. The U.S. government's voice "must not go unraised" over this incident, he said.

Meanwhile, U.S. ambassador to Turkey, Robert Strausz-Hupe, has been urged to monitor the trial of UPI correspondent Ismet G. Imset.

After several postponements, a trial on charges that Imset owned an unlicensed pistol was to begin Aug. 23. Earlier, however, a Turkish military prosecutor had accepted the allegations of a confessed murderer that Imset had been involved in a murder in 1979.

"It appears that only a public demonstration of international concern . . . is likely to avert a most unfortunate outcome" in the proceedings against Imset, Perlik said in an Aug. 8 letter to Strausz-Hupe.

Imset has complained of harassment at the hands of Turkish officials over more than a year's period. In March 1983 he was denied a passport to leave the country, blindfolded, punched and otherwise abused at police headquarters in Istanbul.

In another communique, Perlik has protested to the government of Nigeria over the news that eight journalists have been arrested in that country since the start of the year.

Perlik urged the journalists' release "in view of increasing appearances" that they have been imprisoned because of their reporting and expressions of opinion.

In the past Nigeria has "been noteworthy for nurturing" the principles of press freedoms that it now would seem to be violating, Perlik said.

IT SEEMS TO US

Toronto member questions convention role for Pole

TORONTO

Editor:

They arrived almost together —the [July 13] Guild Reporter's story on the speech of Jacek Kalabinski, president of the Solidarity-affiliated Warsaw chapter of the Polish Journalists Assn., and a lengthy interview in the Toronto Star given by Lech Walesa.

Kalabinski (from his Yale vantage point) assured Guild delegates at San Juan the PJA is going strong.

Walesa's contribution to unionism was to caution British miners striking for their jobs and to tell the interviewer: "I have much respect for Margaret Thatcher. I think with such a wise and brave woman Britain will find a solution."

I wonder, had Solidarity publicly praised Reagan as he axed the PATCO strikers would the Guild have rushed to give the floor at our convention to a leading member of this union?

TOM MORRIS,
At-large
Southern Ontario 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.

N.Y. TIMES TO APPEAL

NLRB upholds Guild on electronic projects

New York—The New York Times is appealing to federal court against a National Labor Relations Board order that the company supply the New York Guild with information about the Times' participation in several projects involving so-called "electronic newspapers."

A three-member panel of the board, upholding the findings of an administrative law judge, ruled June 19 that the Guild has a right to information about the employees engaged in work on the paper's electronic newspaper projects and a right to information about any revenue derived from the systems.

At the same time, in upholding further findings of administrative law judge Howard Edelman, the board agreed that the company had violated federal labor law when it refused to supply the local with an employee's performance appraisal.

NLRB Chairman Donald L. Dotson and members Don A. Zimmerman and Robert P. Hunter signed the unanimous ruling.

The Times is "putting the cart before the horse" in contending that the Guild has no right to information about the electronic distribution of Times copy absent a ruling that the work is covered by the local's contract, Edelman said. He cited decisions in which both the board and the courts have upheld a union's right to information necessary to administer its contract.

Information the Guild seeks about the editing and formatting of material for electronic distribution is "clearly relevant" to the administration of its contract and detection of any violations, Edelman said.

The local first requested information about the work performed in connection with the paper's participation in the Compuserve electronic news distribution system in the summer of 1981. Later, when the company became involved in "On Line" and "Videotext" systems, requests for information were renewed. The Times refused to supply details about the projects on grounds that no employees who were members of the Guild bargaining unit were involved in the work.

Edelman also called "clearly relevant" the local's request for copies of performance evaluations of a Guild-covered employee. The information sought was necessary to the union's investigation of complaints lodged by the employee and to the union's being able to determine whether to initiate a grievance, the law judge ruled.

He did so after the board in November of 1982 had vacated the ruling of another administrative judge who had dismissed the Guild's charge on grounds that the local had been furnished a copy of the performance appraisal by the employee concerned.

In reversing that earlier ruling and ordering a new hearing on the Guild's charge, the board had noted that an employee's making available information the union seeks "does not relieve an employer of its obligations" to provide it to the union directly under the law.

The local first sought a copy of the performance evaluation in June 1981.



The Pacific Northwest Guild's "PNNG Bulletin" used this cartoon to illustrate a story on "free" overtime.

U.S. court overturns order that column be published

Washington—A federal appeals court has overturned a National Labor Relations Board order that the Passaic (N.J.) Herald-News resume publication of an employee's column.

While upholding the board's finding that the paper had withdrawn a reporter's weekly column in illegal retaliation for his role in a successful union organizing campaign, the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals found the board's remedy—restoration of the column—in conflict with the First Amendment.

Newspapers "have absolute discretion" to determine their contents, the appeals court said, citing Supreme Court rulings.

Although "the board's objectives may be valid ones . . . valid objectives are insufficient to permit the board to require the company to publish the column," the court said in a June 15 decision.

It remanded the case to the NLRB to fashion an alternative remedy.

The paper cancelled the reporter's weekly column after editorial employees of the paper voted for representation by a local of the Graphic Communications Union.

Gannett locals aim at uniform plan

Lansing, Mich. — Members of the Gannett Labor Caucus gathered Aug. 10-12 at Michigan State University for their second annual meeting and agreed to formulate a uniform strategy to deal with the large media conglomerate.

Members of the caucus—formerly called the Gannett-Chain Caucus—agreed to explore options for placing their message before the public, and passed a resolution urging other international unions in the newspaper industry to form similar caucuses.

Elected as officers for the coming year were: Paul Furiga, Cincinnati Guild, president; Carol Eisenberg, Rochester Guild, secretary; and Denis Wolcott, Battle Creek Guild, treasurer.

In addition, Guild members from the Central California, Rockford, Philadelphia (Wilmington unit) and host Lansing locals also participated in the meeting, as did a representative of the ITU unit at Ithaca, N.Y., which represents news room employees at the Journal there.

The 1985 annual meeting of the caucus will be held the weekend preceding the 1985 TNG Convention in Pittsburgh. Cincinnati is to be host local.

Teamsters drop bid for mail room

Cleveland — A Cleveland Teamsters local has withdrawn a petition to the National Labor Relations Board that could have resulted in its replacing the ITU-Mailers Union as representative of mail room employees of the Plain Dealer here.

Withdrawal of the petition was approved by the NLRB's regional director on Aug. 14. It had been filed by the Teamsters local on July 31, four days after announcement that a majority of the pro-Teamster Int'l Typographical Union officers had been outpolled in a rerun election supervised by the U.S. Labor Dept.

IEB names delegates

Washington — TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Secretary-Treasurer Charles Dale have been designated TNG's delegates to the 16th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept.

Members of TNG's Int'l Executive Board voted approval of Perlik and Dale as delegates to the Oct. 3-4 convention by mail ballot.

Guild seeks rights for 16 in Norfolk

Norfolk, Va.—The Hampton Roads Guild petitioned the National Labor Relations Board Aug. 20 for certification as bargaining representative for 16 photoengraving department employees of Landmark Communications' Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star.

A substantial majority of the employees have applied for Guild membership and designated it their bargaining representative, the local reported.

The Hampton Roads Guild has represented Virginian-Pilot editorial employees since 1952, those at the Ledger-Star since 1979. The Guild's bargaining rights at both papers were reaffirmed last December when an enlarged editorial unit voted for the Guild in a representation election.

$843 leads list of outside display sales minimums

A TOP MINIMUM of $843.26 a week leads the list of top minimums for display advertising salespersons in Guild contracts with daily newspapers in effect on Aug. 1, 1984.

The outside sales job is covered by 68 Guild daily newspaper contracts. In 59 of the contracts the top minimum for display salespersons is at least as high as the corresponding reporter top minimum; in three of the 59 contracts it is higher—in Providence, Manchester and at the Detroit Free Press.

At right are the top minimums as of Aug. 1. Results of settlements since and deferred increases effective in the interim are not included.

	Minimum	After
New York Times	$843.26	4 yrs.
New York Daily News	767.73	6 yrs.
New York Post	751.30	4 yrs.
Vancouver Sun and Province	736.62	5 yrs.
St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch	672.00	5 yrs.
Victoria Times-Colonist	666.39	5 yrs.
Toronto Star	660.17	3 yrs.
San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner	659.17	6 yrs.
San Jose Mercury-News	659.17	6 yrs.
San Mateo Times and News Leader	*659.17	6 yrs.
Seattle Times	658.10	5 yr.s
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	647.75	5 yrs.
Washington Post	640.75	4 yrs.
Denver Post	635.00	5 yrs.
San Diego Union and Tribune	*628.76	6 yrs.
Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News	624.69	4 yrs.
Providence Journal and Bulletin	621.50	4 yrs.
Sacramento Bee	620.00	6 yrs.
Honolulu Advertiser and Star-Bulletin	612.50	5 yrs.
Stockton Record	607.00	6 yrs.
Toledo Blade	604.54	4 yrs.
Sacramento Union	602.59	6 yrs.
Tacoma News Tribune	587.60	5 yrs.
Baltimore Sun and Evening Sun	580.00	5 yrs.
Detroit Free Press	577.34	3 yrs.
Monterey Peninsula Herald	571.00	6 yrs.
St. Louis Globe-Democrat	*569.80	5 yrs.
Eugene Register-Guard	*568.10	5 yrs.
Manchester Union Leader	*547.75	3 yrs.
Mt. Clemens: Macomb Daily	547.02	5 yrs.
Royal Oak Tribune	538.44	5 yrs.
Delaware County (Pa.) Times	523.99	5 yrs.
Erie News and Times	521.50	5 yrs.
Bakersfield Californian	517.84	5 yrs.
Fall River Herald-News	515.96	4 yrs.
Memphis Commercial Appeal	515.50	5 yrs.
Pottstown Mercury	**510.47	5 yrs.
Hawaii Tribune-Herald	509.91	5 yrs.
Boston Herald	507.00	3 yrs.
Maui News	505.20	5 yrs.
Sheboygan Press	**503.90	4 yrs.
Pawtucket Times	**498.65	4 yrs.
Portland Press Herald and Express	489.00	4 yrs.
Great Falls Tribune	474.00	5 yrs.
Salem News	471.72	4 yrs.
Oshawa times	466.20	4½ yrs.
Duluth News-Tribune and Herald	*465.00	5 yrs.
Lowell Sun	461.00	4 yrs.
Lynn Item	459.50	4 yrs.
Brockton Enterprise	459.00	4 yrs.
Canton Repository	446.86	5 yrs.
Pueblo Chieftain	440.00	5 yrs.
Malden News, Medford Mercury and Melrose News	436.75	3 yrs.
Albany Times-Union and Kickerbocker News	433.25	4 yrs.
Norristown Herald	431.00	5 yrs.
Woonsocket Call	416.74	5 yrs.
Tonawanda News	**414.79	4 yrs.
York Daily Record	413.96	5 yrs.
Yakima Herald-Republic	413.25	4 yrs.
Kingston Daily Freeman	*402.65	5 yrs.
San Juan Star	*383.37	5 yrs.
Monessen Valley Independent	352.75	5 yrs.
Terre Haute Tribune	**340.88	5 yrs.
Bristol Press	325.00	5 yrs.
Massillon Independent	**320.00	4 yrs.
San Juan: El Mundo	309.00	5 yrs.
Morgantown Dominion-Post	248.83	4 yrs.

**Bonus or commission system with a guaranteed annual minimum.
*Bonus or commission system in addition to minimum.



'WHY NOT LIVE SEX SHOWS INSTEAD?'

Media chasing black demagogues makes racists feel back in fashion

By Carl T. Rowan

This Aug. 6 column by Carl T. Rowan, former member of the Twin Cities and Washington-Baltimore Guilds, is reprinted with his permission.

WHEN SOMEONE from the National Press Club telephoned to ask me to sit at the head table during Louis Farrakhan's speech last Monday [July 30], my answer was quick and simple: "You people must have lost your minds."

When I read items in the Washington Post and Washington Times asserting that Jesse Jackson would be at the head table, I shook my head in dismay. "Where does the press dream up this stuff?" Jackson had asked me in stating emphatically that he had never heard of this press club function and would not attend—as he did not.

But the "working" press was there to report the utterances of the leader of the Nation of Islam, and a lot of Jews attended that luncheon as if driven by some masochistic need to hear whatever new insults Farrakhan could hurl at them and Israel.

OBSERVING ALL this from a 10-foot-pole distance, I was reminded how furious the late, great Urban League leader Whitney Young used to get over the zeal with which the American media would publicize and exploit black fools and scoundrels.

"Ralph Bunche [winner of the Nobel Peace Prize] can show up in town to give an important speech and the press will treat it like a top-secret briefing," Young complained to me. "But if Stokely Carmichael shows up to say something stupid or inflammatory, you can't beat off the TV cameramen with a stick."

So it always has been, and apparently always will be. I asked a member of the National Press Club what motivated the organization to give Farrakhan a forum. "Because he's a draw. People want to hear him. We had a sell-out."

"If that's your test, why didn't you put on a live sex show? It wouldn't have been any more obscene than Farrakhan's bigoted remarks."

"What kind of newsman are you, Rowan?" I was asked. "Farrakhan is news, and we're in the news business."

Farrakhan is news? I concede that the first time he called Judaism "a dirty religion" it was news. But how many microphones and cameras must be used how many times to provoke him into saying it again and again before this hateful sort of bilge ceases to be news?

I resent the media's fascination with Farrakhan because I know what comfort this gives to every racist in America.

THE GREATEST achievement of the Kennedy and Johnson years was probably not the civil rights legislation that was passed, but the fact that these two presidents and those around them made it *unfashionable* to be a bigot. With racism and blatant class discrimination back in vogue, a lot of Americans would feel guilty about being part of it were it not for the doses of Farrakhan given to them by the press.

"Don't be ashamed of white racism; blacks are just as bigoted as you are!" That is the media's message every time it massages Farrakhan's ego to the point his tongue goes crazy.

I have had my share of abusive letters for criticizing Israel's actions in Lebanon, Beirut in particular. Such criticism has not intimidated me. But I want no association by skin color or anything else with a man who calls Israel an "unlawful" state based on "injustice, lying, thieving and deceit." I am embarrassed to be included by implication in a Farrakhan argument that the Israelis are not God's chosen people because God really has put his hand on "the black people of America."

Sure, the people who sat in that National Press Club luncheon snickering, groaning, jeering will say, "but we weren't blaming all blacks or anyone but Farrakhan for his remarks."

I know better. That speech pumped new venom into a foolish black-Jewish rift that is costly to both groups, and pleasing to some politicians who are candidates for high offices.

I have often said that the best test of a minority's progress toward equality is to see what the majority does about the minority's fools and scoundrels.

EVERY TIME I open a bag of mail from my syndicate I am reminded of the distance black people have to go to reach an equality beyond automatic scapegoating. I always find several letters containing torn-out newspaper stories about some black looters, or a rapist, or a murderer, with a notation, usually in red ink, that I should "stop bleating about equality until you can stop this."

I cannot wipe out crime, by blacks or anyone else. I cannot silence Farrakhan. I cannot stop the media from exploiting him. I can, I hope, make some of my media colleagues understand the damage they do in chasing down black demagogues and making them national figures.

© 1984, News Group Chicago, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

DAY BOOK

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

International Executive Board, fall meeting, Oct. 22-25, TNG headquarters, Washington.

Western District Council, fall meeting, Oct. 27-28 (tentative), San Francisco.

Southern District Council, fall meeting, Oct. 27-28, Lexington.

Great Lakes District Council, fall meeting, Nov. 3-4 (tentative), Terre Haute, Ind.

52nd Annual Convention, June 24-28, 1985, William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh.

53rd Annual Convention, Buffalo, 1986.

54th Annual Convention, San Diego, 1987.

ITU rerun okay, McMichen wins

Washington — The Labor Dept. late Aug. 23 said it had determined that the rerun election for the Int'l Typographical Union's top officers it supervised in July "had not been affected by any violations."

Consequently, Robert S. McMichen expected to be installed on Aug. 27 as the ITU's new president, replacing Joe Bingel, along with Bill Boarman and Billy Joe Austin as new vice presidents, replacing Ray Brown and Robert L. Wartinger.

As they put it

It's time for the real thing

The following is excerpted from remarks by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to the AFL-CIO General Board Aug. 19.

When this administration came to power, claiming a mandate for the crackpot economic theories of the Radical Right, we were virtually alone in warning that Ronald Reagan's policies would bring great injury to millions of working Americans and their families.

We fought that "mandate" all the way, and we were right.

He gave us the most massive unemployment since the Great Depression. . . . He gave his fancy friends a $750 billion tax-cut handout from the public till. . . . He gave us the largest and most costly and dangerous federal deficit in history.

So instead of paying higher taxes for the betterment of our own country, we pay them to private bankers in the form of the highest real interest rates in our history. And those are the most cruel and regressive taxes of all.

We are in the midst of another election campaign—and President Reagan has embarked on another test of the limits of the public's gullibility.

But a great nation cannot long endure government by commercials, mirrors or photo-opportunities.

The reality is that for all of his surface affability, this president has placed the federal government at the service of every greedy, well-heeled special interest that now sustains his administration.

The international bankers who finance dictatorial regimes, whether of the left or right . . . the multinational corporations, loyal to no flag and forever seeking cheaper labor . . . the Wall Street slickers, who syphon billions from the credit markets for mergers and buyouts that produce jobs only for lawyers and accountants . . . the big oil companies, the environmental polluters, the land speculators, the tax evaders, the peddlers of special favors—they all have a friend in the White House.

But what about the rest of America?

What about the victims of plant closings? . . . of racial discrimination? Senior citizens threatened by cuts in Social Security and Medicare? Women seeking equal pay for comparable work? Whole communities endangered by hazardous waste? . . . The disabled who have been denied assistance . . . the teachers . . . in schools starved for funds? . . . The 11 million families who were stripped of health care protection when their breadwinners lost their jobs?

They have no friend in the White House today.

The union movement stood against Ronald Reagan and for common sense the first time around and we are prepared for Act Two.

But this time we have something else going for us. We have candidates for the presidency and the vice presidency whom we had a voice in selecting as their party's nominees.

We have—not an act—but the real thing, and it is time for the real thing for a change.

The Guild Reporter

CALM ACPS

JAMES M. CESNIK, Editor
BARBARA E. NELSON, Assistant Editor

Published by The Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC) twice monthly except for regularly second and fourth Fridays, occasionally two other Fridays a year (with published advance notice), except monthly in July and December. $1 year. Single copies, 75 cents.

Guild Reporter deadlines at 1125 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. News, Monday before publication; features and letters, Friday before lication. Letters limited to 200 words by TNG convention action.

POSTMASTER!—'Notice to Publisher Form 3579' should be sent to The Guild Reporter, 1125 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Publication #231

ISSN: 0017-5404

Vol. 51, No. 15 August 24

The Newspaper Guild
1125 Fifteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20
Area Code 202—296-2990

INTERNATIONAL CHAIRPERSON: HARRY S. CULVE
PRESIDENT: CHARLES A. PERLIK, JR.
SECRETARY-TREASURER: CHARLES DALE

AT-LARGE VICE PRESIDENTS: Robert C. Holt, Jr., 433 Dickens Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63122; Carol D. McGarvey, 325 Green Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 19128; David M. Mulcahy, c/o Standard & Poor's Corp., 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10004; Marie Shellock, 208 Broadway, #6, Youngstown, Ohio 44504; Stanley Souza, 45-430 Lupo St., Kaneohe, Hawaii 96744; Gene Turner, 219 E. Park 2, Stockton, Calif. 95202.

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS: Region 1—Thomas R. Hiltz, 181 Lebanon St., Malden, Mass. 02148; Region 2—Faye McCracken, 3059 Kingsley Ave., Memphis, Tenn. 38127; Region 3—Richard M. Peery, 2886 Chadbourne Rd., Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120; Region 4—Larry D. Hatfield, 16 Jewell St., San Rafael, Calif. 94901; Region 5—Peter E. McLaughlin, 3 Norlen Lane, New City, N.Y. 10956; Canadian Region: East—Lee C. Clifford, P.O. Box 3032, South Postal Station, Halifax, Nova Scotia B3J 3G6; West—Roger L. Stonebanks, 5050 Lochside Dr., Victoria, B.C. V8Y 2E9.

DIRECTOR OF FIELD OPERATIONS: J. William Blatz.
DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS: Ellis T. Baker.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, CONTRACTS COMMITTEE: Richard J. Ramsey.
CANADIAN DIRECTOR: William H. McLeman, 1755 Courtwood Crescent, Suite 202-B, Ottawa, Ont. K2C 3J2.
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH & INFORMATION: David J. Eisen.
HUMAN RIGHTS CO-ORDINATOR: Anna M. Padia.
INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES: Eugene Bryant, Janet David, Leo J. Ducharme, James H. Griffin, Willard Hatch, Harry L. McCormick, Luis Montanez Jr. (on leave), Bruce R. Nelson, G. Richard Pattison, Hannah Jo Rayl, Marshall W. Schiewe, Frederica Wilson.

COM 91000248 7
XEROX UNIV MICROFILMS
300 N ZEEB ROAD
ANN ARBOR MI 48106